85. B

MACARIÆ EXCIDIUM,

OR

THE DESTRUCTION OF CYPRUS;

BEING

A SECRET HISTORY OF THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION IN IRELAND,

BY

COLONEL CHARLES O'KELLY,

OF SKRYNE, OR AUGHRANE, NOW CASTLE KELLY, COUNTY GALWAY.

EDITED,

FROM FOUR ENGLISH COPIES, AND A LATIN MS. IN THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY,

WITH NOTES, ILLUSTRATIONS, AND A MEMOIR OF THE AUTHOR AND HIS DESCENDANTS,

BY

JOHN CORNELIUS O'CALLAGHAN.

DUBLIN:

FOR THE IRISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

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ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

Page 3, line 2, *parallel with* Syrian Language, *read in margin* French.
—— 18, — 11, *parallel with* the Viceroy, *read in margin* Earl of Tyrconnell.
—— 26, — 14, *parallel with* Cilician by birth, *read in margin* Englishman.
—— 42, — 15, *for* France *in margin*, *read* French.
—— 46, — 8, 13, *for* Asinio, *read* Asimo.
—— 47, — 2, *for* the haveing joyned, *read* that haveing joyned.
—— 97, — 7, *for* Sarsfield *in margin*, *read* Berwick.
—— 122, — 17, *for* Col. Art Maguire *in margin*, *read* Col. Art Mac Mahon.
—— 169, — 6, *for* one of whom was President, *read* three of whom were Presidents.
—— 173, — 33, *for* jointe, *read* joint.
—— 174, — 1, *for* héretier, *read* héritier.
———, — 5, *for* au Loix, *read* aux Loix.
—— 208, — 3, *for* des grands débats, *read* de grands débats.
———, — 8, *for* meux, *read* mieux.
———, — 17, *for* toute ce Royaume, *read* tout ce Royaume.
—— 223, — 33, *at* viarum obsessio; audiebantur passim, *a comma after* obsessio, *and after* passim *a semicolon*.
—— 227, — 12, *for* le masse, *read* la masse.
—— 239, — 20, *after* premièrement, *a comma*.
—— 240, — 32, *for* metelassée, *read* matelassée.
—— 256, — 34, 35, *after* profaned, *a comma*, *and after* religion, *a semicolon*.
—— 261, — 5, *for* venerabilibus fratribusc. *read* venerabilibus fratribus Christiano.
—— 298, — 28, *for* Note 85, Page 53, *read* Note 85, Page 33.
—— 329, — 1, *for* Note 112, Page 49, *read* Note 112, Page 40.
—— 415, — 26, *for* Caslebarin, *read* Caslebar (*a French error for Castlebar*) in.

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THE Members of the Irish Archæological Society are presented, in this volume, with the *Macariæ Excidium*, an account of the War of the Revolution in Ireland from 1688 to 1691, by Colonel Charles O'Kelly. The Colonel's work, being the *only* narrative of that contest known to exist from the pen of an Irish Officer on the side of King James II., and being, so far, calculated to throw light on an interesting portion of our history from the precise quarter whence it was *most* needed, had engaged the attention of the Society, from the period of its formation. At the first General Meeting of the Society, No. 202, Great Brunswick-street, Dublin, May 3rd, 1841, the Report from the Provisional Council, read by the Secretary, the Rev. James Henthorn Todd, announced the Irish Colonel's work, as the "third tract," intended for publication; and to be "edited by George Petrie, Esq., from a manuscript which had recently been added to the collection of Trinity College."

This design was soon after relinquished, in consequence of the appearance, the same year, of an edition of the *Macariæ Excidium*, by

 Thomas

Thomas Crofton Croker, Esq., among the Transactions of the London Camden Society, in the volume entitled, "Narratives illustrative of the Contests in Ireland in 1641 and 1690." There was not, in fact, any such difference, between the MS. used by Mr. Croker, and the Trinity College MS., as would have justified the expense of printing the latter, after the publication of the former.

In the course, however, of 1842, the attention of the Irish Archæological Society was again directed to the *Macariæ Excidium*, by the discovery of the MS. containing the Latin version, which is printed, along with the English, in this volume. This Latin copy was then in the possession of the Rev. James Scott, R. C. C. of Carrickmacross, and since of Clones, County Monaghan, by whom it was first submitted to the Editor. According to the testimony of that gentleman, this MS. had formed part of a collection of books belonging to Dr. Daniel O'Reilly, who made his collegiate studies partly at Antwerp, partly at Douay[a]; was ordained Priest in 1728; was President, for several years, of the Irish College at Antwerp; and ultimately Roman Catholic Bishop of Clogher, from about 1748 to 1776. The Latin copy was transmitted from him to another Dr. O'Reilly, also a President of the Irish College at Antwerp, as well as Bishop of Clogher; then to the Rev. Hugh O'Reilly, likewise President of that College, and some years since R. C. Parish Priest of Carrickmacross; from him it devolved to his niece, and from her to the Rev. James Scott. Mr. Scott, in a letter addressed in 1842 to the writer of these lines, having made known the general nature of the Latin MS., and obligingly forwarding it to him for inspection, he, perceiving how much more matter it contained than the MS. printed by the London Camden Society, submitted the discovery thus made to the Rev. J. H. Todd. Dr. Todd brought the subject before the Council of the Irish Archæological Society,

[a] See, on those Colleges, Note 4, p. 169, and *Errata.*

Society, of which body the late lamented Professor Mac Cullagh, of Trinity College, was at that time an active member. With that honourable zeal, on this, as on other occasions, for the preservation of national remains of art or literature, which too many of far larger means, (and those *unearned*,) would neither have the spirit to feel, nor the generosity to imitate, Dr. Mac Cullagh, unwilling that a document, connected with the illustration of the history of the country, should be transferred *elsewhere*, purchased the Latin MS., in order that, after publication by the Irish Archæological Society, the original might be deposited in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy[b].

In October, 1842, the Rev. J. H. Todd, Secretary to the Society, addressed a letter to the writer of these lines on the subject of the Latin copy thus discovered, in which communication he observed: "The Council have desired me to return you thanks for the interest you take in the welfare of the Society, and to ask of you the further favour of undertaking to edit the book for us."

This request was acceded to; and the Latin MS., under an impression, at the time, of its being the original of Colonel O'Kelly's work, was transmitted to Denis Henry Kelly, Esq, of Castle Kelly, (the descendant of Lieutenant-Colonel John Kelly, brother to Colonel Charles, the author,) for the purpose of being translated by him into English. In 1843, the whole was translated, and transcribed for the press, by that gentleman. The copy thus made was placed for annotation in the hands of the Editor in 1844, and the "Notes and Illustrations" were finished by him, and deposited with the Secretary, the Rev. J. H. Todd, in December, 1846. Subsequently, however, to the

[b] The Academy is likewise indebted to the liberality of the Professor for the beautiful Cross of Cong, made in the reign of Turlough More O'Conor, father of Roderic, the last Milesian Monarch of Ireland.

the completion of the translation into English by Mr. Kelly, that gentleman, having learned that a MS. of the *Macariæ Excidium* was in the possession of his kinsman and friend, Count O'Kelly Farrell, in France[e], it was then determined not to put the work to press, till all the known copies of it should be consulted and compared. Mr. Kelly therefore obtained from the Count his MS., accompanied by a short memoir of Colonel Charles O'Kelly, which has been made use of in that written for this volume. It now appeared, from a collation of the Count's MS. with the others at the disposal of the Society, that there was *not* sufficient reason for considering the Latin as the original of the work, and therefore an arrangement in printing it, different from what was first intended, was adopted, with the consent, and even at the suggestion, of Mr. Kelly. According to this arrangement, that portion only of Mr. Kelly's task has been retained which contains the translation of the outline of Irish and British history, prefixed, in the Latin, to the immediate subject of the *Macariæ Excidium*, or is a version of some circumstances in the subsequent portion of the Latin, which seemed fit to be introduced into the English text. To preserve a due distinction between *that* text, and the additional matter so introduced, such matter has been enclosed in brackets.

The English text of the *Macariæ Excidium*, or of Colonel O'Kelly's history properly speaking, and which begins at paragraph 31, page 32, of this edition, has been selected by the Editor, with the aid of the Rev. J. H. Todd, from four MSS. in that language.

I. A neatly-copied MS. belonging to the Library of Trinity College, half-bound as an octavo volume, and marked, on an engraved plate, inside the cover, as "Ex Bibliotheca *Michaelis Ignatii Dugan.* 17—"; what were the remaining figures not being certainly legible, but

[e] See Appendix, No. II.

but having been, as the Editor thinks, 58. This was the copy, from which it was atfirst designed to publish the work, under the editorship of our distinguished countryman, Dr. George Petrie; whose long labours, and valuable services, in the cause of the antiquities of Ireland, are too well known to need any eulogium from him, on whom the task of editorship has since devolved.

II. A very finely written MS. which was procured by John O'Connell, Esq., M.P., in Paris, as a portion of original materials for an intended History of the Irish Brigades in the service of France. The existence of this MS., in its present complete condition, is curious. It having been written in two separate books, and each of these being put into different trunks or portmanteaus, that which contained the latter portion of the work was lost in England. This portion fell into the hands of S. H. Bindon, Esq., who, considering as a Member of the Irish Archæological Society, that, although but a fragment, it might be of some service for the edition of the work then contemplated by the Society, gave the fragment in question to the Rev. J. H. Todd. The other portion of the MS. which Mr. John O'Connell had *not* lost, he kindly presented, in 1842, to the Editor, who much regretted the absence of the remainder, when, to his great surprise! he found, last year, on preparing for the present edition, that Dr. Todd had received from Mr. Bindon what exactly completed the copy so long divided. The Editor accordingly presented his portion of it to Dr. Todd, that the whole, so fortunately rendered perfect, might be deposited in Trinity College Library.

III. The MS. of Count O'Kelly Farrell in France, already mentioned as having been obtained for the Society by Denis Henry Kelly, Esq., together with a short memoir of the author, Colonel Charles O'Kelly.

IV. The text published, under the editorship of Thomas Crofton Croker, Esq., for the London Camden Society, in 1841; and of which the

the Editor of the present edition, when in London that year, was politely presented with a copy by Mr. Croker.

From these four copies, what appeared the best readings have been carefully selected; the oldest forms of expression and orthography have been generally preferred; and, in fine, a suitable difference in the mode of printing has been adopted, between the more ancient portion of the text alluded to, and that only translated from the Latin, and already specified, as having been *consequently* enclosed in brackets.

The author of the Latin version, according to the information possessed by the branch of the O'Kellys in France, or that of Count O'Kelly Farrell, was a Roman Catholic clergyman, the Rev. John O'Reilly. In the Preface to the work, under his feigned appellation of "Gratianus Ragallus," the reason for his making this translation is alleged to have been the great resemblance he perceived between certain occurrences then recent in Europe, and several circumstances related in the Colonel's history. This is, most *probably*, an allusion to the attempt in 1745–6 of the grandson of King James II., Prince Charles Edward Stuart, to recover his grandfather's crowns; that enterprize, like the Jacobite war in Ireland, having occurred during a war with France; having been supported, though inadequately, by the same power; and having deprived the Stuarts of any chance, they might have had, of the crowns of England and Scotland, as the contest described by Colonel O'Kelly had stripped the same dynasty of the crown of Ireland.

Harris, in the Preface to his Life of King William III., published in 1749, says: "I first undertook this task at a time when his Majesty[d] was engaged in a War for the same Cause, that in the last Century sent King *William* to our rescue, and when the Son of an *abjured Popish*

[d] King George II.

Popish Pretender had invaded a part of these Dominions, with an intention to intail on *Great-Britain* and *Ireland* Misery, Superstition, and Slavery; and I did it with a view of fortifying the well affected in their Zeal and Allegiance during those perillous times, when all hands were necessary for opposing the common danger. It cannot," he adds, "be amiss now, and at all times, for the same end." So far Harris, as the advocate of the Revolution under King William III.; and as opposite feelings were certainly excited in the minds of the older Irish, or Roman Catholic and Jacobite population of the country, by the stirring events of Prince Charles Edward's expedition in Scotland and England, it would be natural, that, in those times, the MS. of the Jacobite Colonel's Memoir, falling into the hands of a clergyman of the race, religion, and political principles of the O'Reillys[e], should suggest the task, or amusement, in his lonely hours, of turning it

[e] The O'Reillys were among the leading supporters of King James II. in the War of the Revolution. The two principal representatives of the race, Colonel Edmund Buidhe O'Reilly, and Colonel John Reilly, (for the latter had the bad taste to drop the old O'), each commanded a regiment in the King's service; the one, of foot, and the other, of dragoons. Another gentleman of the name, the Rev. James O'Reilly, who is mentioned as having been a good poet, and was Chaplain to a Regiment in the Irish Army, was of great service, by his presence of mind, after the fortune of the day turned against his countrymen, at the battle of Aughrim. Abbé Mac Geoghegan, in noting how "l'élite de l'armée périt dans cette malheureuse journée," adds, "& sans l'adresse d'un Aumônier de Régiment, nommé ô Reilly, qui s'avisa de faire battre la charge par un Tambour Major sur une colline à l'entrée du marais, où les *Royalistes* devoient passer, la perte eut été plus grande; par ce stratagême, il donna le temps aux vaincus de prendre le chemin de Limerick." The Irish Roman Catholics, or Jacobites, it should be observed, considered themselves, in this war, as the *royalists*, or *loyalists*, and looked upon the English, as supporting the *Revolution* at the expense of King James, to be *rebels*. English writers in favour of the *Revolution*, on the contrary, give the appellation of *rebels* to the Irish Jacobites.—(Extracts from Copy of Count Alexander O'Reilly's Pedigree, and other MSS.—Harris's Life of William III., p. 248: Dublin, 1749. —Mac Geoghegan, Histoire de l'Irlande, tome iii. pp. 747, 752: Amsterdam, 1763.)

it into Latin. At all events, there is a passage in Dr. Charles O'Conor's Memoir of his venerable relative, Charles O'Conor, of Belanagare, from which we learn, that we are also indebted for other literary works to the seclusion which it was deemed prudent among the leading Roman Catholics to observe, during this alarming period of Prince Charles Edward's expedition to Scotland. The passage alluded to is here subjoined, as further tending to illustrate the probability of the previous supposition: "During that memorable enterprize," observes the Doctor, in reference to the Chevalier's progress in the neighbouring island, "Mr. O'Conor and his friends thought it adviseable to see each other but seldom. Frequent meetings might give rise to frequent calumny; and suspicion was so much awake, that every thing, but perfect solitude, might be construed into combination: he therefore mixed with no society, though frequently applied to, by letters and personal solicitations. . . . . 'Over us,' says he, in a letter to Dr. Dignam, 'there is a storm gathering, which is likely to involve us all indiscriminately, in one common calamity; God help us, when it bursts; for my part, I am endeavouring to prepare myself for the worst, and cautioning my friends to do the same. *I have not seen the face of a clergyman these three weeks, and I know not what is become of our Bishop.*' . . . . It was apprehended at this time," adds Dr. O'Conor, "that the flames of civil war would spread themselves throughout England and *Ireland*, as well as Scotland; *when our interests and prejudices are deeply concerned, and our passions involved in a contest, it is not easy to be a frigid spectator.* Besides, this solitude was not spent in idle pursuits; it was the parent of Mr. O'Conor's best works. It was an *otium cum dignitate*, that gave birth to some of his best productions"[f]. Under such circumstances, in the absence of *direct* information on the subject, the Editor would consider

[f] Harris's Life of William III., preface. — Dr. Charles O'Conor's Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the late Charles O'Conor, of Belanagare, Esq., M. R. I. A., pp. 198–200: Dublin, J. Mehain, 49, Essex-street, 1796.

consider it most *likely*, that the Latin version of Colonel O'Kelly's work originated.

As the *Macariæ Excidium*, in its present enlarged or Latin and English shape, may be considered to include a sort of outline of the history of Ireland, from the earliest times to the end of the War of the Revolution, the Editor hopes *that* circumstance, together with the frequent necessity for *double* evidence, or extracts from the writers of *both* sides relative to the many controverted topics occurring in the text, will tend to excuse the length to which his department of the work has run. This length he the more regrets, since it has swelled the volume to a size, which makes it requisite that the narrative by Monsieur Dumont, an officer in Marshal Schonberg's Regiment of Horse, during the campaigns of 1689 and 1690 in Ireland, should be deferred to a future occasion, for publication. But, since the Huguenot Officer's narrative does *not* embrace the concluding campaign of 1691, it was thought better to print Colonel O'Kelly's work, extending to the end of the war as it does, and proportionably annotated as it has been, than that such a work should be less fully illustrated, merely to *make* room for the Williamite narrative, in the same volume.

With regard to other matters, the Editor would wish to correct here an error into which he was led at Note 142, p. 362, by stating, from an English publication, the day and year of the Duchess of Tyrconnell's death in Dublin, as March 12th, 1731; the real period of that Lady's decease being mentioned, on better authority, as March 6th, 1730[g]. In Note 64, p. 254, also, the Editor's observation as to the three Bulls of Pope Alexander III., pp. 255–262, and pp. 501–504, not having been employed by Irish *historians* to illustrate the important event with which those documents are so prominently connected, was written when such was literally the case, although they have been since

[g] Mason's History and Antiquities of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Notes, p. 1: Dublin, 1820.

since noticed, and printed in Ireland. The Editor would likewise refer to the *Errata* for a correction of some mistakes in the printing of those Bulls, as from the version of the Fœdera; which mistakes were owing, amongst other circumstances, to illness on his part, at the time for going to press. And, with respect to errors in the references from Note to Note, he would, for obvious reasons, *particularly* point the reader's attention to the emendation of the few which have occurred, or the following:—

At page 175, for "See Notes 15, 16, 29, 32," read "See Notes 15, 16, 32." At page 195, for "See Notes 90 and 113," read "See Note 91." At page 278, for "Compare Note 64, p. 259, and Note 279, *passim*," read "Compare Note 64, p. 259, and Note 281, *passim*." At page 318, for "See Note 57, pp. 233–234, and Note 220, *passim*," read "See Note 57, pp. 233–234, and Note 120, *passim*."

The Editor feels much pleasure in acknowledging the kindness, with which, for this edition of Colonel O'Kelly's work, as well as on other occasions, during the last ten years, he has been allowed access to the valuable MSS. of Trinity College, by the Rev. James Henthorn Todd. To Messrs. John O'Donovan and Eugene Curry, he is also thankful for such information concerning the Celtic department of our national literature, as he considered it necessary to consult them upon.

J. C. O'C.

MEMOIR OF COLONEL CHARLES O'KELLY,

AND HIS DESCENDANTS,

BY THE EDITOR.

CHARLES O'KELLY, the elder son of John O'Kelly, eighth lord of the manor of Screen, County Galway, by Isma, daughter of Sir William Hill, of Ballybeg, County Carlow, was born at the Castle of Screen, in 1621. His origin was one of the most ancient and honourable in his native province; he being the thirty-ninth in descent from *Maine Mor*, or *the Great*, first conqueror, in the fifth century, of the Firbolgs and Attacots, in the extensive territory hence styled "Hy-Many," and subsequently "O'Kelly's Country;" the Princes or Chieftains of which, from that period, ranked among the most considerable in Ireland. Young Charles, as a Roman Catholic, was sent, for his education, to St. Omer, in the Netherlands, then forming part of the dominions of the Spanish monarchy. Of the able tuition, at that time existing there, he took every advantage. His progress was extensive in the knowledge of the *belles lettres;* in addition to the Irish, English, Latin, and Greek tongues, he became acquainted with the Flemish, Spanish, French, and Italian languages; and was already remarkable for that enthusiastic love of country, which gained him the designation of the Irish patriot. The great

civil war breaking out in Ireland in the autumn of 1641, he was summoned home to join the royal cause; on which side, his father acquired the rank of Colonel; distinguished himself by his services during the contest, under the Marquisses of Ormonde and Clanricarde; and suffered, in consequence, under the revolutionary interregnum, or usurpation, till the Restoration; when he was specially decreed, under the Act of Settlement, all the estate to which he was entitled, either by possession or reversion, before the commencement of the disturbances in 1641. Young Charles, after returning to Ireland in 1642, obtained the command of a troop of horse under the Marquis of Ormonde; and signalized himself in the royal army on various occasions, while the war lasted there. On the ultimate success of the Parliamentarians, or Cromwellians, he retired with a body of 2000 of his countrymen into the Spanish dominions, to serve Charles II., as he had previously served his father. Thence, on hearing that the King was in France, he repaired, with most of the officers and soldiers belonging to that corps, who were formed into a regiment, which he was appointed to command. Upon the conclusion, between Cardinal Mazarin and Oliver Cromwell, of the treaty of alliance against Spain, in consequence of which the banished royal family of England were obliged to quit France, Colonel Charles O'Kelly, with other gallant and loyal exiles, transferred his services to the crown of Spain, as that power in whose territory their Sovereign had to seek protection. There the Colonel remained till the reinstatement of the monarchy in Great Britain and Ireland in 1660; when, says my authority, "he came into *England*, and was always highly esteemed for his Learning, Loyalty, and great Services, both at home and abroad." By the decease of his father, Colonel John O'Kelly, in 1674, he succeeded to the family estate (so fortunately saved from the general landed spoliation of the older Irish proprietors under the Act of Settlement), and became ninth lord of the manor of Screen.

In the reign of King James II., when the ancient gentry of the country, of Milesian, and Anglo-Norman, or old English origin, as opposed to the "settlers" of the recent revolutionary or Cromwellian "plantation," were the general objects of royal favour and promotion, we find the Colonel's brother, John of Clonlyon, mentioned as High Sheriff of the County of Roscommon in 1686. The Colonel himself appears as one of the twenty-four Burgesses of the reformed or remodelled Corporation of Athlone in November, 1687, as his brother, John, likewise seems to have been, under the enrolment of "John *Oge* O'Kelly," or

John

John O'Kelly *the young*, in contradistinction to his *elder* brother, Charles. When the Revolution took place in England and Scotland the following year, the cause of King James was supported by Colonel Charles O'Kelly and his family, in the same manner, that he and his father had formerly adhered to the cause of His Majesty's father and brother, Kings Charles I. and Charles II. In the Parliament summoned in Dublin in 1689, by King James, after his flight from England to France, and landing in Ireland, Colonel Charles O'Kelly sat as Member for the County, and his brother, John, as Member for the Borough, of Roscommon. The Colonel was commissioned, in the summer of the same year, to levy a regiment of infantry for the King's service, to be commanded by himself, with his brother John, as his Lieutenant-Colonel; and the Colonel's only son, Denis, joined the cavalry of the Irish army, in the regiment of Pierce Butler, Lord Galmoy[a]. The infantry regiment of Colonel O'Kelly, however, was not long kept up; though we find him serving the King with the rank of Colonel, and his brother, John, with that of Lieutenant-Colonel. Lord Mountcashel's force, sent against the Enniskilliners, being routed at Newton-Butler, July 31st; the blockade of Derry being likewise raised by the royal army; and Sligo, in consequence of a false rumour, and the panic connected with these reverses, being not long after abandoned; the Enniskilliners seized that place by a detachment under Lieutenant-Colonel Gore, and made it their frontier post, for hostilities against the King's adherents in Connaught. Colonel O'Kelly, from his age, (he was then sixty-eight), and his former services in Ireland and on the Continent, was reckoned the best officer for undertaking the defence of that province, and directed by Brigadier Patrick Sarsfield to oppose the enemy there, with such a force of the country *militia* as could be collected; the King then requiring the national *army*, under himself, to be as strong as possible, in order to stop the march of Marshal Schonberg, from the North, towards Dublin. The Colonel accordingly advanced towards Boyle; which, for some time, rendered the enemy rather apprehensive of being attacked in Sligo, than desirous of acting offensively towards the South. On September 19th, however, the famous Enniskillen Colonel, Thomas Lloyd, marched from Sligo, over the Curlew mountains, with a select party of cavalry and infantry, and, next morning, about sunrise, falling, in a fog,

[a] Erroneously called, elsewhere, the regiment of Lord *Galway;* that young nobleman's regiment having been only one of foot, and Lord *Galmoy's* one of horse.

fog, upon Colonel O'Kelly's force in front of Boyle, overthrew them with considerable loss. Colonel O'Kelly, on the rout of his foot, escaped with his horse, which were pursued about seven miles; and the enemy, amongst their booty, obtained the Colonel's portmanteau, with a letter from Brigadier Sarsfield, which was forwarded by Colonel Lloyd to Marshal Schonberg, at Dundalk. Nevertheless, the campaign in Connaught was terminated, on the Jacobite side, by Brigadier Sarsfield's recovering Sligo, and completely clearing that province of the enemy; "thō commanded," observes King James, "by Coll. Russell the German, and Coll: LLoyd, whom they called their *little Cromwel.*"

From this period of the Irish war, we find no mention made of Colonel O'Kelly, or any of his family, until the battle of Aughrim, in July, 1691; at which engagement, his son, Denis, then a Captain in Lord Galmoy's regiment of cavalry, had a horse shot under him. Galway soon after surrendering to the Williamite forces under Baron de Ginkell, and Brigadier Sir Henry Belasyse being appointed Governor of that town, the Brigadier's attention was directed to the reduction of the Isle of Bofin, off the western coast, then held with a garrison for King James by Colonel Timothy Royrdan (or O'Royrdan[b]) as its Governor. The Capitulation took place August 20th, and of the Articles, signed the 19th, the third specifies, "That the Governour, Officers, and Souldiers of the said Garison, the Lord Athenree, *Lieutenant Colonel John Kelly*, and all the Inhabitants of the said Island, shall possess and enjoy their Estates, Real and Personal, as they held, or ought to have held, under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, or otherways by the Laws of this Kingdom, freely discharged from all Crown-Rents, Quit-Rents, and all other Charges, to the Date hereof:" &c. And, in the ninth of these Articles, it is stated, with reference to a due ratification of them, that there were "given *Lieutenant Colonel John Kelly* and Captain Richard Martin, as Security." Meanwhile Brigadier O'Donnell, who commanded the principal Jacobite force in north-western Connaught, had been carrying on a private negociation with the Williamite government; which, however, from various circumstances, became known to those, from whom he was preparing to desert. Colonel Charles O'Kelly, who was appointed to guard a strong Castle near

[b] Otherwise O'Reardan. By the second, fifth, and sixth Articles of the Capitulation, the Irish Governor and garrison of Bofin were to have liberty to proceed, with the honours of war, arms, and baggage, to Limerick. There was a Count O'Reardan in France, as late as 1842.

near Lough-glin, on the way to Sligo, met O'Donnell just before he concluded the contemplated treaty, and earnestly endeavoured to dissuade him from it. But O'Donnell, having obtained his terms, and made his arrangements, with about 1200 of his troops, first joined 800 of the Williamite militia from Ulster, and then Lieutenant-General Arthur Forbes, Earl of Granard, with 5000 more Williamite militia, and a train of artillery from Leinster, that were commissioned to reduce old Sir Teague O'Regan in Sligo. On the march of such a large force of the enemy towards that place, Colonel O'Kelly had consequently to surrender his post, about September 9th; and proceeded to Limerick, which Baron de Ginkell was then besieging.

The Colonel arrived there in time to give council, which, if acted upon, would, to all appearances, have saved the town. The enemy's attack on the place, only from *one* side of the Shannon, had availed them nothing; and, to prevent any passage by them to the opposite or Clare side, Brigadier Clifford was duly stationed there, with a strong out-guard; while the Irish horse-camp, under Major-General Sheldon, was sufficiently near to reinforce that out-guard, in case of an alarm. Colonel O'Kelly, however, having *no* confidence in Clifford, on the morning of September 15th, warned Lord Lucan, either to assume himself the command where Clifford was, or else to intrust that post to Major-General Wauchop. This well-timed warning was, from some fatality in the matter, neglected; and, accordingly, through the misconduct of Clifford apprehended by the Colonel, the enemy were *not* interrupted during the night in making such dispositions for crossing, that they were over the river next morning! Notwithstanding the further unfortunate results of the advantage thus gained by the enemy, the Colonel was still for holding out; *his* motto being: "CONSTANCY, NO CAPITULATION, AND CONFIDENCE IN GOD!" But, to use the words of Count O'Kelly Farrell: "The Almighty's *fiat* had been issued; the House of Stuart had been doomed to cease, like so many others; immoralities were to have their chastisements, as was afterwards the case with the Bourbons; and Ireland was destined to undergo a new political phase, of which Providence alone has the secret."

When negociations were commenced, it was proposed by Lord Lucan, and the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Tuam, that Colonel O'Kelly, then in the horse-camp, and in whom his party reposed so much confidence, should be sent for, and consulted about managing the treaty. But, it being objected,

by

by those of opposite sentiments to the Colonel, that, if he came, there would be no agreement, the proposal was *not* acted upon. After the conclusion of the Treaty of Limerick, the veteran retired to his family residence at Aughrane, or Castle-Kelly, where, entirely separated from public affairs, he devoted the remaining years of his life to literature and religion.

His first work appears to have been the *Macariæ Excidium*, since, we are informed, it was written as a sketch of the War of the Revolution in Ireland, and soon after its termination, lest, at his advanced period of life (he being in his seventieth year when that contest ended), death might prevent him leaving the fuller narrative on the subject, which he intended[c]. The *Macariæ Excidium* is *not*, according to a supposition respecting it, the work of a *Privy Councillor* of King James II.; in no list of whose Irish *Privy Council* is the Colonel's name to be found. Hence, it necessarily contains several statements and opinions with reference to that Monarch, and his Viceroy, the Duke of Tyrconnell, as well as other members of the King's government, which require to be checked and corrected by such official documents and personal memorials as we have of that government, and of those who formed a portion of it. It might also be wished, with respect to the *Macariæ Excidium*, that, as a work on a military period, its contents had been more of a military, and less of a political, nature. But, considered on the whole, or as intended to be a brief, yet general, outline of the War of the Revolution from one belonging to the race, religion, and cause with which its author was connected, the *Macariæ Excidium* may be safely pronounced, a contribution to the history of that period, for which we have reason to be grateful to Colonel O'Kelly.

The Colonel's second historical work, long preserved in the French branch of the race of O'Kelly, or that of O'Kelly Farrell, was known among the family as "*The O'Kelly Memoirs.*" The volume containing them was in existence down to the French Revolution under Louis XVI.; when it was in the possession

[c] It may be observed here, in reference to a notion which has existed, as to the Colonel having written his work originally in *Irish*, that Mr. O'Donovan, whose opinion, on a question of the kind, may be regarded as decisive, thinks, from the whole internal evidence of the work, such could *not* have been the case. The idea, too, of its having been "written originally in *Syriac*," or (according to the meaning of the word, as explained in the key) the *French* language, would only appear to have been adopted, as a portion of the general mystery connected with the production. The reasons for this mystery, those acquainted with the history of Ireland, for a long period after the Treaty of Limerick, will sufficiently understand.

possession of Count John James O'Kelly Farrell, then Minister Plenipotentiary from that Monarch to the Elector of Mayence; but was unfortunately lost in the disturbances of that disastrous period. These Memoirs are stated to have embraced a narrative of the two wars in Ireland, in which the author served, or the Parliamentarian and Cromwellian war which commenced in 1641, as well as the subsequent War of the Revolution; and, so far as can be judged from the copies, yet preserved, of the key to the real names of the characters introduced in the work, or "*Clef pour l'intelligence des Mémoires du Colonel Charles O'Kelly de Skryne, sur les guerres d'Irlande, de* 1641 *et suivans, et de* 1689 *et suivans,*" the Memoirs gave a fuller description of the latter contest, than the account in the *Macariæ Excidium.* This would appear by the key containing appellations for several characters connected with the events leading to that contest, and for others who took part in it; which characters are not named at all in the *Macariæ Excidium.* Thus, we have "Bellosis" for Lord Belasys; "Clarindus" for Lord Clarendon; "Damathus" for Lord Sunderland; "Dorus" for Lord Dover; "Locrus" for Lord Rochester; "Lucretus" for Colonel Henry Luttrell; "Maurius" for the Duke of Monmouth; "Meleander" for the Roman Catholic Primate of Ireland, Dr. Dominick Macguire; "Micanor," or "Nicanor" for Colonel Nicholas Purcell, Baron of Loughmoe; "Petrarcha" for Father Petre, the Jesuit; "Symonidossa" for the Honourable Colonel Simon Luttrell, of Luttrell's-town[d]. From this circumstance, and those previously mentioned, it would seem Colonel O'Kelly at first only wrote the *Macariæ Excidium*, in order that some account, though it were but an epitome, of the war, on the Jacobite side, might remain from his pen, ere he died: but that, when he lived longer than he had expected, he treated the subject more fully, in the Memoirs which have unfortunately been lost. And this last account, as the larger one, very probably contained details, in military matters, which would tend to lessen what has been complained of as the comparative deficiency of such, in the *Macariæ Excidium.*

Colonel Charles O'Kelly died at Aughrane, now Castle Kelly, in 1695, aged about seventy-four; leaving such a character for learning, patriotism, bravery, loyalty, and piety, as reflects honour on his memory.

The Colonel had by his wife, Margaret O'Kelly (daughter of Teige O'Kelly, Esq.,

[d] Could Colonel O'Kelly have derived the idea of writing his history, under fictitious names, from Dryden's famous "Absolom and Achitophel"?

Esq., of Gallagh, County Galway), but one son, Denis; already mentioned, as a Captain of Horse in the Irish army, at the battle of Aughrim. Both the father and the son having been in Limerick when the Treaty took place, and the family estate being consequently preserved, the Captain, on his father's decease, became tenth lord of the manor of Screen. Under a suspicion of planning to restore the House of Stuart, on which was founded a charge of high treason, he was, in the reign of George I., committed to the Tower of London, July 30th, 1722; but, by an order from the Privy Council, was admitted to bail, May 26th, 1723; and appearing on his recognizance, was finally discharged the 28th of November following.

Captain Denis O'Kelly intermarried with the ennobled branch in Ireland of the old Norman name of Bellew, whose leading representatives, like those of his own race, were distinguished supporters of King James II. in the War of the Revolution. Walter, second Lord Bellew, by his Lady, Frances Arabella, eldest daughter of Sir William Wentworth, North-gate Head, Wakefield, Yorkshire, sister to the Earl of Strafford, and Maid of Honour to Mary of Este, Queen of James II., had two daughters. To the elder of these, Lady Mary Bellew, Captain Denis O'Kelly was married, November 1st, 1702. Her fortune was £16,000; so that, between it and his estate, he was in opulent circumstances. By this union, he had three children, viz., a son and two daughters. The son, Thomas, was born in January, 1704, and died in June, 1709. Of the two daughters, Frances Arabella was baptized March 6th, 1703, and died November 2nd, 1733, unmarried; and Anne, born in September, 1717, died in February, 1722.

Frances Arabella was a correspondent of our illustrious patriot, Dr. Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, in whose works several of her letters are preserved. She is thus spoken of by Lady Betty Germain, writing from England to the Dean, January 11th, 1731–2: "Miss Kelly was a very pretty girl when she went from hence, and the beaux shewed their good taste by liking her." She is alluded to by Sir Walter Scott, as having had great reason to complain of her father, from his being attached to low intrigues and dissipation. On this head, she writes, from Bristol, July 8th, 1733, to the Dean: "The unhappy life of a near relation must give one a pain, in the very repeating it, that cannot be described. For, surely, to be the daughter of a Colonel Chartres, must, to a rational being, give the greatest anxiety; * * * * * *
* * * * * * * * * * * * In short,
dear Sir,

dear Sir, I have been fool enough to let such things make an impression on me, which, spite of a good constitution, much spirits, and using a great deal of exercise, has brought me to what I am. Were I without a mother (I mean, had I lost her in my infancy, and not known her goodness,) I could still better have borne the steps that were taken; but, while I saw how lavish he was upon his dirty * * * * * * *, I had frequent accounts, that my mother was half-starved abroad. She brought him £16,000 fortune, and, having borne severe usage for near 20 years, had resolution enough to part with him, and chose to take £250 *per annum*, separate maintenance, rather than bear any longer; and, as she could not live here upon such an income, she has banished herself, and lives retired, in a country town in France."

Captain Denis O'Kelly's last surviving child, who gives this dark picture of his domestic character, only outlived the writing of this letter till the ensuing November, when she died in her thirty-first year, of a consumption, connected with the melancholy effects, on *her* mind, of *his* bad and disgraceful course of life. The Captain's own decease taking place in 1740, the family of the author of the *Macariæ Excidium*, in the male line, became extinct. The estate and residence of Colonel Charles O'Kelly reverted, in consequence, to the son of his brother John, of Clonlyon, the Lieutenant Colonel previously mentioned; and, through this branch of the name, they have descended, in our time, to Denis Henry Kelly, Esq., of Castle Kelly[e].

J. C. O'C.

[e] The authorities for the above Memoir, besides the leading contemporary publications, or other historical works, relating to the subject, and already cited in the "Notes and Illustrations," have been the following: I. The *Macariæ Excidium* itself, with notes and keys to the names contained in the various MSS., from which the text of the present edition has been drawn. II. The biographical notice of the Author's family, among the Irish genealogies annexed to the English translation of Keating's History of Ireland, published in 1723. III. Mr. O'Donovan's valuable edition, from the Book of Lecan, of the tract entitled, "*The Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many, commonly called O'Kelly's Country.*" IV. A brief Memoir of Colonel Charles O'Kelly, by Count O'Kelly Farrell. V. A copy of the letter of Colonel Thomas Lloyd to Marshal Schonberg, on the affair at Boyle, September 20th, 1689. This document discountenances several statements on the matter, which, from the version of it, inserted, at the time, in the *London Gazette*, No. 2494, were first circulated through these islands, next reprinted over the Continent, and have thus passed, from writer to writer, as Irish *history*, to the present day.

Macariæ Excidium;

OR, THE

DESTRUCTION OF CYPRUS;

Containing

The last Warr and Conquest of that *Kingdom*.
Written originally in *Syriac* by PHILOTAS PHYLOCYPRES.
Translated into *Latin* by GRATIANUS RAGALLUS, P. R.

And now Made into English

By

Colonel CHARLES O KELLY.

Anno Domini

1692.

GRATIANUS RAGALLUS, P.R.

Health to the Reader.

IN my youthfull Travailes in *Asia*, I mett an old Manuscript in the *Syrian* Language, containing a brief History of the last War and Conquest of *Cyprus*, which I brought along with me, and laid it up among my Books, without takeing further Notice of it at that Time; untill now of late I begann to consider that some of our present Transactions here in *Europe* seem to carry noe

Europe.

Ireland.

PRÆFATIO.

CUM *Asiam* olim adolescens peragrarem, more humani ingenii novitatis avidus et juvenili cupiditate incensus vetusta rerum monumenta locosque famâ celebratos cognoscendi, in antiquum forte manuscriptum incidi vulgari *Syrorum* linguâ exaratum, in quo brevis sed accurata narratio continebatur supremi illius ac funesti belli, quo universa *Cyprus* eversa atque in hostium potestatem redacta est; eumque mecum nec mole gravem nec lectu injucundum in Patriam denuo revertens attuli, atque in Musæo, reliquos inter libros, absque ulteriori sub id tempus curâ, indiligenter reposui. At nunc demum seriò mecum revolventi, et crebris cogitationibus subinde retractanti, quantâ affinitate nuperæ in

small Resemblance with severall Passages in that History, which gave me the Curiosity to translate it out of *Syriac* into the *Latin* Tongue, and perhaps I had the Vanity to believe that my Labour would not be ungratefull to others, and especially to you, courteous Reader, to whom I now present it.

Colonel Charles O'Kelly.

2. The Author was *Phylotas*, for the singular Love he bore his Country comonly called *Philo-Cypres*. His Extraction by the Father of an antient *Cyprian* Family, and by the Mother of an old *Cilician* Race, made him equally concerned for both; and his being an Eyewitness of the most memorable Actions happening in the Island of *Cyprus* in his own Time, renders the Authority of his Writeing unquestionable. He compiled this short Treatis soon after the Conquest of his Country and in his old Age, least the Fates by cutting of the Thread of his Life might disable him to leave the more copious Relation to Posterity, as he designed.

Irish.

English.

Ireland.

Europa res nonnullos historiæ illius casus exitusque contingerent, ingens cupido incessit eam e *Syriaco* Latinum in sermonem vertendi, eoque seu veræ seu vanæ spei processi, ut suscepto hoc labore, facturum me aliis operæ pretium arbitrarer, nec tibi, Amice Lector, rem ingratam, cujus tum judicio tum favori hoc qualecumque munus offertur.

2. Authorem habuit *Philotam*, ob magnam suam in Patriam charitatem *Philo-Cypren* vulgo nominatum: paternum genus e vetustissimo *Galamidarum* sanguine, maternum a *Cilicibus* exortum, æquo propinquitatis jure utrorumque rebus devinxit: cumque ipse casus omnes memoratu maxime dignos quibus *Cyprus* ea tempestate nobilitata est, oculis usurpaverit, eorumque eventuum, qui aut gloriam apud posteros, aut infamiam mererentur, præsens testis fuerit, scriptis eum suis, indubitatæ veritatis authoritatem acquisivisse par est. Hanc Epitomen vergentibus jam in senium annis, et sub luctuosum illud Patriæ excidium composuit, ne inclementi fatorum lege præreptus majùs et uberius opus, quod animo meditabatur, posteritatis memoriæ commendare non posset.

[Milesianorum.]

3. He was bred in his younger Yeares in that part of *Lycia* which owned the *Egyptian* Power, and consequently retained the Worship of *Delphos*, where He studied Rethoric under the famous Professor of Eloquence, *Verulenus*, in whose learned School it was a common Practice to extoll the Worth, and celebrate the Memory of those brave Heros of former Times, who generously postponed all that could be dear to them in this world to the Glory and Welfare of theire Country: and this, being often inculcated by the renowned Master, wrought a virtuous Emulation in his Disciples to imitate the Example of those great Men, but particularly left such a deep Impression in the Soul of *Philotas*, that it could never be rooted out, haveing retained it to his dyeing Day, alwaies preferring the Interest of his Country (next to the true Worship of the immortal Gods) before all other considerations; and tho' he wanted

The Netherlands. Spanish. Rome.

Col. C. O'Kelly.

3. Teneræ ætatis studia ea *Lyciæ* pars excepit fovitque, quæ incorrupto semper cultu *Delphicæ* religionis sacris operabatur; ubi oratoriam artem hausit, sub laudatissimo illo celeberrimoque eloquentiæ Magistro Veruleno: cujus in auditorio quotidianæ illæ et usitatissimæ ingeniorum exercitationes proponebantur, quibus sublimis et erecta magnorum virorum indoles, Heroumque illustria gesta antiquorum laudibus efferebantur, qui bona sua, fortunas, sanguinem, quidquid denique aut charum aut pretiosum erat Patriæ unius honori et incolumitati consecravêre. Cumque hæc ac talia crebris disertissimi Præceptoris vocibus Discipulorum auribus animisque instillarentur, vehementissimo ardore succensi sunt, ad eorum imitanda exempla, quorum facta demirabantur: at præ aliis æmulandæ virtutis cupido tam altas egit radices in tenero adhuc *Philotæ* animo, ut ad extremum vitæ halitum duraverit; nec ullâ unquam aut vi aut metu evelli extirparique potuerit: adeo ut, secundum Deorum immortalium cultum, Patriæ utilitati, quidquid vel formidare poterat, vel sperare, semper posthabuerit: et quanquam collabentis ruinas Insulæ,

Power to prevent the fatall Conquest (for which noe Man could be more sensibly afflicted), he had, however, this Comfort in the common Calamity, to make it appear to the World, even by this brief Epitome, that the Loss of *Cyprus* cannot be justly imputed to the Cowardice or Infidelity of the Natives, but rather to the wrong Politicks of a weak Prince influenceing some of the Noblemen and Chief Officers, whilst the generality of the *Cyprians* wanted neither Resolution nor Courage to defend their dear Country, and, what they held much more dear, the Religion of their Ancestors.

Ireland.

Irish.

eversasque domos suis humeris sustentando non esset, (quarum calamitatum non alteri acrior sensus insedit) eo tamen illi solatio publicas inter ærumnas frui licuit, quod hac succinctâ rerum gestarum relatione orbi terrarum palam fecerit, amissæ *Cypri* infortunia Incolarum nec timiditati nec perfidiæ imputanda esse, sed miseri Principis potius imprudentiæ atque imbecillitati, factiosisque quorundam nobilium et belli Ducum divisionibus: cum interim *Cypria* in universum gens, nec consilio careret, nec animis, ad charæ tecta Patriæ, laresque, longeque chariorem Majorum Religionem opibus ac sanguine asserendum.

THE

DESTRUCTION OF CYPRUS.

NOT yet had Imperial Rome triumphed over every quarter of the globe, not yet had the Roman eagles, with victorious wings, cast their shadow over the humbled universe, when Prince *Rugeses*, having raised a mighty host, proceeded from his royal home of *Cyprus* to invade *Pamphilia;* nor, sooner had he done so, than by his martial skill, his royal virtues, and the suavity of his demeanor, he so conciliated its inhabitants, and established his power by the introduction of colonies from *Cyprus*, that his new dominion became perfectly consolidated (so great

Fergus.

Ireland. Scotland.

Ireland.

EXCIDIUM MACARIÆ.

NONDUM urbs, rerum Domina, diversa mundi latera triumphando continuerat, Romanæ nondum Aquilæ victricibus pennis domitum collustraverant orbem, cum *Rugeses* e domo *Cypri* regnatrice Princeps, valido exercitu comparato, *Pamphiliam* invasit: quam mox simul armorum vi, simul virtutibus aliis plane regiis, Incolarum animos mirâ suavitate conciliantibus, sub potestatem redegit; deducendisque subinde e *Cypro* coloniis, atque evocandis

was the influx of his native subjects), and it remained a stable and assured possession to himself and his posterity.

Jas. I. Fergus. 2. When many a year had passed, King *Amasis*, of the race of *Rugeses*, held, in right of his mother, the sway over the neighbouring, and then England. Irish. flourishing, kingdom of *Cilicia*. On his accession, the *Cypriotes*, who, in the assertion of their liberties, had, both before his days and after, English. been involved in perpetual war with the *Cilicians*, when they saw on the throne a Monarch of their own race and blood, at once unhesitatingly submitted to their compatriot.

James I. 3. Moreover, *Amasis*, in the peaceable possession of his three king- England. Scotland. Ireland. Europe. doms of *Cilicia*, *Pamphilia*, and *Cyprus*, was looked upon as one of the most powerful princes of *Asia*, and had the happiness of uninterrupted tranquillity, to add to the stability of his throne; having escaped being involved in the costly and acrimonious conflict which then raged between France. Spain. *Syria* and *Egypt*, and which, like a general conflagration, had enve- Europe. Asia. loped almost all the princes and peoples of *Asia* and of *Africa*.

Chas. I. Jas. I. 4. *Pythagoras*, the son of *Amasis*, succeeded on his father's death; France. but was connected with *Syria*, having married its Sovereign's sister. Scotch. The commencement of his reign was prosperous enough, till the *Pam-*

suæ gentis hominibus, novum hoc regnum, ita popularium suorum multitudine firmavit, ut inibi stabilem certamque sibi atque posteris suis sedem fixerit.

2. Multis deinde circumactis annis, Rex *Amasis* e *Rugesis* stirpe vicinum, et, prout tunc res erant, florentissimum *Ciliciæ* regnum materno jure occupavit. Unde *Cyprii*, qui perpetuis ante, sibique succedentibus bellis, propugnandæ libertatis ergo, *Cilicas* infestabant; cum jam sanguinis atque originis suæ regem apud illos imperitantem spectarent, absque ullâ detractatione, Gentili utique suo sese subdiderunt.

3. Porro *Amasis* trium *Ciliciæ*, *Pamphiliæ*, et *Cypri* regnorum, sine cæde et sanguine potitus, inter potentissimos *Asiæ* reges ferebatur, et diuturnitati imperii perpetuæ pacis felicitatem adjecit, bellorum expers, quæ summis opibus, nec minoribus odiis *Syriam* inter *Ægyptumque* ea tempestate ita flagrabant, ut omnes propemodum *Asiæ* atque *Africæ* populi Principesque eo, velut publico, incendio involverentur.

4. *Pythagoras* filius *Amasi* successit, affinitate *Syrorum*, regis Sorore, post excessum Patris, in uxorem ductâ, et sub initia novi principatus, satis pros-

philians and *Cilicians*, a race always given to rebellion and innovation, as if suddenly stung by a gadfly, put all in confusion, by their outbreaks and commotions against their unwarlike sovereign. These disturbances commenced on the part of the *Pamphilians*, who suspected the King of wanting to subvert the worship of the heavenly powers, as lately reconstructed, but which they asserted was not at variance with the ancient religious usages practised in *Pamphilia*, and which had been superseded by the comparatively modern rites in use in *Amasis's* youth, but which the *Delphic High Priest* condemned as heretical and corrupt.

English. Scotch. Presbyterianism. Scotland. Reformed Episcopacy. Jas. I. Roman Pontiff.

5. Suddenly, however, as the discord seemed to have arisen between *Pythagoras* and the *Pamphilians*, no less suddenly did it seem to subside; for, when he went to *Selucia*, the chief city of the kingdom, he was met by an immense concourse of all ranks and classes, who there received him, placed him on the throne of his ancestors, and crowned him with all solemnity.

Charles. Scotch. Edinburgh.

6. On his return to *Cilicia*, however, he gave offence to the *Tarsensian* Senate, who made much the same complaints of him that the *Pamphilians* had done before, accusing him of opposing the religion, not long previously established by Queen *Eleusina*. And they entered into

England. Parliament at London. Scotch. Elizabeth.

pero rerum eventu felix; donec *Pamphilii Cilicesque*, infidum regnantibus et novarum rerum avidissimum genus, subito velut œstro concitati, repentinis motibus, bellorumque in Regem sanè innoxium, tumultu omnia perturbavere. Principium turbarum a *Pamphiliis* ortum: Regem suspectabant, tanquam novis ritibus, patrium ac receptum nuper Deorum cultum immortalium subvertere niteretur, non abhorrentibus (id saltem obtentui erat) a vetusto sacrorum more in *Pamphilia* olim usitato, sed recentibus ceremoniis abolito, quæ *Amasi* adhuc puero invaluerant; at a *Delphico Antistite* pravæ utpote corruptæque damnabantur.

5. Sed discordiæ *Pythagoram* inter *Pamphiliosque*, ut citò exarsisse, ita subitò resedisse videbantur; quippe adventantem frequentissimo omnium ordinum concursu *Seleuciam*, urbem regni primariam, deduxere, ibique avito solio receptum, solemni ritu insignitum Diademate inaugurarunt.

6. Porrò cum in *Ciliciam* denuò remeasset, *Tarsensem* Senatum haud multum diversis implicantem se consiliis offendit, nec absimili *Pamphiliorum* pretextu, tanquam religionem oppugnatum iret, quam *Eleusina* Regina non ita

Scotch.

Protestant Religion. M. Luther.

a covenant with the *Pamphilians,* to unite their counsels and forces in defence of the *Martanensian* faith (so called from a certain *Martan*, the heresiarch of this modern sect); and at length appeared in overt arms against him.

Charles I.

English. Scotch.

Lesley.

English Parliament.

7. These civil commotions, which were carried on with various alternations of success and discomfiture, at length proved fatal to *Pythagoras;* for, when experience had convinced him that he was no longer able to cope with his *Cilician* and *Pamphilian* rebels, (having estranged from him those of his subjects on whom he might have relied), he submitted his person and his fortunes to the keeping of these latter. Their leader was quite a new man, with no pretensions to ancestry, and solely raised to his position by his good fortune and his military talent; and he, it is hard to say whether with grosser perfidy or more shameless venality, betrayed the unconscious monarch, never dreaming of such a thing, or rather basely sold him for filthy lucre to the *Cilician* Senate, who (oh, unheard-of crime!) imprisoned in a gloomy cell this best of kings, and having brought him to a public trial, and sentenced him to death, with felon daring, on a lofty scaffold erected for the purpose, publicly, by the hands of a base executioner, cut off that head, once honoured by so many

pridem legibus sanxiverat. Ictis igitur cum *Pamphilio* populo fœderibus, ut communi consilio, et consociatis viribus *Martanesios* ritus defensum irent, (ita a *Martane* quodam, nascentis sectæ principe, nuncupabantur), tandem in apertum bellum erupere.

7. Civiles illi motus, qui alternantibus fortunæ vicibus, varioque exitu protrahebantur, fatales tandem *Pythagoræ* fuerunt; nam cum impares suas vires *Cilicibus Pamphiliisque* rebellibus experiendo comperisset, illos aversatus, horum fidei se suaque permisit, civium utique suorum, et in quibus maximam collocaverat fiduciam. Cui vero summa inter eos armorum potestas commissa, homo novus, et nullis imaginibus clarus, sed prosperâ militiâ, et benignioris favore sortis in altum evectus, dubium majore perfidiâ an avaritiâ fœdiore, *Cilicum* Senatui insontem, et nihil tale suspicantem tradidit, seu potius flagitioso quæstu venumdedit. Illi (facinus ab ævo inauditum!) Regem optimum tetro carcere inclusum, pro tribunali reum peregerunt, damnatumque mortis, nefario ausu in omnium oculis tot adoratum gentibus caput, erecto ad tam ferale spectaculum sublimi pegmate, infami Carnificis manu

nations; and thus, the supreme power being now transferred to the people, the same blow destroyed both king and kingdom.

8. But the *Cyprians*, who had always stood by the royal cause with unshaken fidelity, on the infamous murder of his father, unanimously called *Pythagoras II.* to the throne of *Cyprus*, and, by a public edict, proclaimed, that they would consecrate, to the good cause of maintaining their Sovereign's right, their fortunes, their lives, and all that was most dear to them. For many years, they had sustained the whole brunt of the contest against the united forces of *Pamphilia* and *Cilicia*, until, at length, under *Eumenes*, whom they had made their leader, having been weakened by many previous defeats, they were, by his unhappy generalship, completely overthrown, and defeated with enormous slaughter; and, when at last their cities were all captured, the other fortresses and arsenals of the kingdom all seized, and either razed to the ground or garrisoned by the enemy, when they had no longer troops at home, nor hope of reinforcements from abroad, they reluctantly submitted to their triumphant foe, with courage still vigorous, though broken by misfortunes. The chiefs, however, of the nobles, the flower of the whole army, and many of the privates, stipulated for a free passage across the sea, where they might afford either aid or consolation to their exiled Prince.

Irish.

Charles II. Ireland.

Scotland. England. Owen Roe O'Nial.

demessuerunt, atque ita imperio ad populum devoluto, eodem ictu et Regem et Regnum sustulerunt.

8. At *Cyprii*, qui inconcussâ fide regias semper partes foverant, sublato per scelus Patre, *Pythagoram* secundum, filium, communi omnium ordinum consensu in *Cypri* regem adscivere. Tum publico Edicto suas fortunas, sua corpora, ac pretiosissima quæque, meliori causæ, jurique Principis defensando consecraturos testati, universam belli aleam, totamque armorum molem contra adunatas *Ciliciæ Pamphiliæque* vires annos jam aliquot sustinuere; donec multis tandem accisi cladibus, rebusque retrò sublabentibus, sub *Eumenis*, quem bello præfecerant, inauspicato ductu prælio victi, atque ingenti strage perculsi sunt. Expugnatis demum urbibus, cæterisque regni munitionibus propugnaculisque vi captis, et aut solo æquatis, aut occupatis hostili præsidio, cum nec domi copiæ essent, nec aliunde expectarentur, infracti malis, pervicaces licet, animi, insolenti sese Victori permisere. Præcipui tamen Nobilium, flos omnis exercitus, et virorum robora pepigerunt liberam trans mare profectionem, quo exulanti Principi aut solatio essent aut adjumento.

Irish.

9. And now the *Cyprians*, rallying round their Sovereign from every quarter, although deserted by his other subjects, he soon became an object of dread to his domestic enemies, and was honourably received by foreign nations.

Irish.

10. But, great as was the fidelity of the *Cyprians*, unparalleled in preceding ages, thus voluntarily exchanging for exile every domestic comfort, and every future prospect of prosperity, to the reflecting mind it seemed even more wondrous from the fact, that this very *Pythagoras*, to whose interests they sacrificed their fortunes and the dearest pledges of their love, was then the most determined opponent of the *Delphic* rites, of which the *Cyprians* had ever been the most tenacious and devoted votaries.

Charles II.

Roman Catholic.

Irish.

English Parliament.

Irish.

English.

Charles I.

11. In the mean time, the *Cilician* Senate passed an edict, dividing the estates of those *Cyprians*, who had taken part in the contest, amongst the veteran soldiery and the *Cilician* undertakers, who had advanced money for the war against *Pythagoras I.*

Cromwell.

12. *Atillas*, the General of the rebel forces, having dismissed the Senate, after some affected scruples, seized on the supreme authority, and converted the Commonwealth into a tyranny; nor did he long enjoy the crown his ambition had made him seek, as he died within

9. Jamque confluentibus ex omni terrarum parte *Cypriis*, et Regi se, a reliquis subditorum deserto, circumfundentibus, brevi et ab exteris gentibus coli suspicique, et domesticis hostibus formidabilis esse cæpit.

10. Tanta autem, ac tam omnibus retrò sæculis incognita *Cypriorum* fides, conjugia, patrios lares, parentes, omnem denique futuræ prosperitatis spem voluntario mutantium exilio, eo cogitantibus admirabilior et stupenda magis videbatur, quo *Pythagoras* ille secundus, post quem bona omnia, charissimaque pignora habuerunt, *Delphicorum* Sacrorum, (quorum *Cyprii* ab omni ævo tenacissimi erant et religiosissimi cultores) hostis sub id tempus infensissimus æstimabatur.

11. Interea *Cilicum* Senatus novo decreto *Cypriorum*, quos debellaverant, agros partim veteranis legionibus concessit, partim fæneratores inter *Cilicas*, qui pecuniam in belli adversus *Pythagoram* primum usus expenderant, distribuit.

12. *Attilas*, rebellium copiarum ductor, dimisso Senatu, ejusque auctoritate sublatâ, et affectatâ mox obtenâtque tyrannide rempublicam oppressit: nec diu regnum, ambitione partum, tertium intra annum extinctus, retinuit.

three years. On his decease, so many factious intrigues were set on foot by powerful parties, that the Senate were fairly worn out by such incessant peril, and daily increasing clamor. And they were very possibly alarmed, lest an accommodation might take place between *Syria* and *Egypt*, and that the peace, so long and ardently desired, might be cemented by mutual intermarriages, and prove a source of universal joy to all *Asia;* and that *Pythagoras*, by the aid of the coalition, might assert his right to the throne of his ancestors, and invade their coasts. It was under the influence of these apprehensions, that the *Cilicians* sent a regular embassy, most formally authorized, to call to his father's throne, and the rightful occupation of his hereditary estates, the son of their murdered sovereign.

France. Spain. Europe. Chas. II. English.

13. *Pythagoras* immediately sailed for *Cilicia*, and entered *Tarsus* with his royal brothers, *Amasis* and *Eryces*, in great state, amidst a vast concourse of nobles and people, and festive acclamations from all parts of the assembled multitude. And, in order to recommend the commencement of his restored authority, he published a general pardon of all offences, even murder, with the trifling exception of those who had been led, by their own fanaticism and political rancour, to imbrue their hands in his father's blood. But what excited the liveliest astonishment was, that the

Chas. II. England. London. James and Henry, Dukes of York and Gloucester.

Eo autem jam fatis cedente, tam varia rerum facies, tot potentium factiones, conjurationesque subinde enascebantur, ut Senatus tam crebris et periculosis mutationibus indies gliscentibus defatigatus, forte etiam veritus, ne, rebus jam *Syros* inter *Ægyptiacosque*, optatâ dudum pace, et sociali nuptiarum fœdere, non absque immensâ totius *Asiæ* lætitiâ compositis, externa coalentium regnorum auxilia *Pythagoram* in avitum assertura fastigium, suos fines invaderent. His suspicionibus incitati, commotique *Cilices*, interfecti Regis filium, solemni legatione properè adornatâ, ad hæreditarias possessiones et gentile solium jure capessendum invitavere.

13. *Pythagoras* jam in *Ciliciam* appulsus cum fratribus *Amasi* et *Eryce*, nobilibus populoque in occursum effusis, magnifico apparatu, festisque acclamationibus undique personantibus *Tarsum* intrat. Et quo primordia susceptæ dominationis parcendo maxime commendaret publicam transactorum veniam etiam perduellibus concessit, paucis admodum exceptis, quos fatalis illa temporum rabies, furorque plusquam civilis regio Patris sanguine cruentas manus

Irish.

Cyprians, who had sacrificed, for his sake, their fortunes and their expectations, were excluded from all participation in a munificence, extended even to some of the instigators of his father's murder. And thus it was that, under the sway of *Pythagoras*, they were left to groan under the same disabilities and oppressions, to which the cruel *Atillas* and the rebellious Senate had condemned them, in all the insolence of their power. This was universally looked on, as a most ungrateful return, for such constant loyalty, and unshaken fidelity.

Charles I. Cromwell. Parliament.

Charles II.

14. But *Pythagoras*, immersed in his pleasures, and a slave to his slothful and inglorious indulgence, transferred the grave cares of empire and the weight of public business to a few of his familiars, who, heedless of anything but their private advantage, neglected the public welfare of the kingdom. Nor can any empire stand, and, firmly based, bid defiance to every storm, where justice does not flourish, and, with strict balance, mete to each his due. Five and twenty years did *Pythagoras* reign, and had no issue by the illustrious partner of his bed, though, by his various mistresses, he left a numerous progeny, a burden to the state at the moment, and a fertile source of rebellion for the future. He died, from the effects of a violent illness, not unregretted by the *Martanensians* in particular, who were very much alarmed lest *Amasis*, to whom the

Charles II. Protestants. James II.

inficere adegit. At vero quod stuporem omnium commiserationemque meruit, *Cyprii*, qui, illius ergò, bona et spes suas sus deque habuerant, protensæ ad nonnullos etiam ex paternæ cædis Authoribus clementiæ et liberalitatis exsortes fuerunt: atque adeo *Pythagorâ* rerum potiente iisdem ærumnis et calamitatibus oppressi gemuerunt, quibus illos crudelis *Attilas*, et rebellis impotentiâ Senatus damnaverant. Indignissima sane omnium mortalium judicio, tam constanti animorum affectu, tamque immotâ fide merces.

14. *Pythagoras* autem voluptatibus immersus, et segni atque imbelli otio deditus, in paucos ex familiaribus graves imperii curas et negotiorum molem transtulit, qui privatis utilitatibus inhiantes, publica regni commoda neglexere: quod nunquam stare et primis radicibus niti potest, nisi ubi justitia floret, et equâ lance suum cuique tribuitur. Quinque et viginti annos regnavit *Pythagoras*, nullâ prole susceptâ ex egregia thori Consorte: ex Concubinis verò numerosam sobolem reliquit, regno in præsens gravem, idemque aliquando distracturam: violento morbo correptus obiit, non indefletus, *Marta-*

kingdom rightfully descended, and who had just previously been initiated into the *Delphic* mysteries, might endeavour to restore the former worship of the heavenly powers, and their now nearly obsolete rites, throughout his dominions; a course, most unpopular with the *Cilicians* and *Pamphilians*, amongst whom an erroneous faith had taken deep root, and occupied the place of the discarded truth.

Roman Catholic.

English. Scotch.

15. But *Amasis* took quiet possession of his kingdom without opposition, and with every accustomed ceremony and state, whilst his *Cilician* and *Pamphilian* subjects veiled their suspicions under a simulated and insincere loyalty. But it was with no simulated joy the *Cyprians* exulted, in the assured hope, that their Sovereign, sprung of their own most ancient royal race, tied to them both by blood and by religion, would forthwith restore to the heavenly powers their temples and altars, and also to the natives their properties and estates, of which they had been, for so many years, so unjustly despoiled.

James II.

English.

Scotch.

Irish.

16. Although reflecting persons always deemed the fidelity of the *Martanensians* little to be relied on, they were somewhat checked in embarking in their meditated treason by *Amasis's* not unmerited repu-

Protestants.

James II.

nesiis præsertim, quorum animos non exiguus terror pervaserat, ne *Amasis*, *Pythagoræ* frater, in quem regnum jam haud ambiguo jure cesserat, quique non ita pridem *Delphicis* ritibus initiatus erat, per omnia imperii loca vetustissimos Deorum honores, cultusque jam obsoletos restauratum iret; rem *Cilicibus Pamphiliisque*, apud quos error jamdudum invaluerat et pulsæ successerat veritati, magnopere detestatam et omnium ingratissimam.

15. At *Amasis*, nullo contraveniente, in tranquillam regni possessionem et antiquæ dignitatis fastigium evehitur; *Cilicibus Pamphiliisque* Subditis anxiâ curarum, et suspicaces futurorum animos adsimulatâ et insincerâ alacritate subvelantibus; *Cypriis* vero haud conficto exultantibus affectu; quippe quibus non ambigua spes incesserat, Principem ex antiquissimo *Cypriorum* Regum genere, et sanguinis et Religionis consortem suæ, tum sua Diis immortalibus templa arasque, tum exutæ tot jam annis per injurias genti bona fortunasque post-liminio redonaturum.

16. Quanquam fluxa et instabilis *Martanesiorum* fides jam inde a primordio sana reputantibus censebatur, substitit tamen intra cogitati facinoris voluntatem aliquantisper impietas, recenti nec immeritâ æstimatione egregiæ

tation for uncommon courage, and by the ability he had displayed, in conducting the affairs intrusted to him, during his brother's reign; and considerations of prudence also rendered them less earnest in involving themselves in actual rebellion, as *Amasis*, now fifty years of age, had as yet no issue by his wife, a *Phrygian* of royal blood, who, though yet in the flower of her age, and of an elegant figure, was looked on as incapable of bearing children. His eldest daughter, too, was married to the Prince of *Patara*, who was himself a *Martanensian*, and to whom, on his father-in-law's death, the succession would, of unquestioned right, devolve. But when *Diana* (that was the Queen's name) proved unexpectedly with child, they recurred to their treason in good earnest, and invited *Theodore* (who had retired abroad) to take the place of *Amasis*, when they had forcibly removed him. In the mean time, the Queen's confinement, who, in solemn child-birth, had brought forth a son, gave an additional stimulus to the conspirators, to consummate their long-meditated crime.

James II.

Italian. Mary of Modena.

Princess Mary.

William, Prince of Orange. Protestant.

Mary.

William. Jas. II.

17. In the course of a few days, *Theodore* approached the shores of *Cilicia*, with a well-appointed fleet, but not many troops on board; yet still the number of deserters from the royal camp, which daily joined, quickly rendered him formidable. *Amasis*, bereft of hope by the nume-

William.

England.

James II.

fortitudinis, rerumque ab *Amasi* fraternis auspiciis gestarum, retardata: ad hæc, remissiore curâ apertæ conjurationis consilia distulêre, quia *Amasis* jam quinquagesimum ætatis annum egressus, nullos liberos susceperat ex regiâ *Phrygii* sanguinis Conjuge, quam licet in ipso ævi flore, et formâ haud vulgari, sterilem tamen arbitrabantur. Major præterea Natarum *Theodoro* Principi *Pataræo*, qui et ipse *Martanesius* erat, denupserat, ad quem post Soceri excessum regni jura haud dubiâ successione devolvebantur. Cum vero *Dianam* (Reginæ id nomen erat) ex insperato uterum ferre conspexissent, seriò jam, et summis opibus conjurationem mutavere, et *Theodorum*, quem, spe regni oblatâ, in partes pellexerant, *Amasi* vi exacto sufficere adnixi sunt. Reginæ interim partus, quæ Marem solemni puerperio ediderat, acriores Conjurantibus stimulos ad patrandum jamdiu meditatum facinus subdidit.

17. *Theodorus* paucos intra dies in *Ciliciam* appulit cum instructissimâ navium classe, sed modicis copiis, quas tamen ingens transfugarum numerus e regiis castris indies adfluentium mox adauxit. *Amasis* Proditorum crebris

rous defections from his cause, at length, with great difficulty, barely escaped from his enemies, and sailed for *Syria* with his Queen and infant son, where he was received with royal honors and truly generous hospitality by *Antiochus* the Great, who then reigned over the *Syrians*, who promised to avenge his injuries, and pledged his solemn oath, in presence of his chief nobility, that he would either himself be driven from his throne of *Syria*, or that *Amasis* should be reinstated on his paternal throne of *Cilicia*.

France. Louis XIV. French. France. Jas. II. England.

18. That solemn oath of *Antiochus*, which fame soon spread abroad, and rumour disseminated through the surrounding nations, that he would avenge the wrongs of *Amasis*, induced all the Sovereigns of *Asia* to form a coalition, and they entered into a League against the daily increasing power of a Sovereign, whose might had already become a source of envy and of terror to them all. Having, therefore, mutually pledged themselves to unite their forces, and entered into reciprocal treaties, they publicly declared for *Theodore*, who was forthwith proclaimed King of *Cilicia*, by a Senate elected by his own partisans, in a tumultuary manner; nor did the *Pamphilians* utter any reclamation, induced to follow the same course, either by their terrors, the innate disloyalty of their

Louis XIV. Jas. II. Europe. William. England. Scotch.

defectionibus pænè nudus et exspes, vix tandem ex inimicorum manibus elapsus, in *Syriam* cum conjuge et infante filio enavigavit; ubi ab *Antiocho* illo magno, qui apud *Syros* ea tempestate regnabat, summis honoribus nec impari humanitate acceptus est, injuriarum ultionem pollicente, et coram optimatum præcipuis jurejurando sanctè affirmante, aut se *Syriæ* regno exturbandum aut *Amasim* in paternum *Cilicum* solium restituendum iri.

18. Solemne illud *Antiochi*, quod mox fama vulgaverat, et in vicinas latè gentes rumoribus sparserat, sacramentum, et ad vindicandas illatas *Amasi* injurias propensio omnium *Asiæ* Principum animos in communem belli societatem et mutua fœdera invitaverat, junxeratque adversùs crescentem indies tanti regis potentiam, quæ jam antè invidiæ et terrori cunctis esse cœperat. Junctis itaque dextris et consociatis viribus, publico consilio atque assensu *Theodori* causam amplectuntur, qui statim a Senatu, quem è suæ factionis hominibus tumultuosè delegerat, *Ciliciæ* Rex creatur; non adversantibus *Pamphiliis*, quos aut metus, aut insita genti perfidia, aut nationis denique vicinæ exemplum

Irish. race, or the example of their neighbours. But the *Cyprians*—whose unshaken fidelity neither threats could shake, nor promises corrupt, nor hopes of advantage change—resolved, either to perish in his cause, or restore *Amasis* to his throne; although, whilst his short-lived reign endured, he was deemed as little disposed as his brother, *Pythagoras*, to assert the hereditary rights of the natives, or restore their estates. But, as he professed the *Delphic* religion, and was a zealous supporter of the ancient rites, they resolved to stand by him, with all the power of the nation.

James II. Charles II. Roman Catholic.

Dublin. 19. The Nobles assembled in great numbers at *Salamis*, and tendered to the Viceroy not only the number of soldiers which he had demanded, equipped at their private cost, but every further aid, that either their fortunes or their influence could furnish; although, at that time, they could look for hardly any aid from *Syria*, round which, like an universal deluge, the most potent Princes of *Armenia*, *Cappadocia*, *Lydia*, and *Egypt*, were congregating, on every side, with well-armed hosts. Add to this, the aid which *Theodore* received from many chiefs and republics, sent from their respective countries, not so much from love to him or dislike to *Amasis*, as hoping to stay the victorious course

France. Germany. Sweden. Denmark. Spain. William III. James II.

in partes traxerat. At *Cyprii*, quorum inconcussa fides nec terreri minis nec promissis allici, nec spe secundioris fortunæ mutari poterat, aut meliori causæ immori, aut *Amasim* in regnum reducere statuerunt; quanquam ille per omne non diuturni spacium regni nihilo pronior, quam *Pythagoras* Frater, ad asserenda hæreditaria Incolarum jura, possessionesque restituendas habebatur: Quoniam autem *Delphicis* Religionibus favebat, vetustosque ritus acerrime propugnabat, illi totis regni viribus præstò esse decreverunt.

19. Nobiles ingenti concursu ex universâ Insulâ *Salamina* regni Caput conveniunt: offerunt ultrò Gubernatori quod aut auxilio aut opibus præstare possunt, privatis sumptibus parati, quem jussisset, militum numerum conflare, licet sub idem tempus aut nulla aut modica admodum subsidia a *Syris* sperari poterant, quos publicâ velut eluvione undequaque armis virisque circumfremebant potentissimi *Armeniæ*, *Cappadociæ*, *Lydiæ* et *Ægypti* Reges, ad hæc, multorum Principum Rerumque publicarum excita sedibus suis auxilia, quæ *Theodoro* accesserant; non tam aut in illum studio, aut odio in *Amasim*, quam

of his ally, the King of *Syria*, whose constant good fortune and uninterrupted successes had made him universally dreaded by his neighbour Sovereigns. Louis XIV. France.

20. Even the Sovereign *Pontiff*, the High Priest of the *Delphic* religion, whose sphere was rather peace than war, moved by *Antiochus's* vast success, and not without apprehensions lest such mighty preparations might be meant to strike a blow at the general liberty, joined the League, and took an active part; and a considerable subsidy, which he contributed towards the invasion of *Syria*, was partially applied towards raising troops, to aid in the expulsion of *Amasis* from his kingdom. In this, however, the Sovereign *Pontiff* had no intention of removing from his temporal kingdom the Prince whom he had so lately received into the hope of obtaining an heavenly one; but the artful and ambitious *Theodore* outwitted and persuaded both him and the other Chiefs of the League (concealing, however, his purpose of dethroning his father-in-law, and of transferring the crown to his own brows), that if the affairs of *Cilicia* were once settled, and that nation, so powerful both by land and sea, assured to their side, he would prevail on *Amasis* to join against

The Pope. Roman Catholic. Louis XIV. France. James II. The Pope. William. England. James II.

ut Socium ejus *Syrorum* Regem, quem continuus fortunæ favor, et indefessus Victoriarum cursus vicinis latè formidolosum effecerat, attritis tandem viribus, sisterent, opprimerentque.

20. Quin et Rex ipse Sacrorum, ac summus *Delphicæ* Religionis Antistes, quem æquius erat conciliandæ pacis artibus, quam acuendis in mutuas clades armis operam præstare, nimiâ *Antiochi* felicitate motus, nec suspicionibus intactus, ne tam vasta molimina omnium libertati iminerent, ictis in *Syros* fœderibus, sese adjunxit immiscuitque. Magna autem pecuniæ vis, quam ad infestandam bello *Syriam* distinendasque domi copias contulerat, ad conducendos milites, expellendumque regno *Amasim* conversa est: non id sane agitante *Archiflamine* ut terreno ejiceret, quem in cœlestis regni spem nuper adsciverat; sed *Theodorus* fraudum Artifex, et furens ambitione incautum decepit, et presso concilio, quo Insignia regni, socero adempta, suo vertici imponere decreverat, tum illi, tum fœderatorum Primoribus persuasit, rebus in *Cilicia* compositis, eaque gente, quæ tantum terrâ marique polleret, in partes tractâ, adacturum se *Amasim*, ut bellum *Antiocho* indiceret, ac tum maritimas *Syrorum* oras

Louis XIV. France.

Antiochus, and that he would then invade *Syria* with a powerful fleet, of which himself would assume the command.

21. But this war was generally looked upon, not only as unjust and unnatural on the part of *Theodore*, who sought to despoil him, who was both his uncle and his father-in-law, (for the sister of *Amasis* was his mother); but equally unjust and impolitic on the part of the allied Sovereigns, who, themselves of the *Delphic* faith, joined with the most bigoted leader of the *Martanesians*, against a most zealous observer of the same religious rites. The *Cilician* Senate, to whom nothing could be more acceptable than that the *Delphic* rites should be annihilated, not only in *Cilicia* and its dependencies, but also throughout *Asia*, exulted and rejoiced, when they saw the Princes of that religion involved in mutual strife, and exhausting their energies, in combating for an alien cause; for, it was generally admitted that, were *Antiochus*, that bitterest opponent of the *Martanesians*, removed, the waning power of the *Armenian* and *Egyptian* crowns could not long sustain the ancient religion of their forefathers. Of all the wars, therefore, that had distracted *Asia* for

William. James II. Roman Catholic. Protestants. Eng. Parlmt. Roman Catholic. England. Europe. Louis XIV. Protestants. German. Spanish. Europe.

validâ classe ac navallibus copiis ipse, qui haud dubiè expeditioni præficiendus erat, percursaret.

21. Ceterum bellum illud, omnium fere Mortalium judicio, non iniquum solum esse, et naturæ legibus repugnare, ex *Theodori* parte visum est, qui Socerum, eundem et Avunculum (*Amasis* quippe Sorore genitus erat) regno spoliatum ibat, verùm æquitati justitiæque summopere adversari videbatur, *Delphicæ* Religionis Principes in eorundem Sacrorum Cultorem observantissimum cum acerrimo *Martanesiarum* partium Duce armorum societatem inivisse. *Cilicum* Senatus, cui nihil gratius accidere poterat, quam *Delphicos* ritus non in *Ciliciæ* solum finibus, terrarumque tractibus *Ciliciæ* regno subjectis, sed per universam etiam *Asiam* extingui antiquarique, exultare jam et tacito efferri gaudio, cum Principes iisdem sacris initiatos civili discordiâ inter se commissos, alienæ causæ militantes, suisque se veribus conficientes spectarent. Non enim ignorabatur, si *Antiochum*, atrocissimum illud *Martanesiorum* flagellum, semel contudissent, consenescentes jam accisasque *Armeniæ* et *Ægypti* Regum vires, veteri Majorum Religioni propagandæ non diu suffecturas. Omnium itaque bellorum, quæ a multis retrò seculis *Asiam* infestavere, impiissimum illud prudentioris

many a previous age, this was the most unnatural; nor did the more religiously-minded doubt, that heaven itself would take up arms, and that the gods would be unpropitious to the Allies, and grant *Antiochus* such a result, as the justice and greatness of his cause deserved. Louis XIV.

22. But, before entering further into the history of the present commotions, it seems desirable to give the reader a retrospective view of the affairs of *Cyprus*, and of the position of that country, from the beginning, in a more exact narrative; which will cause much, that occurs in the sequel, to be the better understood. *Cyprus*, an island of old remarkable for its various monuments of antiquity, is divided into four Provinces, which lie towards the different quarters of the globe. *Salaminia* looks towards the east; *Paphia* lies to the west; *Lapithia* stretches towards the north; *Amathusia* juts out towards the south. If we can give credence to its ancient annals, the sons of King *Galamis*, heroes of valour and renown, subdued the island, and planted it with colonies, which they led from *Egypt*, about the same period that Solomon, King of Judæa, laid the first foundations of his far-celebrated temple. All the Provinces had Princes of their own, who, however, again acknowledged the authority of one supreme Sovereign of the whole island, to whom all yielded implicit obedience; nor could any be admitted to this regal

Ireland. Ireland. Leinster. Connaught. Ulster. Munster. Golam, or Milesius. Spain.

generis hominum sententiâ putabatur; nec ambigebant multi, quibus religiosior animus, armis in cælum susceptis, Deos non adfuturos, sed *Antiocho* potius cœptorum exitum, gloriæ et æquitati causæ parem concessuros.

22. Porro antequam ulteriùs presentium historiam motuum contexamus, operæ pretium facturi videbimur, si res *Cypri*, si regionis situm a principio altiùs repetentes, exactiori narratione lecturis tradiderimus; unde plurima, quæ in sequentibus occurrent, facilius intelligentur. *Cyprus* Insula variis antiquorum monumentis jam olim nobilitata in quatuor Provincias, quatuor orbis partibus objacentes, dividitur. *Salaminia* orientem spectat; *Paphia* in occidentem vergit; *Lapithia* septentrioni prætenditur; *Amathusia* in austrum excurrit. Hanc Insulam, si vetustis Annalibus fides, *Galamis* Regis filii, spectatæ fortitudinis Heroes sub potestatem redegere; deductisque ex *Ægypto* coloniis incoluerunt, sub idem fere tempus quo Salomon Judææ Rex prima celeberrimi illius templi fundamenta jecit. Provinciæ omnes suis Regibus parebant: illi porrò unum et supremum totius Insulæ Rectorem reverebantur, cujus nutum omnes

Milesian.

Supremacy, who was not of *Galaminian* blood. As population increased, however, this sovereign Supremacy caused much domestic strife and intestine war, through the struggles of so many Princes, each canvassing and ardently seeking, by every means, to wield its power. And though, by these divisions, the public peace was often disturbed, and the nation lacerated to its very vitals, yet from this very evil arose the good, that so thoroughly were the inhabitants trained to war, and exercised in arms, that it was universally admitted they were the most martial nation on the earth, whom even that power destined to be the victors of both earth and sea dared neither to irritate, nor injure. Nor, in the days of yore, as now-a-days, was war urged to the extermination or expatriation of either party; the event of a single battle generally terminated the contest; each injured Chieftain challenged the invader of his rights, and he must either submit, or bide the issue of the sword; and thus victory decided the controversy; and, once decided, all returned to their homes, untill some fresh disagreement called them forth again. Nor was this a matter of any great difficulty, when all were thus perpetually armed, and ready for the conflict.

Rome.

observabant: nec ulli, nisi *Galaminæ* stirpis, in hunc majestatis apicem adsciscebantur. Imperium verò sobolescentibus Incolis, tot principum ambitu, dominationem per fas et nefas appetentium, subinde distractum convulsumque, domesticis atque intestinis seditionibus causam frequenter præbuit: ac quanquam non rarò hisce dissidentium factionibus, pace ruptâ, ipsa regni viscera dilacerarentur, ex hoc tamen malorum fonte id emolumenti profluebat, ut Incolæ continuâ armorum tractatione ita exerciti paratique essent, ut gens orbis bellicosissima, publico mortalium consensu censeretur; quamque, qui maria terrasque victoriis permensi erant, irritare ac lacessere non auderent. Nec olim usque ad exitium partium et internecionem, ut hisce temporibus factitatum videmus, certabatur: rixam unius prælii eventus ut plurimùm terminabat; qui injuriam sibi illatam conquerabatur, aliena jura invadentem bello provocabat: illi autem aut possessione cedendum erat, aut ferro decernendum; et ita victoria discordiæ modum faciebat. Unde, rebus ea ratione compositis, domum mox discedebatur, donec novis rursum occasionibus excitarentur, quod factu promptum erat, cum unicuique equi et arma ad manum essent.

23. The *Lydians* had, for almost 200 years, constantly harassed with their invasions, not alone the sea-coast of the island, but, pushing into the interior, had gained a footing there, and endeavoured to plant it with colonies of their countrymen; but, at length, they were worsted in numerous engagements, both by sea and land, and abandoned their enterprise. The *Cyprians*, who had seized on *Pamphilia*, and planted it with colonies of their own, held firm possession of all that region; they also frequently invaded the coasts of *Cilicia*, and even sometimes those of *Syria*. They also, for many a year, had held the supremacy over *Crete*. But, renowned as were their forces both by land and sea, and though they had in turn assailed all the surrounding nations, and spread far and wide the terror of their arms, their greatest glory was their firm adherence to the worship of the heavenly powers, and their indomitable constancy in maintaining the rites of religion instituted by the High Priest of the *Delphic* shrine, to which they so closely adhered, and with such stedfastness of spirit, that they remained unmoved amidst the general defection of the surrounding nations; so that, when almost all in *Cilicia*, *Pamphilia*, *Cappadocia*, *Lydia*, *Lycia*, and a great part of *Armenia*, degenerated to novel rites, the *Cyprians* remained so constant to the

Danes. Irish. Scotland. England. France. Isle of Man. The Pope. Roman Catholic. England. Scotland. Sweden. Denmark. Netherlands. Germany. Irish.

23. *Lydii* continuâ fere ducentorum annorum serie continuis incursionibus non maritimas solum Insulæ oras vexavere, sed in interiora etiam penetrantes regionem vi subigere et suis popularibus implere conati sunt: variis tandèm terrâ marique cædibus obtriti, incepto destitere. *Cyprii*, *Pamphiliâ* bello occupatâ, coloniisque eò deductis, omnem illam regionem ditione tenuerunt: *Cyprii* armatâ manu crebro *Cilicum* fines, quin et *Syriam* aliquando irruptionibus intrarunt: *Cyprii* quoque *Cretam* insulam diuturno multorum annorum imperio presserunt. Quanquam terrestribus maritimisque copiis late pollerent, et circumjectas nationes, sparso ubique terrore, ac circumactis quaquaversùm armis contudissent, præcipuum nihilominus gloriæ decus enitebat ex tenacissimo Deorum immortalium cultu, et inexpugnabili religionis constantiâ juxta ceremonias a summo *Delphici* Numinis Sacerdote institutas, quas presso vestigio, et mirâ animorum pervicaciâ sequebantur; adeo ut ad publicam adjacentium populorum defectionem immoti hærerent, et omnibus fermè ex *Cilicia*, *Pamphilia*, *Lydia*, *Cappadocia*, *Lycia*, et magna *Armeniæ* parte in novos ritus

uncorrupted faith, that their country obtained a peculiar designation, and was called the Island of Saints.

24. But never yet was kingdom placed on such a sure foundation, that it did not ultimately arrive at the limit of its existence; and the *Cyprian* empire, which had endured more than 2000 years, at length, yielding to the decrees of fate, had to recognise this immutable law, to which all human powers are subject. *Eryces*, the second of the name, King of *Cilicia*, had promised his assistance to *Monganis*, the suppliant Prince of *Salaminia*, whom the King of *Cyprus* had exiled, for carrying away the wife of another provincial Prince. The *Cilician* leaders, whom *Eryces* had sent over with a well-appointed fleet, to reinstate *Monganis*, forcibly possessed themselves of a large portion of *Salaminia*, and, having expelled the inhabitants, divided their lands amongst the *Cilician* adventurers. Nor do I know, that it had ever previously occurred, that one nation, professing the *Delphic* faith, should usurp the dominion over another nation of the same religion, and extirpate and expel its inhabitants from their native soil; it being in that creed expressly forbidden, and counted an especial sin, to covet the goods of one's neighbour: and, at that time, not the *Cilicians* and *Cyprians* only,

Irish. Henry II. England. Dermod. Leinster. Ireland. English. Henry II. Dermod. Leinster. English. Roman Catholic. English. Irish.

degenerantibus, *Cyprii* interim ita incorruptum Sacrorum morem amplectebantur, ut regio peculiari nomine Sanctorum Insula nuncuparetur.

24. Cæterùm nulla imperia adeo firmis nixa fundamentis aliquando stetere, quin suum tandem modum finemque sortirentur: *Cypri* regnum, quod bis mille ultra annos duraverat, ineluctabilem hanc legem, cui omnis humana potentia subjacet, fatali necessitate coactum agnovit. *Erices*, ejus nominis secundus, *Ciliciæ* Rex, *Mongani*, *Salaminiæ* Regulo supplici auxilia promisit, quem Rex *Cypri* in exilium egerat ob raptam alterius provinciæ Reguli Uxorem. *Cilicum* Ductores, quos ad reducendum *Monganem*, instructis navibus transmiserat *Erices*, magnam agrorum partem, quâ patet *Salaminia*, vi et armis occupavere, incolis inde abactis, arvisque *Cilicas* inter colonos viritim distributis. Et sanè haud sciam an superioribus unquâm temporibus ejusdem inter *Delphicæ* religionis homines usurpatum fuerit alienæ ditionis accolas suis finibus protrudere atque extirpare; quippe cum impensiùs vetitum sit, ac nefas omnino habeatur, ab aliis possessa sacrilegâ aviditate concupiscere: eâ

but almost all the nations of *Asia*, were religious observers of the *Delphic* rites. A success, so fully in accordance with the wishes of *Eryces*, led him to carry out a plan he long had meditated; for he had long since anxiously considered, how he might subdue *Cyprus*, and extend his *Cilician* empire, by such an accession of territory. For this purpose, he forged (unless, haply, it was genuine) a bull of the High Priest of *Delphos*, which, he pretended, granted him the dominion of *Cyprus*, on the condition of his becoming the patron of the priesthood, and restoring, in their ancient splendour, the ruined temples and neglected altars of the heavenly powers, in accordance with the *Delphic* rites.

Europe. Roman Catholic. Henry II. Ireland. English. The Pope. Rome. Ireland. Roman Catholic.

25. The *High Priest* claimed this right over *Cyprus*, in virtue of a grant made to him by the first *Emperor* of the *Assyrians*, who embraced the *Delphic* faith, who, he stated, had conveyed to him and his successors the dominion of all the islands, which lay scattered amidst the recesses of the Mediterranean Sea. Oh, vain invention of an ambitious Sovereign!—for the annals of all nations, and the monuments of every age, bear testimony the most eloquent, that *Cyprus* never was under the sway of *Assyria*, and, therefore, its Emperor had no power to grant to

The Pope. Ireland. Constantine. Romans. Roman Catholic. Ireland. Roman Empire.

autem tempestate non *Cilices* solum *Cypriique*, sed omnes propemodùm *Asiæ* populi *Delphorum* cultum ritusque religiose observabant. Tam prospero rerum ex voto fluentium successu, *Erici* succrevit animus ad meditata dudum consilia tandem exequenda; diu quippe erat quod anxiâ secum mente volutaverat, quibus maxime artibus *Cyprum* in suum potestatem redigeret, *Cilicumque* imperium ea terrarum accessione proferret. Ad hoc, mandatum comminiscitur (nisi forte et verum erat) *Archiflaminis Delphici*, quem iis conditionibus dominium *Cypri* in se contulisse prætendebat, ut Sacerdotum patrocinium ageret, collapsumque et neglectum Deorum immortalium cultum *Delphicos* juxta ritus in pristinum splendorem restitueret.

25. *Cypri* verò arbitrium sibi permissum affirmabat *Archiflamen* ab *Assyriorum* Rege, qui primus *Delphica* amplexus est Sacra, annuitque (ut ferebat) ipsi, ac Successoribus potestatem Insularum, quæ per omnes Mediterranei maris sinus sparsæ olim jacebant. O vanum ambitiosi regis figmentum!—omnium gentium annales, omnis ætatis monumenta, disertissime testantur *Cyprum* nullis unquam temporibus *Assyriorum* imperio paruisse, atque adeò

another a right, which he never had himself possessed. Nor, at that time, was there in all the globe, not even *Delphos* itself, a spot where the heavenly powers were more religiously adored, and the *Delphic* rites more sincerely celebrated, than in the island of *Cyprus*.

Rome. Roman Catholic. Ireland.

26. Now, when *Eryces* approached the shores of *Cyprus* with a mighty host, levied in every quarter, rumour greatly magnified his numbers, and the lesser Princes, intimidated, and more particularly afraid of opposing the *Sovereign Pontiff*, whom they venerated as a second Deity, made their submission to him at *Salamis*. *Rodicus*, however, who was then Chief King of the whole island, relying on the position and natural strength of *Paphia* (over which he had been the toparch, before he was called to the supreme authority), and neither intimidated by *Eryces's* numerous host, nor by the unjust bull of the Sovereign Pontiff (who he well knew was a *Cilician* by birth), made vigorous preparations to assert by arms the rights and liberties of his kingdom. But the sudden and unexpected defection of some of the provincial Princes, and the numbers that deserted from the ranks of his followers, rendered it impossible for him at that time to expel the *Cilicians* from the island.

Henry II. Ireland. The Pope. Dublin. Roderick O'Conor. Connaught. Henry II. Adrian IV. English.

gentis illius regem in alium transferre non potuisse jus, quod ipsi nunquam competisset. Nec verò alibi sub idem tempus, ac ne *Delphis* quidem, aut Numina religiosius, quam in Insula *Cypro*, colebantur, aut puriùs et sinceriùs Sacra tractabantur.

26. Postea quam autem *Erices* cum validissimâ armatorum manu, contractis undique copiis ad *Cypri* littora appulisset, sparsis latè terroribus famâque vires in immensum augente, pavidi minorum gentium Principes, et religionis reverentiâ maxime perculsi, si *Archiflaminis*, quem secundum Deum venerabantur, nutibus ac voluntati restitissent, *Salamina*, imperata facturi conveniunt. At *Rodicus* Insulæ totius ea tempestate Moderator, *Paphiæ* situ, ubi nondum ad supremæ Majestatis fastigium evectus imperitaverat, et munimentis naturæ artem imitantis fretus, nec numerosis *Ericis* copiis, nec iniquo *Archiflaminis* mandato (quem patriâ *Cilicem* esse non ignorabat) consternatus, ad defensanda regni jura et asserendam libertatem arma impigrè sumpsit: imparem tamen extrudendis tum ex Insula *Cilicibus*, tum attenuatæ, desciscentibus popularibus, copiæ, tum subita et improvisa provincialium Regum defectio effecerat.

27. Shortly after, there was a general assembly of the Princes, and a solemn peace was concluded, on the express condition, that the free and full possession of *Paphia* should be guaranteed to *Rodicus* and his posterity, and that none of the *Cilicians* should pass the river *Lycus*, or disturb the tranquillity of his kingdom. But, no sooner was *Rodicus* dead, than the *Cilicians*, unmindful of their plighted faith, entered that province, and, having forcibly expelled the inhabitants, planted their own countrymen in the vacant lands, and thus, in a short time, possessed themselves of the whole island, and occupied both the cities and the most fruitful of the lands, once belonging to the *Cyprians*. And now the natives, by the fickleness of fortune, and the inevitable vicissitudes of human affairs, were reduced to such extremity, that they seemed deserted by the heavenly powers, and were handed over as a prey to their enemies; so that, at length, finding the glory of their nation wasted away, and their spirit crushed under continual bondage, they yielded to their fate, and took refuge in the recesses of the forests, the inaccessible clefts of the mountains, and other desert spots, where alone they could preserve a remnant of their ancient liberty.

Connaught. Roderick. English. Shannon. Roderick. English. Irish.

28. Long did they groan under so many accumulated woes, whilst the *Cilicians* seemed determined to extirpate the whole race of the *Gala-*

English. Milesians.

27. Post hæc Regibus utrimque ad colloquium coeuntibus, pax iis conditionibus convenit, ut *Rodico* posterisque libera *Paphiæ* possessio relinqueretur, nec quisquam e *Cilicibus Lycum* amnem trajiceret, aut tranquillum regni illius statum perturbaret. At *Rodico* jam fatis concedente, *Cilices* pactorum immemores provinciam illam infestâ manu intrant, et ejectis cultoribus, gentiles suos in vacuos agros introducunt, et breve intra spacium totam insulam occupant, oppidis et feracissimis terrarum, quas *Cyprii* olim insederant, in suam ditionem redactis. Incolæ verò fortunæ mobilitate, et inevitabili rerum humanarum vicissitudine eò jam miseriarum devenerunt, ut Deorum immortalium ope destituti, in prædam hostium concessisse viderentur. Consenescente etiam paulatim gentis gloriâ, animisque diuturnâ servitute fractis, victi demùm malis, in silvarum avia, et inaccessa montium juga salebrasque ultrò effugiunt, ubi sola jam, quam tuerentur, libertas supererat.

28. Tot simul ærumnis conflictantes diu gemuerunt, *Cilicibus Galamiorum*

midæ. But, in process of time, civil wars breaking out at home, the
English. *Cilicians* were forced to return, to aid their friends and relatives in their
own country. This unexpected change of affairs gave a respite to
Irish. the *Cyprians*, whose annihilation seemed previously inevitable, and ena-
bled them, in turn, to become the assailants, and regain the cities and
the territory, they had been so unjustly deprived of. On this alteration
Irish. English. of affairs, the *Cyprians* granted considerable estates to those *Cilicians*
who remained, and who were connected with them, either by wedlock
or affinity; but they annexed this condition, that they should assume
Irish. *Cyprian* names, and conform to *Cyprian* customs; so that, in a few short
English. Irish. years, these *Cilician* strangers and the *Cyprians* blended together, and
became an united nation; and this union was daily cemented, by inter-
marriages and community of blood and interest; their closest bond being,
Roman Catholic. in these last times, the defence of the *Delphic* faith, to which these *Cili-*
English. Irish. *cians* were as firmly attached, as even the *Cyprians* themselves.

Henry VIII. 29. But, in the reign of *Eryces VIII.*, the faith began to be shaken
England. in *Cilicia*, and, shortly after, in the reign of *Eleusina*, it was completely
Elizabeth.

stirpem funditùs exitio destinantibus, donec haud ita multis post *Cyprum* annis lacessitam, gliscentibus domi civilium bellorum motibus, coacti sunt *Cilices* in patriam postliminio regredi, ut periclitantibus amicis propinquisque præstò essent: et hæc tam insperata rerum mutatio crudelibus cœptis quibus *Cyprium* nomen funditus tollere decreverant, aliquantisper impedimento fuit, *Cypriisque* occasionem præbuit urbes agrosque injuria extortos denuo invadendi. Tum *Cilicibus*, qui permanserant, per connubia et affinitates secum junctis, satis spatiosam agrorum partem ultro concessere, ea tamen lege, ut *Cypria* sibi cognomina adsciscerent, et *Cypriorum* moribus ac consuetudinibus assuescerent: unde brevi advenæ *Cilices* in unum veluti corpus, unamque cum *Cypriis* nationem coaluerunt: et hæc charitatis vincula indiès magis magisque confirmabantur crebris inter se matrimoniis sanguinemque et genus miscentibus; sed communibus præcipuè utilitatibus, et novissimis temporibus *Delphicæ* religionis propugnandæ arctissimo nexu, quam *Cilices* illi pariter *Cypriique* constantissime amplexabantur.

29. *Eryce* vero *octavo* rerum potiente religio in *Cilicia* succuti paulatim, et pessumdari cœpit quæ, *Eleusinâ* mox regnante, eversa penitùs et eradicata

overthrown, and a new religion was introduced, supported by municipal laws, not even yet repealed. On this, the Chieftains of *Lapithia*, and of many other parts of the island, armed themselves, and prepared to defend with vigour the faith of their fathers. The Chief Flamin of *Delphos* and the King of *Egypt* thereupon sent them aid, and they involved *Eleusina* in a long and bloody war. But their ranks were greatly thinned, in consequence of the defection, to *Eleusina*, of several of the nobles, especially those of *Cilician* descent, with a large number of followers. And these, though they were themselves *Delphians*, and were well aware that, if the *Cilicians* prevailed, that religion would be suppressed, and though they had not hesitated to brand *Eleusina* herself as the illegitimate offspring of *Eryces VIII.*, and thence unworthy of the throne, which, by the law of nations and the just order of succession, belonged to *Diana*, Queen of *Pamphilia*, whose descent from *Eryces VII.* was direct and pure; yet, so great was their dread, lest the *Galamidæ*, elated by success, and mindful of their ancient rights, should strip them of the estates which they and their forefathers had now held for 300 or 400 years, and so strongly prejudiced were they in favour of *Cilician* interests, as being of

Ulster.
The Pope.
Spain.
Elizabeth
Elizabeth.
English.
Roman Catholics. English.
Elizabeth.
Henry VIII.
Mary.
Scotland.
Henry VII.
Milesians.
English.

est, novis insuper ritibus introductis, quos municipalium statutorum, necdum abrogatorum, præsidio stabilivit. Super hoc familiarum principes ex *Lapithia*, compluresque alii ex universa passim insula nobilis arma ad patrios cultus tutandos impigrè rapiunt; et *Delphico* Archiflamine, atque *Ægypti* Rege auxilia subinde mittentibus, longo nec incruento bello Reginam implicarunt. At domestica popularium perfidiâ e *Cilicum* presertim genere, magna virium parte mutilati sunt, Optimatum nonnullis cum ingenti hominum multitudine ad *Eleusinam* deficientibus. Quanquam enim *Delphico* more Deos venerarentur, eamque religionem *Cilicum* victoriâ extingendam cernerent, nec *Eleusinam Erycis octavi* Notham esse, ac proinde imperio indignam, ambigerent, regnumque gentium jure, ac justo successionis ordine ad *Dianam Pamphiliæ* Reginam; quæ ducebat rectum atque incorruptum ab *Eryce septimo* genus, descendere; attamen ingens incesserat animos formido, ne *Galamii* victoria elati, et antiqui juris memores, agris ipsos exuerent, quos trecentos jam aut quadringentos circiter annos, ipsi majoresque continuâ possessione occupassent: ad hæc, se, utpote origine *Cilicas*, *Cilicum* rebus arctiùs tenaciusque adstringi

that race themselves, that, with heart and arms, they entered bitterly into the conflict against the *Galamidæ*.

Milesians.

Don Juan de Aquila. Spain. Irish. English.

30. The leader, however, of the auxiliary cohorts sent by the King of *Egypt*, had much damped the ardour of the *Cyprian* troops, having, whether from cowardice or treachery, surrendered to the *Cilicians* the fortresses and cities which he held; and the inhabitants, no longer able to maintain the war, had to come to terms. The Chieftains of *Lapithia*, who knew, by sad experience, how frail was the reliance on *Cilician* faith, felt they had no hope left, and fled to *Delphos*, and *Eleusina* at once seized on their estates, and distributed them amongst the chiefs and privates of her *Martanesian* soldiery; and it was determined to plant them with adventurers from *Cilicia* and *Pamphilia*, and thus gradually extirpate the ancient creed and ancient population. Although, in former times, the murderous *Martanesians* had driven Queen *Diana* from her paternal throne of *Pamphilia*, and, when flying into *Cilicia* to her relative, *Eleusina*, where she reckoned on a safe asylum, she had been, contrary to the laws of nations, first plunged in a noisome prison, and, after a long captivity, (oh, unheard-of inhumanity!) publicly and cruelly

Ulster.

English.

Rome. Elizabeth.

Protestant.

England. Scotland.

Protestants. Mary. Scotland. England. Elizabeth.

arbitrabantur; atque adeò atrocibus *Galamios* odiis armisque insectati sunt.

30. Multùm tamen *Cypriorum* militum promptitudinem ferociamque contuderat auxiliarium cohortium ab *Ægypti* Rege missarum *Ductor*, qui, incertum perfidiâ an metu, propugnacula omnia, urbesque quas insederat, *Cilicibus* concessit: tum insulani, protrahendo impares bello, cum hoste pacisci coguntur. *Lapithiæ* vero Principes multis jam olim experimentis edocti, quam fluxa esset *Cilicum* fides, desperatis domi rebus, *Delphos* se receperunt. Nec mora Exulum bona agrosque Fisco jam adjudicatos, *Eleusina Martanesios* inter Duces militesque divisit: *Consilium* enim erat, deductis in Insulam *Cilicibus Pamphiliisque* coloniis, tum vetum Sacrorum morem tum Indigenas ad unum omnes paulatim extirpare. Et quanquam superioribus annis Reginam *Dianam* patrio exturbatam solio *Pamphiliæ* finibus perduelles *Martanesii* exegissent, eamque post in *Ciliciam* ad cognatam *Eleusinam*, tanquam ad tutissimum Asylum confugiens, contra gentium jura in teterrimum detrusa carcerem, ac post diuturnum squalorem (o inauditam inhumanitatem!) crudelissimâ nece perempta est. Filius ejus *Amasis*, *Eleusinâ* fato functâ *Cilicum* nihilominus

executed, still, her son, *Amasis*, on *Eleusina's* death, was called to the throne of *Cilicia*. But having been, from his earliest years, imbued with the impiety of the new religion, and trained, in their preposterous modes of worshipping the gods, by those who had been guilty of both his mother's exile and his father's death, he persecuted the *Delphic* faith, following *Eleusina's* example with the fiercest bigotry, and himself enacted laws of the most bloody tenor in *Cyprus*, against the ancient customs and venerable rites of religion; and, even in other matters, he showed no greater leaning towards the native *Cyprians*, though he did not deny, that he was of their lineage and their blood. This great obstinacy of *Amasis*, so contrary to what was generally expected of him, and his deadly hatred of that religion for which his royal parent shed her noble blood, drove those *Cyprians* (originally of *Cilician* race), who had formerly sided with *Eleusina*, to repent of their conduct, and, when too late, to regret their inconsiderate folly, in joining the party of that persecuting Queen, in doing which, they little thought they were reducing their country to slavery, and abolishing the pure religion of their forefathers. *Amasis* at length obeyed the call of fate, and left his wealthy dominions, as we have before related, to his son, *Pythagoras*, whom the

James I. Eliz. England. Roman Catholic. Elizabeth. Ireland. Irish. James I. Irish. English. Elizabeth. James I. Charles I.

Rex consalutatus est. Quoniam verò ab ineunte ætate novorum sacrorum impietatem, ac preposteros Deorum cultus iisdem Præceptoribus imbiberat, qui nefandis assuefacti sceleribus, paternam cædem materno exilio cumulaverant, acerrimis secundum *Eleusinam* odiis *Delphicos* ritus persequebatur, cruentarumque legum per *Cyprum* latarum in antiqui moris, ac veteres Numinum Adoratores Author fuit: et nihilo cæteris in *Cyprios* Indigenas inclinatior habebatur, quanquam se eorum stirpem ac genus esse haud diffiteretur. Tanta ac tam spei de ipso passim conceptæ, omniumque mortalium expectationi contraria *Amasis* obstinacia, et in ea Sacra, pro quibus Regia Parens generosum ultrò profuderat sanguinem, odium tam exitiale *Cyprios*, qui, (origine *Cilices*) consilia olim viresque cum *Eleusina* miscuerunt, ad pœnitendum, erroresque suos, atque inconsultam vecordiam serò licet detestandam adegit: quippe qui auxiliaribus copiis, quibus sævientis Reginæ partes foverant auxerantque, non parum tùm patriæ in servitutem redigendæ, tùm sinceræ Majorum religioni abolendæ penitùs contulerunt. *Amasis* fato functus opulentissima regna *Pythagoræ* Filio tradidit; quem *Cilices*, ut jam suprà memoravimus, nescias

English.

Cilicians put to death; and it were hard to decide whether, in doing so, they displayed the greater cruelty or impiety. But we must now leave our digression, and resume the narrative of the present war.]

William. England. Js. II. France. Louis XIV. French. Ireland. Earl of Tirconnell. Cork. Dublin.

31. It was about the latter End of Autumn when Prince *Theodore* invaded *Cilicia*, and it was mid Winter when poor *Amasis* was forced to make his Escape into *Syria*. The Season being then fitter for Consultation than Action, he stayed there with his virtuous Queen untill towards the beginning of Spring, when, takeing leave of her and of *Antiochus*, who furnished him with a considerable Sum of Money, he was wafted over in a stately *Syrian* Fleet into the Island of *Cyprus*, where he was received with all the Demonstrations of a reall and hearty Welcome that could be expected from the best of Subjects, and the most zealous Professors of the true Worship; all Degrees, Ages, and Sexes unanimously concurring to express their unfeigned Joy. The Viceroy, *Coridon*, with a gallant Troup of the Nobility, mett him near *Amathus*, and conducted him with great Pompe and Magnificence to the capitall City of *Salamis*.

impia magis an crudeliori morte confecerunt. At nos, unde digressi sumus, ad præsentium bellorum seriem postliminiò revertamur.

31. Sub autumni finem *Theodorus Ciliciam* invasit: media autem hyeme, asperrimis frigoribus, et adverso navigandi tempore *Amasis* ab exercitu proditus, et crebris subditorum defectionibus pœnè solus derelictus, piscatorio navigio, tumenter inter fluctus et sæva ventis maria trajicere in *Syriam* coactus est. Tum anni tempestate consiliis magis, quam rebus gerendis oportunâ, cum Regina, quam eò etiam fuga detulerat cujusque virtutes fatis longè mitioribus dignæ erant, moras traxit; donec appetente vere illâ, *Antiochoque* amicorum præcipuo consalutatis, a quo etiam haud temnendam auri argentique summam in belli usus accepit, cum instructissima *Syrorum* classe, prosperâ navigatione *Cyprum* intravit. Incolæ, adventantem iis haud confictæ lætitiæ indiciis, festisque vulgi acclamationibus excepere, quas a Subditorum fidissimis, et veris *Delphicæ* religionis Cultoribus sperare poterat. Omnis ordo, omnis ætas, omnis nullo discrimine sexus ad contestandos animorum affectus, erumpente ex oculis vultibusque gaudio, convenerunt. *Corydon*, quem regno præfecerat, cum numerosa Nobilium manu *Amathunta* usque, quo is appulerat, obviam processit, et splendidissimo Procerum comitatu, confluentibus ad spectaculum populis, viasque passim obsidentibus, urbem *Salamina*, Insulæ caput, invectus est.

32. The whole Island of *Cyprus* owned, at that Time, the Authority of *Amasis*, except the City of *Satrachus*, inhabited by a *Cilician* Colony, which, together with some particular Places in *Lapithia*, declared for Prince *Theodore*. But *Satrachus* was blocked up by *Monganes*, and those Troups, which *Coridon* sent to reduce the Rabble in that Place, before the King's arrivall. *Amasis*, without any Stay in *Salamis*, though the Season was very bitter, posted away to the Camp before *Satrachus*, in order to preserve his *Martanesian* Subjects there from the ill Treatment which he apprehended they might receive from the *Cyprians;* and he went there with an assured Confidence that they would, uppon his Arrivall, imediately submitt, and receive him, with open Arms, into the City; but he was a little surprized when, instead of Submission, they shott a Shower of Arrows against him, which wounded Some of his Attendants, and it was not then doubted but they aimed chiefly at his royall Person.

Ireland. Jas. II. Derry. English. Ulster. Will. III. Derry. R. Hamilton. Tirconnell. Jas. II. Dublin. Derry. Protestant. Irish.

32. *Cyprus* universa, ea tempestate, *Amasianarum* partium erat, præter *Satrachum* oppidum, quod Coloni olim e *Cilicia*, ad loci naturam satis inexpugnabilem, munimentis adjectis, insederant, unàque cum nonnullis aliis per *Lapithiam* propugnaculis arcibusque *Theodori* imperio obtemperabant: *Satrachus* vero sub id tempus ab iis circumsidebatur copiis, quas ad expugnandam urbem ante Regis adventum destinaverat *Corydon*. *Amasis* non multum *Salamine* commoratus, quanquam intractabili adhuc cœlo, et rigentibus Aquilone viis, summa celeritate in castra ad *Satrachum* proficiscitur, ut *Martanesios*, quos arctius quam volebat, premebat obsidio, sua præsentiâ et favore servaret, veritus scilicet ne *Cyprii* indignatione accensi, et vindictæ aviditate præcipites, excidio loci et præsidiariorum Accolarumque internecione, perfidiam ulciscerentur: nec animi ambiguus erat, quin obsessi ad primum ipsius accessum conspectumque, oblatâ veniæ spe, et præteritorum oblivione, imperata facerent, ac deditionem ultro properarent, et adventantem sine ulla prorsùs tergiversatione apertis portis intra civitatem reciperent. Cohorruit tamen, et stupore defixus hæsit, cum missilibus sagittarumque nimbo obductum æra, et circumstantium nonnullos in ora telis transfossos sauciatosque cerneret; nec ulli tum dubium habebatur Regem ipsum tanto sævientium nisu petitum fuisse.

James II. Derry. Dublin. Derry. Ireland. William III. James II. Elizabeth. Rome. The Pope. Protestant. England. Charles II. English. Irish. Cromwell. English. Charles I. Count d'Avaux. France. Louis XIV.

33. *Amasis*, now finding his Mistake of the good Opinion he conceived of his Subjects in *Satrachus*, retired back to *Salamis*, where he convoked the States of the Kingdom, and spent in vain Consultations the whole summer Season, which might be better employed to goe on more vigourously with the Siege of *Satrachus*, the only considerable Place in *Cyprus* that owned the Authority of Prince *Theodore*. In this Convention of the States, *Amasis* could not be perswaded to abrogate the impious Laws which were enacted by Queen *Eleusina* against the Worship of *Delphos*, and the spirituall Jurisdiction of the *Arch Flamin*, least it might alienate from him the Hearts of his *Martanesian* Subjects in *Cilicia*, whom he alwaies courted; and it was not without some Regret, that he consented to abolish that unjust Decree of his Brother, *Pythagoras*, which confirmed to the *Cilician* Rebels the Lands of the loyall *Cyprians*, formerly given to them by *Attilas*, and his regicid *Cilician* Senate, when, after murthering *Pythagoras* the First, they declared against Monarchie, and sett up a Commonwealth; and it is much doubted to this Day (if *Demetrius*, Embassador of *Syria*, had not warmly interposed, minding him often of his Engagement to *Antiochus*, to redress the Injustice done to his

33. *Amasis* deprehenso tandem inconsultæ credulitatis errore, et experientiâ comperto, quantum *Satrachenis* fidendum esset, opinione frustratus *Salamina* revertitur. Convocatis ibi regni ordinibus, totam eam æstatem consultationibus minime necessariis, velut in summo otio, et belli securus absumpsit, cum satius longique utilius foret *Satracho*, qua una tum omnium *Theodori* partes fovebat, acritèr impigrèque oppugnandæ incumbere. In his comitiis induci non poterat *Amasis*, ut injustas illas leges antiquaret, quas *Eleusina* adversum *Delphicos* ritus, et *Archiflaminis* authoritatem tulerat, ne *Martanesiorum* animos, quorum favorem apertè ambibat, averteret, irritaretque: nec nisi mente sane reluctante, atque aversa voluntate iniquissimum illud decretum convelli ac rescindi passus est, quo *Pythagoras* secundus in perduelles *Cilicas* fidissimorum *Cypriorum* agros fortunasque transtulerat, quorum possessionem ab *Attila* tyranno et nefario illo Senatu acceperunt, præmium scelerum, postquam *Pythagora* primo per facinus obtruncato, sublatoque regno, trucem illam libertatem, atque infandam Reipublicæ speciem constituissent.

Cyprian Subjects), whether any other Consideration would prevail with him to restore to the loyall *Cyprians* the Inheritance of their Ancestors, which they lost in the Service of the Kings, his Father and Brother; though the late *Cilician* Proprietors were, at that very Time, in open Hostility against him. But, in regard he relyed altogether uppon the Friendship and Assistance of *Syria*, he could not well deny abolishing that unlawful Decree; for *Antiochus*, being Gaurantee for Performance of a former Treaty between *Pythagoras* the First and the *Delphians* of *Cyprus*, could not in Honour see them unjustly deprived of the Benefit thereof.

Irish. Irish. English. France. Louis XIV. Charles I. Roman Catholics of Ireland.

34. *Amasis*, however, was soe intent upon following the Advice of his Favourites, not to act any Thing in Favour of the *Cyprians*, or for the Re-establishment of the Worship of *Delphos*, that might disatisfy his *Martanesian* Subjects in *Cilicia* (who, as they believed, would undoubtedly recall him if he continued his wonted Moderation), That, pursuant to this Maxim, he would not admitt the *Delphian Flamins* to take

James II. Irish. Rome. Protestant. England. Roman Catholic Bishops.

At enimverò ambigere licet (nisi *Antiochi* legatus summa vi intercessisset, ac subindè quæ Syrorum Regi pollicitus erat, de restituendis in pristinum statum *Cypriis*, crebro admonitu ingereret) ullisne aliis rationibus impulsus, amissas sub paternis fraternisque auspiciis opes et possessiones, jactatis per indigna et calamitosa redderet Incolis; quanquam sub iisdem temporibus, qui ea nuper occupaverant *Cilices*, in armis ex adverso starent, et aperto ipsum marte lacesserent. At quoniam omnis in *Antiocho* spes, unicumque adminiculum rebus afflictis habebatur, impium illud decretum abolere, eo urgente et obnixè deprecante, vix tutò negare poterat: *Antiochus* quippe fœderum inter *Pythagoram secundum* et *Delphicos Cyprios* olim initorum Sponsor, hos eorum beneficio frustrari, et irrita fieri promissa, non sine ingente dedecore permisisset.

34. *Amasis* utcumque usque adeò Aulicorum consiliis obnoxius erat, ut nihil æquitati, nihil justissimis *Cypriorum* precibus, nihil denique stabiliendæ, et in pristinum statum restaurendæ *Delphicæ* religioni indulgeret annueretque, quod vereretur *Martanesiorum* animos a se abalienaturum: eos enim regnum ipsi continuò oblaturos, et in paternum avitumque solium reducturos sperabat, modò sceleribus immotus injuriarum memoriam clementiæ specie aut dissimularet aut supprimeret, et in incœpto persisteret temperamento: adeo-

their Places in the Assembly of the States, tho' he allowed it to four *Martanesian Flamins*, all the rest of that Stamp being gone into *Cilicia*, to joyne with *Theodore*, and these also declared for him as soon as he appeared with any Power in *Cyprus;* so that whoever considers the different Behaviour of this Prince in the Temple and Senate, would take him for a serious *Delphian* in the One, and a true *Martanesian* in the Other.

Protestant Bishops. England. William III.

Ireland.

Roman Catholic.

Protestant.

35. About this Time, *Montocles* was sent by *Amasis* into *Lapithia*, with a Reinforcement of four Legions, to reduce the Rebells of *Tyrrhia*. This young Nobleman was a Peer of *Cyprus*, leneally descended from the anctient Kings of *Amathusia*. He was the first Lieutenant-Generall of the *Cyprian* Army, a Man of Parts and Courage, wanting noe Quality fitt for a compleat Captain, if he were not somewhat short-sighted. *Tyrrhia* is a Towne scituated in an Island, in the Midst of a spacious Lake, which, after a long Course, disburdens itself by a narrow Channell into the great Western Sea. The Towne is of noe

Lord Mountcashel. Jas. II. Ulster. Enniskillen. Ireland. Munster.

Irish.

Enniskillen.

que altis hisce ac profundis reconditioris, ut arbitrabatur, prudentiæ præceptis captus tenebatur, ut *Delphicos* Flamines eo senatu excluderet, admissis tamen quatuor, qui supererant, *Martanesiis:* cum interim reliqui ad *Theodorum* in *Ciliciam* profugissent, iique ipsi in *Cyprum* non multo post adventanti præstò fuissent. Quisquis itaque illius mores et habitum in templo senatuque proprius introspexisset, rigidum ibi *Delphicorum* Sacrorum Cultorem, hic *Martanesiis* impensè unicèque studentem comperisset.

35. Sub hæc tempora *Montocles* ab *Amasi* in *Lapithiam* mittitur, cum valido quatuor legionum subsidio, ut *Tyrrhiam* cum rebellibus in ea considentibus in potestatem redigeret. Juvenis hic erat clarâ inter *Cyprios* nobilitate conspicuus, et longa generis serie a vetustis *Amathusiæ* Regibus oriundus, e quorum numero haud pauci ad supremum totius insulæ dominatum olim adsumebantur. Primus erat in *Cyprio* exercitu Legatus, vir animo ingens, militia expertus, ad arma promptus, et, nisi oculorum vitium nonnihil officeret, ad omnia bellicarum artium munia quadam ingenii ac naturæ felicitate factus videbatur. *Tyrrhia* oppidum est in Insula situm, quæ immenso lacu circumfunditur, isque longo ambitu delapsus, contractis demum in angustiorem alveum aquis occidentali oceano se immiscet: oppidum vix ullis munimentis

Strength; but the Castle is an old Fabrick, had impregnable before the Invention of soe many formidable new Engins: it was the ancient Seat of the noble Family of *Maguris*, who were, Time out of Memory, absolute Lords of the large Territory on both Sides of the Lake. This Towne and Castle was at this Time possessed by the *Martanesians* of *Lapithia*, deriveing their Extraction, for the most Part, out of *Pamphilia:* they were a numerous and warlike People, giveing noe small Disturbance to the King's Party in that Province; thereby hindring the Army before *Satrachus* to press the Siedge with that Vigor, which was requisit to gain a Place of that Consequence.

Maguire.

Protestants of Ulster. Scotland.

Derry.

36. *Montocles* being comanded to reduce those Rebells, attacked a strong Castle within 160 Furlongs to *Tyrrhia*, but wanting Rams, and other warlike Instruments, and understanding that the Enemy (reinforced with strong Recruits out of *Cilicia*) were advanced to relieve it, he retired into an advantageous Ground, where he placed his Troups in very good Order to receive the *Cilicians;* but his Men were raw,

L. Mountcashel.

Enniskillen.

England.

English.

insigne: arx vero operibus et antiquitate memorata, humanis viribus inexpugnabilis quondam habebatur, donec ingeniosæ in mutuum exitium gentes, indefessâ solertiâ, nova ac terribilia obsidendarum urbium instrumenta reperissent. Vetus erat et avita sedes nobilissimæ familiæ, e cujus stirpe *Maguris* flaminum in Insula *Cypro* primus, cujus Majores utramque stagni ripam jam inde a priscis usque temporibus haud dubio possessionis jure occupaverant. Oppido et arce sub id tempus potiebantur e *Lapithia Martanesii*, qui omnes ferè ex *Pamphilia* originem ducebant: gens multitudine numerosa, armis exercita, regiis partibus in ea provincia infesta; magno quippe impedimento erant *Satrachum* obsidentibus, ne eâ, quâ par erat, animorum alacritate, eoque ardore tam munitam urbem premerent.

36. *Montocli*, ut superiùs memoravimus, imperatum erat hos perduelles vi et armis ad obsequium cogere; quod ut facilius perficeret, castrum munitionibus tutum ad centum sexaginta stadia *Tyrrhiâ* positum, oppugnare aggreditur; sed irrito conatu: nam deerant arietes, et alia militaria tormenta, quatiendis mœnibus necessaria: ad hæc, fama vulgaverat hostem, recentibus e *Cilicia* subsidiis auctum, in auxilium loci magnis itineribus appropinquare: unde dimissâ obsidione in occursum *Tyrrhiensium* progreditur, nactusque tutam situ, et præ-

Col. Anthony Hamilton. L. Mountcashel. and newly raised, soe that the Cavalrie (headed by *Antenor*, comanding in Chief under *Montocles*), uppon the Enemyes first appearing, shamefully ran away without strickeing a Blow; and the Foot now abandoned by the Horse, and being told that the Generall was killed, soon followed the

L. Mountcashel. Example; whereuppon brave *Montocles*, being left alone in the Field, his Horse killed under him, and he himself grieveously wounded, was taken

Enniskillen. Prisoner, and carryed all bloody into *Tyrrhia*, where he lay long under Cure; but, before he was fully recovered of his Wounds, he made his Escape after a strange and wounderfull Manner, to the universall Joy

Ireland. Irish. of all *Cyprus*. This was the first Defeat given to the *Cyprians*, which

Sarsfield. filled all People with such a Terror, that *Lisander*, a young Captain, beloved by the Soldierie, comanding at that Time some Troups about

Sligo. Connaught. Ulster. Sligo. *Cerbia* to defend that Part of *Paphia* from Incursions out of *Lapithia*, uppon the first Notice of this Overthrow, quitted *Cerbia*, and never

Athlone. Connaught. rested untill he marched along to *Arsinoe*, leaveing the Province of *Paphia* exposed to the Enemy.

lio opportunam stationem, instructo exercitu, copias in aciem adversus adventantes magno impetu *Cilicas* educit. At hi non exiguâ parte tyrones erant, novisque ac tumultuariis delectibus nuper habiti, adeo ut equitatus ad primum inimicorum conspectum, priusquam manum consererent, turpi se fugâ eriperet; et mox pedes, ab equitibus derelictus, non minori aut metu aut infamiâ, eorum exemplo illectus, per avia, per in via effunderetur. Stabat tamen, passim dilabentibus, palantibusque suis, intrepidus animo *Montocles*, et licet solus jam ac desertus, truces circumferens oculos prælium sustentabat, donec transfosso equo, et vulneribus debilis hosti se dedidit; tunc totus ut erat cruentus in *Tyrrhiam* devehitur, ubi vix Medicorum ope atque industriâ mortem evasit: prius tamen, quam e vulneribus penitus convaluisset, stupendo casu, custodiæ, qua tenebatur, se subduxit, non sine publicâ *Cypriorum* omnium lætitia. Hic primum res a *Cypriis* improperè gesta est, tantusque subito terror omnes pervaserat, ut *Lysander*, recens militiæ, sed exercitibus in paucissimis charus, qui tum temporis copiis ad *Cerbiam* præfuerat, ut eam *Paphiensis* agri partem ab excursionibus e *Lapithia* tutam præstaret, ad primum tantæ cladis nuntium *Cerbiam* deseret, et effuso cursu *Arsinoem* peteret, apertum illud *Paphiæ* latus hostibus indefensum relinquens.

37. *Amasis*, all this while, made but a slender Preparation to reduce *Satrachus*, and the other few Places that held against him, haveing disbanded the new-raised Troopes, when he should rather send them to reinforce his Army before *Satrachus*, which, for want of sufficient Supplys, could not take the City; and, uppon the Assureance of an Invasion out of *Cilicia*, under the Conduct of *Nisias*, a great Captain, they were ordered to quitt the Seidge, and march streight to *Salamis*, where *Amasis* was now (somewhat of the latest) giving out Commissions to raise more Men, in order to oppose the Invasion. *Nisias*, haveing landed in the North of *Cyprus*, took the Town and strong Castle of *Agidos*, and advanced up with his Army near the City of *Tremithus;* but finding that *Amasis* was gott there before him with a numerous Body of Horse and Foot, he hastily retired to *Ledron*, where he fortified his Camp, haveing the Province of *Lapithia* behind him, and the Conveniency of the Sea to furnish him with Provisions out of *Cilicia*. *Amasis*, at

James II. Derry. Derry. England. Schonberg. Dublin. Jas. II. Schonberg. Ireland. Carrickfergus. Drogheda. James II. Dundalk. Ulster. England. Jas. II.

37. Interea *Amasis* nullo memorabili conatu *Satrachum* oppugnabat, exauctorandis novis delectibus occupatus, quos longe consultius foret in supplementum legionum mittere, quæ subtrahentibus se militibus, ac raris jam ordinibus, capiendæ tam munitæ urbi, numero impares erant. Cumque jam haud dubiis rumoribus percrebresceret instare formidabiles e *Cilicia* copias, *Nisia* Duce, Viro rei militaris peritissimo, et inter arma ab ineunte ætate enutrito; confestim, relicta obsidione, vasa raptim colligere, et expedito agmine *Salamina* versus movere jubentur; ubi Rex aliquanto quam par erat, serius conscribendo militi, maturandoque delectui incumbebat, ut hosti magnis itineribus appropinquanti occurreret. *Nisias*, exposito ad septentrionale littus exercitu, *Agidon*, maratimam urbem et munitionibus prævalidam primo impetu capit: nec ibi multum commoratus, *Tremithum* versus (emporium illud est ad *Lapithi* fluminis ostia) festinatum agmen rapit. Cum vero *Amasim* ea loca occupasse cerneret, cum haud temnendâ peditum equitumque manu, nec ipse prælio conserendo par esset, citatiore, quam venerat, cursu vestigia retro legit; et ad oppidum *Ledron* castra metatus, vallo et aggeribus circumdat, opportuno sane loco, cum inde a tergo *Lapithiam* haberet hostibus vacuam, et pabulationibus liberam; hinc tutum et apertum mare, ad commeatus e propinqua *Cilicia*, aliaque belli necessaria comportanda. *Amasis* cum florentissimo ex-

the Head of a gallant Army, advanced towards him, and pitched his royall Camp within 60 Furlongs to that of *Nisias*, who made a defensive Warr all that Summer, not once appearing out of his Trenches, tho' often provoked by *Amasis*, who, by his Neglect to attempt forceing the *Cilician* Camp, especially about the latter End of the Campaigne, when it was slenderly manned, lost a fair Opportunity to putt an End to the Warr of *Cyprus*, and perhaps to that of *Cilicia*, where the *Amasians*, if *Nisias* were defeated in *Cyprus*, would be encouraged to fall uppon the *Theodorites*, and declare for *Amasis*. Another Oversight was comitted by the Captains of *Amasis*, to give *Nisias* the Honour of discamping last; whereas, if they had stayed a little Longer (which they might well doe, haveing *Tremithus* and *Salamis* at their Backs, and three Parts of *Cyprus* behind them, from whence they might be continually supplyed with all Necessarys), it is probable that the Army of *Nisias* would moulder away, the one-half of them being already consumed by Diseases, which Hunger, and Cold, and the Change of Clymat, engendred among them. But the young Commanders were in some

Schonberg.

James II.

English.

Ireland. England. Jacobites. Schonberg.

Ireland. Williamites. Jas. II. Jas. II. Schonberg.

Drogheda. Dublin.

Ireland.

Schonberg.

ercitu recedentis tergo inhæret, et castrum ad vicesimum inde stadium ponit. *Nisias* totam eam æstatem protrahendo bello insumpsit, oblatamque sæpe ab regiis pugnam detractavit, suosque intra munimenta pertinaciter continuit. At *Amasis* nec succedendo ad castra, nec vallum oppugnando, (cum potissimum sub finem autumni attenuatæ jam copiæ essent) pulcherrimam debellandi in *Cypro* occasionem elabi e manibus passus est: et si hic vicisset, fortasse eundem finem in *Cilicia* etiam sortirentur res: *Nisiæ* enim exercitu deleto, quis scit an *Amasiani Cilices* eo successu ferociores in *Theodoritas* clade illa perculsos fractosque non insurgerent, et reliqui qui timore præpediti in Exulem tamen Regem affectu ferebantur, vexillum tollerent, et ad moliendas res novas animos adderent. Eô quoque regiarum partium Duces peccavere, quo priores in hyberna profecti sunt: nam si aliquanto diutius in æstivis permansissent, (quod effectu haud difficile erat, cum a tergo *Tremithus* et *Salamis* essent, tuta periclitantibus receptacula, ac restarent tres integræ totius Insulæ Provinciæ, unde commeatus et alia necessaria conveherent) credibile est universas *Nisiæ* copias sensim dilapsuras fuisse; quippe quarum tum etiam partem morbi absumpsissent, inediâ, frigore, et cœli mutatione grassantes. At enim

Hast to returne to *Salamis*, where the Ladys expected them with great Impatience; soe that *Amasis*, being once more perswaded to disband the new Levys, and raiseing his Camp a little of the soonest, dispersed his Men too early into winter Garrisons, haveing spent that Campaigne without any Advantage, vainly expecting that his *Martanesian* Subjects of *Cilicia*, who were in the Camp of *Nisias*, would come over to him.

Dublin. James II. Protestant. England. Schonberg.

38. And now the winter Season, which should be employed in serious Consultations, and makeing up the necessary Preparations for the ensueing Campaigne, was idlely spent in Revells, and Gameing, and other Debauches, unfitt for a *Delphian* Court. But warlike *Nisias*, who, after the Retreat of *Amasis*, had Leisure to remove his sickly Soldiers, to bury the Dead, and putt the few Men that remained alive, and were healthy, into Quarters of Refreshment, took the Field early in the Spring, before *Coridon* was awake, and reduced the Castle of *Soloe*, the only Place

Roman Catholic. Schonberg. James II. Tirconnell. Charlemont.

Corydon cui armorum per *Cyprum* permissa potestas, et reliqui copiarum Duces, quos ætate immaturos, et rei militaris plurimum inexpertos delegerat, mollibus assueti, luxum et aulam respectabant, ubi nobilium fœminarum greges molestias belli, morasque impatientiùs execrabantur, reditumque suorum rogando pariter et increpando vehementèr accelerabant. Et jam iterum, *Amasim* perpulerant Aulicorum consilia, ut tyronibus, novisque delectibus, missionem faceret: nec mora, castris propere motis, reliquas copias maturius quam par erat, in hyberna reduxit. Jamque tempus rerum agendarum triverat, nullo partium emolumento, aut progressu, dum inani spe lactatus, *Martanesios* subditos, errore comperto pœnitentia ductos *Nisiæ* castra transfugiendo deserturos, facilemque sibi et incruentam victoriam daturos arbitrabatur.

38. Hyems quoque quam seriis consultationibus, et in sequentis æstatis apparatibus æquum erat impendi, inter ganeas et aleam, et intempestiva convivia, sequentesque vinum voluptates, atque alia luxuriæ irritamenta, aulæ *Delphicæ* maxime indecora, licentius transacta est. At *Nisias*, recedentibus hostibus, opportunum tempus nactus, infectum militem in salubriora reducit loca, mortuis sepeliendis curam impertit, paucosque, qui supererant morborum expertes, in præsidia recuperandis viribus et reficiendis corporibus idonea distribuit. Tum mature, ineunte vere, ex hybernis militem evocat, *Coridone* nihil dum movente, et *Soloen*, præmunitum castrum, unicumque, quod

Jas. II. Ulster. held for *Amasis* in the Province of *Lapithia*, which was lost for Want of
James II. Provisions; for the Concerns of unfortunate *Amasis* were ill managed by those whom he trusted with the Administration of publick Affaires.

William III. 39. The Rumor that spred of *Theodore's* comeing in Person to invade
Ireland. *Cyprus* that Summer, encouraged his Party there to indure the last Extremity, in Hope of seeing now a speedy End of the Warr. But it did
James II. not soe much alarm *Amasis*, who seemed as if he were resolved (in case
William III. *Theodore* had not come over that Season) to make noe great Effort to
English. Ireland. expell the *Cilicians* out of *Cyprus*. This Resolucion was beleived to proceed from a wrong Maxim of State, which his evill Councellors
England. prompted him to embrace, that the onely Way to recover *Cilicia* was to
Ireland. loose *Cyprus;* for they perswaded him that, *Cyprus* being once reduced,
English. the *Cilicians* would imediately recall him, as they formerly brought in his
Charles II. Brother, *Pythagoras;* but this was a Favour he could not hope for whilst
Irish. France. he headed a *Cyprian* or a *Syrian* Army; and soe, like the Dog in the Fable, he must lett goe the Substance to snatch at the Shadow. [And,
English. besides, they perpetually rung it in his ears, that even should the *Cili-*

tum in *Lapithia Amasiano* præsidio tenebatur, propugnaculum, annonâ deficiente, expugnat. Ita res *Amasis* infelici incuriâ, ac fatali socordiâ, eorum quibus publica negotia commissa erant, fœdè ac miserè ubique pessumdabantur.

39. Ferebatur interim, sparso passim rumore, *Theodorus Cyprum* ea æstate summis viribus invasurus: qua spe erectis partium animis, et haud dubium belli finem approximare augurantibus, intoleranda quæque ac durissima pati destinavere. At *Amasis* nec presentium necessitate rerum, nec imminentium metu adactus quidquam grande aut arduum moliebatur, certus animi, si *Theodorus* ea tempestate non supervenisset, nihil gravioris momenti eniti, quo *Cilicum* copias Insulam jam persultantes expelleret. Hanc autem illius menti voluntatem subjecerunt Aulicorum præcipui, præpostero consilio inter regni secreta tenendum dictitantes suadentesque, unicam esse recuperandæ *Ciliciæ* viam, si *Cyprum* amitteret: magno enim conatu nimiæ facilitatis Principi ingerere aggressi sunt, *Cilicas*, redacta semel sub potestatem *Cypro*, ut *Pythagoram* fratrem olim revocassent, ita ipsum uno omnium consensu mox in avitum solium recepturos. O vanas hominum cogitationes! quid aliud tanto labore

cians (of which, however, they assured him there was not the slightest fear) continue inveterately in rebellion, that it would be far better that the island should remain under their sway, than that either the domineering *Syrians* or the *Cyprians*, the aborigines of the soil (but towards whom he showed but slight inclination), should enjoy its dominion; a wondrous instance, in sooth, of the inconstancy and ingratitude of that Prince's mind, who had so often boasted that he was lineally descended from the *Galaminian* Kings of *Cyprus*, and who had been himself the son of a *Syrian* Princess, had been nurtured amidst the youthful nobility of *Syria*, and there imbibed his first knowledge of the art of war, and who now, in his declining years, expelled by the wickedness of his own subjects, was forced to seek the aid of a stranger, and had been cherished and supported by these self-same *Syrians*.]

French. Irish. Milesian. Ireland. French. France. French.

40. It is the greatest Unhapiness that can befall a Prince to mistake his true Interest. The least Trip of this Kind, occasions a Fall which is not soe easily recovered; and every materiall Transaction, grounded uppon the Fallacy of wrong Measures, gives a dangerous, if not incurable Wound.

efficiebatur, quam ut, quod de cane illo perhibent fabulæ, miserrimus Rex, et sui ignarus commodi, dum umbram captat, rem ipsam e manibus elapsam perderet? Suggerebant præterea, et crebro admonitu obnoxiis auribus insusurabant, licet *Cilices* (quod metuendum non erat) pertinaci rebellione numquam obsequium fidemque debitam præstitissent, satius tamen et utilius, magisque optandum esse, Insulam eorum ditioni subjacere, quam ut imperiosa *Syrorum* natio, *Cypriisque* vetustissimi regionis accolæ (in quos ille nulla omninò inclinatione ferebatur) eâ potirentur: stupendam sane inconstantiam, ingratumque Principis ingenium! præsertim qui se toties longâ stirpis serie a *Galamiis Cypri* Regibus oriundum jactaverat; quique *Syrorum* Regis Filiâ genitus, inter *Syros* juvenes adoleverat, et prima militiæ rudimenta hauserat, jamque ingravescente ætate, suorum extorris scelere, et alienæ opis indigus, ab iisdem *Syris* sustentabatur.

40. Nullum malum Regnanti gravius, quam suæ utilitatis inscium, aliorum consiliis, plerumque infidis, regi; nec dispicere quid sibi conveniat, noceatve. Omnis enim, quantumvis levis, hac in re lapsus casibus objacet non ex facili reparandis; et omnia, quæ ullius quidem ponderis sunt, molimina si

A Monarch, who rules severall Kingdoms, different in Humors and Proffessions, must keep them (if possible) in such a Ballance, that neither of them shall be capable to suppress the Rest, and the Prince also: and this Maxim ought to be more carefully observed by Princes who come to succeed, not in a masculin Line, in the Throne of that Kingdom, which pretends to be Master. *Pythagoras* the First was not mistaken in his Politicks when he raised a *Delphican* Army in *Cyprus* to counterpoise soe many antimonarchiall Sects, which began in his Time to spring up in *Cilicia;* and if it was the true Interest of *Pythagoras*, though a zealous *Martanesian*, to act after this Manner, certainly it was much more the Interest of *Amasis*, a *Delphican* Prince, to preserve the *Cyprish* Nation, of whose Loyalty and Assistance he might be alwaies secure, and not to expose them to be worryed by his and their mercyless Enimyes. His Father, *Pythagoras*, tho' he understood it his true Interest to continue that *Cyprian* Army, yet the poor Prince had not the Courage or Con-

Charles I.
Roman Catholic. Ireland.
England. Charles. Protestant.
Jas. II. Roman Catholic. Irish.
Charles I.
Irish.

fallacibus fundamentis male nitantur, ruinæ proxima sunt, et periculoso juxtà atque insanabili vulnere locum præbent. Porrò quicumque regna populosque moribus et religione diversos ditione premit, illi summa ope eluctandum est, ut ea moderatione singulos frænet, temperetque, ne ulli aliquandò subjectarum gentium tantùm roboris ac virium suppetat, ut excuso jugo, lacertos movere, imperitantium potentiam succutere, reliquosque opprimere possint: et hoc illis documentum impensiore curâ providendum est, qui non paterno aut hæreditario jure eorum imperium nanciscuntur, qui præ ceteris opibus et dignitate pollent. Non temere igitur nec inconsulto *Pythagoras* ille primus *Cyprios* armavit, ut novarum opinionum homines in regiæ potestatis regnorumque perniciem sub id maximè tempus in *Ciliciâ* nascentes, ostensis ex adverso viribus, reciproco terrore cohiberet. Si *Pythagoras* igitur *Martanesiis* Sacris addictus sua interesse arbitratus est, tumidos Subditorum spiritus, novosque motus excitantes, alieno auxilio compesceret frangeretque, quanto magis *Amasi*, *Delphicæ* religionis Principi, elaborandum fuit, ut *Cyprios*, de quorum fide adjumentoque ambigere non poterat, tum affectu foveret, tum armis tueretur, nec illos in internecionem communium Inimicorum sævitiæ crudelitatique exponeret, quanquam vero patrem ejus *Pythagoram* non latuisset, quantum suis rebus conduceret, *Cyprios* in armis continuari, ac præsto

stancy to keep that Army on Foot, being soon prevailed uppon to disband them, thereby exposeing himself naked to the Mercy of his trecherous Subjects. The tragicall End of that unfortunate King should be an everlasting Warning to all Princes, not to confide too much in the good Nature of rebellious Subjects; and a Man might rationally conclude that, of all Mankind, *Amasis* should be most concerned to shunn the Rock, on which his Father made such notable Shipwrack. But it seems, that neither his Father's Misfortunes, nor his own late Experiments, could make him alter the fond Opinion he once conceived of the good Affection of his *Cilician* Subjects, nor the unhappy Resolution which many believed he took to loose *Cyprus*, in order to recover *Cilicia*. But this grand Design, communicated only to a few Favorites, must be carryed soe cleverly as not to be perceived by *Antiochus*, or the old *Cyprians;* whereupon *Amasis* made it his Business to gett *Demetrius*, the *Syrian* Embassador, and *Rosines*, a brave Captain, recomended to him by *Antiochus*, to be both removed out of *Cyprus;* because the first

James II.
English.
Ireland.
England.
Louis XIV.
Irish. Jas. II.
D'Avaux.
French. De Rozen. Louis XIV.
Ireland.

esse, at in tam salubri proposito permanendi et animo caruit, et constantiâ: nam cum paucos intra dies, familiarum seu levitate, seu perfidiâ illi persuasum esset, ut *Cyprias* legiones exauctoraret dimitteretque, *Cilicum* furori nudum se, et omni prorsus ope destitutum præbuit. Feralis infelicissimi hujus Principis exitus æterno Regibus exemplo esse debuit, ne se suaque Subditorum fidei ac benevolentiæ concrederent, quorum perfidiam ante et odia experiendo didicissent. Id verò ex omni hominum genere *Amasi* maximè cavendum fuit, ne ad illum scopulum impingeret illidereturque, ad quem Pater tam diffamato olim periisset naufragio. Sed nec paternarum memoria calamitatum, nec nuperrima ipsius experimenta mutare et avertere potuerunt, seu pronum in *Cilicas* affectum, seu fatale illud consilium, quo *Cyprum* ultro tradere decreverat, ut *Ciliciam* recuperaret. Grande tamen illud et abstrusum reconditæ et sacratioris prudentiæ mysterium, quod uni *Coridoni*, et paucis ex amicorum intimis commissum erat, tam religioso silentio occultandum fuit, ut ne quid *Antiocho*, aut antiquis *Cypriis* suboleret. Jàm verò ut meditata dudum consilia exitum sortirentur votis parem, *Amasis* Aremetum *Syriæ* Legatum et *Rosinem* rei militaris peritissimum Virum, ab *Antiocho* Ducem bello destinatum, e *Cypro* amoliri statuit; quorum ille profundi Vir judicii, et haud vulgari pru-

was a Man of profound Judgment, and the other could not be endured by *Coridon*, in regard he was more knowing in the Art of Warr than the Captain-Generall, and they could not well hope to compass their Design, if those two great Men continued in the Kingdom. At the same Time, *Coridon* gott himself rid of *Montocles*, who was to comand the 6000 young Soldiers sent to *Syria*, in Exchange for soe many more of the veteran Army which were come from thence under the Comand of *Asinio*, who had a double Caracter of Embassador and Captain; and *Montocles*, who could not endure *Coridon's* haughty Humor, was not displeased to serve in *Syria* under great *Antiochus*.

Tirconnell.

Tirconnell. Mountcashel. France.

De Lauzun.

Mountcashel. Tirconnell. France. L. XIV.

41. *Amasis* and *Coridon*, now left to themselves, had Leisure to propose, in private Consults with those of the Caball, the fittest Methods that could be taken, to perfect theire close Project; for *Asinio* was soon gained to be of theire Opinion, tho' we may rationally suppose that the Bottom of the Design was not discovered to him, for it was soe much against the Interest of the King, his Master.

Jas. II. Tirconnell.

De Lauzun.

42. Whilst they were in those close Consultations, they had an Assureance of *Theodore's* Landing in *Lapithia* with great Forces, not only out

William III. Ulster.

dentiâ insignis habebatur; hunc longo armorum usu, et bellicarum artium laude longè præstantem, *Coridon* non æmulum modò, sed multò etiam superiorem, non nisi iniquo animo, et invitis oculis intuebatur: vix enim quæ diù struxerant paraverantque, exequi unquam sperabant, dum pervigili alterius curâ, forti ac strenuâ alterius operâ impediebantur. Sub id tempus *Coridon Montoclem* etiam e conspectu removit, quem specie honoris per occasionem ablegaverat, præfeceratque sex armatorum millibus, qui tunc in *Syriam* mittebantur, ut locum supplerent totidem veteranorum militum, qui nuper inde sub *Asimonis* geminâ Legati et Ducis vice fungentis, auspiciis trajecerant.

41. Jam, amotis Arbitris, liberum erat *Amasi Coridonique* secretis consultationibus inter conscios agitare, quibus maximè rationibus clandestinas machinationes peragerent. *Asimonem* verò mobili ingenio, et nota vanitate, haud difficili assensu in partes traxerant; quanquam non immerito conjicere ac suspicari fas est, abdita et profunda consiliorum, usque adeo Regis sui rebus adversantium, omnino ipsum ignorasse.

42. Interea dum per occultas hasce artes tempus teritur, constans fama

of *Cilicia* and *Pamphilia*, but also out of *Lycia*, *Lydia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Armenia*, and the haveing joyned those Troups that *Nisias* had in a Readiness before him, he made up a formidable Army; whereas *Amasis* had at that Time but a slender one, haveing the Winter before, by the Advice of *Coridon*, or rather by his Orders, for he was in Effect the King of *Cyprus*, disbanded forty Legions newly raised, because they were, for the most Part, composed of the old *Cyprian* Race, for whom *Coridon* seemed to have noe great Inclination, beleiveing them more dangerous than *Theodore* himself. *Amasis*, however, advanced from *Salamis* on the [16th] Day of the fourth Month, with those few Forces, to meet an Enemy who had double his Number, and whose Troups were in much better Order and Discipline; but he possessed himself of an advantageous Post, between the Province of *Lapithia* and *Salaminia;* and though it might be well defended against a farr more numerous Army than that of *Theodore*, yet *Amasis* quitted it uppon *Theodore's* Advance, and retired in great Journyes to *Tremithus*, where he pitched his Camp, and resolved to attend there the Enemye's comeing, with a Resolution to give him Battalle.

England. Scotland. The Netherlands. Denmark. Sweden. Germany.
Schonberg.
James II.
Tirconnell.
Ireland.
Irish. Tirconnell.
William III.
Jas. II. Dublin.
June, O. S.
Ulster. Leinster.
William III.
Js. II. Will. III.
Drogheda.

gliscit *Theodorum* in *Lapithiam*, exscensione facta, appulisse cum numeroso exercitu, non *Cilicum* modo *Pamphiliorumque*, sed ex *Lycia*, *Lydia*, *Cappadocia*, atque *Armenia* conducto milite, junctisque, quas *Nisias* in procinctu habebat, copiis, terribilem armis virisque multitudinem contraxisse. *Amasis* vero nec militum numero, nec virtute Ducum, parem ducebat exercitum; quippe qui superiori hyeme, *Coridonis* monitu, seu potius jussu atque imperio (vis enim dominationis penes illum erat) quadriginta novorum delectuum millibus missionem dederat, eo tantum motus, quia *Galamii* generis ex parte multo maximâ erant, quos ille, quidquid in publico simularet, ad unum omnes privatim oderat, ipsoque *Theodoro* periculosiores sibi existimabat. Rex, quanquam suorum paucitatem cerneret, obviam tamen hosti, et robore Virorum et milliaris disciplinæ usu peritiâque longe potiori, contendit: locumque situ et arte munitum, *Lapithiam* inter *Salaminiamque* provincias occupavit, quem licet a validioribus, quam quæ tum instabant, copiis tutum, appropinquante tamen *Theodoro*, deseruit, et non absimili fugæ profectione, magnis itineribus *Tremithum* versus movit, ibique castris positis hostum operiri statuit, certus prælii aleam jactare.

[Milesii.]

Irish.

Jas. II. Irish.

Tirconnell.

James II.

43. The *Cyprian* Army was not a little disheartened by this sudden Retreat of *Amasis;* for, as Nothing animates the *Cyprians* more than to be led on to Assault, soe Nothing can discourage them more than to retire from an Enemy; and this is comon to all new-raised Troups, and particularly such as are not soe well officer'd: for *Coridon* employed but very few but Creatures of his own, tho' never soe unfitt to comand. But we must confess the Measures taken all along by *Amasis* were noe way agreeable to the Rules of true Prudence and good Politicks, or to the ancient and modern Maxims of War; for, as it is a received Principle among Conquerors to hasten the Decision of the Quarrell by Battle whilst theire Army is fresh, hearty, and numerous, soe it is the known Intrest of those who are uppon the Defensive, to follow contrary Methods, and to delay comeing to a generall Engagement, untill the Invaders may be had at a cheap Rate, when Fatigues, Diseases, and other

43. Trepida hæc et insperata incompositi agminis fuga haud parum animorum ardorem, diminuit, repressitque; id enim propemodum omnibus comparatum, et *Cypriæ* potissimum genti a natura insitum est, ut dum in adversum tendunt ducunturque, pugnam lacessunt, hostem voce, manu, armis provocant, irritari contingat, accendique, et fortius insurgere; retro autem cedendo, terga insequentibus dando, sese tumultuose recipiendo, velut quadam degeneris confessione pavoris, atque ipsa trepidatione, cadant animis, et elanguescant. Et hoc sanè omnium fere commune est, qui subitaneo et præpropero delectu ad arma excitantur, cum præsertim inscitia Ducum Præfectorumque laborant, quos *Coridon* plurimùm non peritiæ aut spectatæ virtutis ergò, sed studio ac favore in eum gradum attollere ac promovere consueverat. At enimvero fatendum est *Amasim* in hoc rerum suarum articulo ab antiquorum bellatorum vestigiis, et imperatoriis superiorum temporum exemplis multum ubique aberrasse; nec aut veteres, aut recentes bellorum rationes ullibi observasse. Nam ut solemnis aliena invadentium mos est premere, instare fortunæ, aleam belli præcipitare, viribus adhuc integris, et militum alacritate ac numero prevalentibus; ita sua defendentium summopere interest contrariam his viam insistere, declinare, tergiversari, pugnandi occasiones subterfugere, donec absumpto primo impetu subsidat ardor, senescat virtus, marceat et enervetur hostis, et tandem morbis, itinerum molestiis, aliisque incommodis, quibus in

Incomodities which they are to expect in an Enemy's Country, will make them notably decay, both in Courage and Number, and when they are soe harrassed that they may be easily defeated without any great Hazard; and the Victory which is obtained without Bloodshed and Loss of Men brings more Reputation to the Generall, for it is wholly attributed to his own Conduct; whereas his Captains and Soldiers must share with him in the Glory of gaining a Battle. It was therefore the Interest of *Amasis* not to fight at that Time, but to retire to *Salamis*, and joyne the Rest of his Troups, left for the Garde of that City, where he might have three Parts of the Kingdom at his Back, to furnish him with all Necessaryes; *Theodore* haveing only the Province of *Lapithia* (which was then ruined and laid desolat) to furnish him with Provisions; for he could not expect much out of *Cilicia*, for both the *Cilician* and *Lycian* Fleet were about that Time defeated by the Navy of *Antiochus*, which gave him the absolute Dominion of the Seas. Notwithstanding all these Reasons which should oblige *Amasis* to prolong the Warr, he was

Jas. II. Dublin.

Will. III. Ulster.

England. English. Dutch. Louis XIV.

James II.

hostico commorantes alteri, conflictarique necesse est, multum et militarium Virorum robori et multitudini decedat; atque ita demum fessi malis, et gravibus debilitati laboribus absque ullo grandi discrimine, acie fundi fugarique possint: et ea quidem victoria, quæ sanguine et strage hominum non stetit, uberiorem Imperatori laudum materiam parit; ipsius enim pervigili curæ et sagacitati tota tribuitur; cum interim ex præliorum eventu indulgentiâ fortunæ, locorum opportunitas, aliorum Ducum industria, militumque manus haud exiguam gloriæ partem decerpant, sibique vindicent. Regi itaque ea tempestate in tutiora recipiendus erat exercitus, certamenque aliquantisper detrectandum, regrediendumque demum *Salamina*, ubi eam copiarum partem, quam urbi præsidio reliquerat, iis, quas ducebat legionibus adjungeret; et velut in otio e tribus regni partibus, quæ a tergo in securos aditus patebant, commeatus et alia, quæ usui forent tuto inveheret: cum interim *Theodoro Lapithia* tantum, et hæc ipsa hostili incursu exhausta vastataque, ad supplendas militum necessitates superesset; præterea vix eo anno quidquam e *Cilicia* subsidii expectandum erat, cum paucos ante dies *Cilicum Lyciorumque* classes navali prælio ab *Antiocho* fusæ maritimæ rei imperia illi cessissent. Quanquam vero tot morarum causæ *Amasim* ad protrahendum bellum invitarent, tamen

fatally resolved (without staying for all his Forces) to putt his Title to three Kingdoms uppon the Event of one Day.

Jas. II. Leinster. The Boyne. Ulster.

44. *Amasis* encamped upon the *Salaminian* Side of the River of *Lapithus*, which anciently divided that Province from *Lapithia*. It was foordable in severall Places, and noe Trench cast up for the Defence of those Foords. *Theodore* was no sooner arrived than he pitched his Camp on *Lapithia* Side the same River. The first Day was spent in discharging from both Camps the great Engins of Warr, comonly used to batter the Walls of Townes and Castles, which destroyed a great many Men and Horses in *Theodore's* Camp. But they were sent away that Night to *Salamis*, *Amasis* haveing ordered his Men to pull down their Tents, and prepare for a March, which was noe sooner done than countermanded.

William III. Ulster.

William III. Dublin. Jas. II.

nescio, quo fato urgente, trium regnorum jus in unius prælii discrimen præcipitare decrevit.

44. Jam castra metatus erat *Amasis* ad *Salaminiam*, *Lapithi* amnis ripam, qui olim provinciam illam a *Lapithia* media aquarum divortio disterminabat. Fluvius, crebris intercursantibus vadis meabilis, facilem trajecturis aditum præbebat, nec tum ullis molibus, aut aggerum impedimento hosti præclusa erat via. *Theodorus* mox superveniens adversum fluminis latus, et collium prominentia, castris latius quam pro numero in speciem protensis, occupavit. Prima dies insumpta missilibus, aliisque telorum generibus mittendis, ejaculandisque per violentos tormentorum machinarumque bellicarum succussus, quorum impetu mœnia urbium turresque horribili solent fragore quassari; et ingentem sane hominum jumentorumque stragem ea in *Theodori* castris edidere. At Rex, cui mens cædibus abstinere, et *Cilicum* cruori, quantum fas esset, parcere, nihil infestis increpantium vocibus, nihil strictis in jugulum ac micantibus gladiis motus, graviora hæc bellici apparatus instrumenta, quæ et maximo suis adjumento et hostibus amnem transvadare conantibus terrori esse poterant, sub noctem *Salamina* præmitti mandat, jussis militibus, ut vasa raptim colligerent, et sub primam lucem ad iter capessandum in procinctu essent: nec multo post mira levitate contraria imperantur, militique ut pugnæ se accingat, præcipitur. Consiliis ita in incertum fluctuantibus, et insolitâ Regis inconstantiâ non parùm militarium animorum alacritati decessit, dubitantium, cum dilucesceret, proficiscendumne, an dimicandum esset.

45. This Irresolution of the King discouraged the Army, who, next Day, being the first of the fifth Month, was furiously attacked by the *Theodorites*, who, after a hot Dispute, forced a Passage over the River, and fresh Supplys pouring after them, the *Amasian* Troups, comeing down in small Partyes to support those who garded the River, were still beaten back; and *Amasis*, instead of comanding the whole Army, which was then drawn up, to advance, ordered them to march on to *Salamis*, exposeing them to be all cutt off by the Enemy, who pursued them in the Reare. [The soldiers groaned, and, with ill-suppressed murmurs, complained, that a certain victory had been wrested from them, that the enemy was suffered to escape out of their hands, and, above all, that their comrades had been basely abandoned to the weapons of the enemy; moreover, when they thought of themselves, with death roaring around them, and dangers, from which scarcely any human aid could deliver them, staring them in the face, indignation was the predominant feeling, whilst they murmured that so many swords should be sheathed without

July, O. S. Williamites. Jacobite. James II. Dublin.

45. Ita solliciti ac vacillantes noctem eam insomnem duxere. At *Theoditæ*, quiete ciboque refectis artubus, orto jam sole, sublato ingenti clamore, magnoque impetu in adversos detonuere: cumque diù acriter utrimque pugnatum esset, tandem viam sibi trans flumen vi et armis aperuerunt. Nec id defensorum socordiæ imputandum, sed vel ignaviæ vel inscitiæ Ducum, cum qui amnis in præsidio agitabant, paucitate laborantes, ac subeuntium multitudine retroactos, nullo novo subsidio reficerent; et hosti, superante numero, recentes integræque cohortes e propinquis castris subinde mitterentur. At Rex quem totâ mole belli in suorum auxilium descendere, et instructam aciem in exultantem lætis successibus hostem educere oportebat, omnes qui nihil jam nisi prælium, arma, sanguinem spirabant, nec quidquam minus, quam fugam suspicabantur: ex inopinatò terga vertere, et quanta possent celeritate, *Salamina* contendere jussit. Ingemuit miles, ac certam sibi ereptam victoriam, hostem e manibus elabi passum, ad hæc, miserandum commilitonum casum, qui inter infesta undique tela turpiter deserebantur, haud occulto fremitu conquestus est: dehinc in se conversis cogitationibus, licet mors circumstreperet, et tot pericula, vix humana ope evitabilia, ob oculos versarentur, indignatio tamen eminebat mussantium tot exertos mucrones, non tentatâ saltem fortuna, recondi:

a blow. Who, they said, was to protect their rear? Who to avert the danger of a general massacre? How easy was it for their pursuers to slaughter the fugitives, and cut off all stragglers from their broken ranks! But the King was deaf to these murmurs of the soldiery, as well as to the advice of his Generals.] He rid before, with a select Party of Horse
Dublin. for his Guard, and, arriving that Night at *Salamis*, he went off next Morning, by Break of Day, and never stopt till he came to the Sea-
Kinsale. port Town of *Marium*, 100 Leagues distant from the Place of Battle,
French. where he noe sooner arrived than he gott on Board a *Syrian* Vessell,
France. which he found in the Harbour, and, setting Sail for *Syria*, was the first Man that brought into that Country the unwelcome News of his un-
Dublin. happy Defeat. But, before he left *Salamis*, he ordered the Officers there to disperse theire Men, and make the best Conditions they could for themselves.

James II. 46. The Courage and Valour of *Amasis*, whereof he gave a thousand Demonstrations by Sea and Land, made the World conclude that this Flight was not altogether occasioned by an Act of Pusilanimity, but pro-

quem fugientum terga protecturum? Quem publicum certissimæ cladis discrimen aversurum? Quàm pronum insequentibus profugos cædere, et laxatis semel ordinibus, obruere effusos, instare lateribus, extremum agmen carpere? ipse nec vocibus his vulgi, nec monitu Ducum motus, cum selectis equitum turmis intentissimo cursu præcessit; et cum eâdem nocte *Salamina* accessisset, non expectato copiarum adventu, proximâ luce trepidum iter arripuit, nec ante substitit, quàm *Marium*, arcem mari imminentem, appelleret, centum leucarum spatio ab iis campis, in quibus improspere pugnatum erat, distantem. Nec ibi moratum est: continuo *Syram* navem in anchoris stantem conscendit, ac prosperâ navigatione usus, primus acceptæ cladis, et adversi prælii Nuncius *Antiocho* et *Syris* fuit. At priusquam *Salamine* discessisset, armorum, qui tum aderant, Ducibus præcepit, dimisso milite, sibi suisque rebus quibus commodissime possent conditionibus consulerent.

46. Præsens semper et intrepidus inter pericula casusque difficiles animus, specimenque virtutis mille fortitudinis experimentis spectatæ, et rerum, quas superioribus bellis terra marique sub fraternis gesserat auspiciis, gloriâ, omnibus argumento erat, *Amasim* non degeneri aliquo metu, aut ignavâ perculsum for-

ceeded rather from a wrong Maxim of State; for, after arriving in *Syria*, he was soe farr from soliciting any Succors from thence to support the Warr in *Cyprus*, that he told *Antiochus* all the Island was lost, and the People in noe Condition to be relieved: and, indeed, some ran-away *Syrians*, who fled out of *Cyprus* along with *Amasis*, to palliat their own Flight, gave out very confidently that the *Cyprians*, in the Day of Battle, forsook theire King, and the auxiliary *Syrian* Forces, who were all cutt in Pieces. And it is likely they might beleive it was soe, for they did not stay to be Witnesses of the honourable Retreat, which the *Syrian* Foot and the *Cyprian* Cavalry made along to *Salamis*. The few *Cilician* Courtiers who stayed with the Queen in *Syria*, to justifye the Flight of their King, did not spare calumniateing the *Cyprians*, whom they trumpeted about to be the greatest Villains and Traytors in the World, haveing

France.
Ireland.
Louis XIV.
French. Ireland.
James II.
Irish.
French.
French.
Irish. Dublin.
English.
France.
Irish.

midine, ex acie diffugisse; sed consulto ac de industria, ob causas, quas supra memoravimus, tam indecorum generi regioque nomini, facinus admisisse; posteaquam enim in *Syriam* advectus est, non modo nulla, ad sustentandum in *Cypro* bellum, auxilia poposcit, verum universam Insulam penitus amissam *Antiocho* narravit, nec eum esse rerum in illa gente statum, ut ullo suppetiarum adminiculo aut imposito jam jugo eripi, aut in pristinam felicitatem redintegrari possint. Et vero *Syrorum* fugacissimi, qui *Amasim Cypro* excedentem comitati sunt, quo alienis probris suæ timiditatis infamiam occulerent, summâ impudentiâ vulgare ausi sunt, *Cyprios* Regem et auxiliarias *Syrorum* cohortes in ipso prælio deseruisse, easque ad internecionem funditus deletas trucidatasque fuisse. Nec eos ita suspicatos a vero abhorret, quippe qui inito statim certamine, non expectato pugnæ eventu, lymphatis similes profugerant; nec egregium illum decorumque copiarum sensim recedentium ordinem, oculis subjecerant, quo *Syrorum* pedes, *Cypriusque* eques pugnam inter iterque *Salamina* retrogressi sunt. Pauci illi ex *Cilicibus* Aulicis, qui cum Regina in *Syriâ* commorante remanserant, tum ut præcipitem Regis fugam speciosis nominibus excusarent; tum ut inveterata in *Cyprios* odia liberius effutirent, tum denique ut proditionis Socios suæ genti adsiscerent, et scelerum communione minus sontes viderentur; non cessabant universam nationem fœde traducere, et ingestis insuper convitiis lacerare, pavidos et malefidos proditores, ac mortalium consceleratissimos publice appellando; ut qui non Principem modo tela inter

not only abandoned theire Prince, and left him exposed to the Enemy, but also imediately submitted to *Theodore*, owning his Authority.

William III.

47. This Calumny, soe artificially spred abroad, made such a Noise in *Syria*, that the *Cyprian* Merchants, who lived there since the Conquest of *Attilas*, durst not walk abroad, or appear in the Streets, the People were soe exasperated against them, and noe other Relation comeing out of *Cyprus* to contradict it (for *Coridon*, who was not a Stranger to the Plott, putt an Embargue uppon all Ships, to hinder any Accounts from thence into *Syria*, that might gainsay what was told there uppon the Arrivall of *Amasis*), *Antiochus* himself, who never hitherto wanted true Intelligence, finding noe Account of the *Cyprian* Officers contrary to these Relations, confidently averred by Persons of unquestionable Credit, had noe Reason to misbelieve it, and consequently giveing all

France. Irish. O. Cromwell. Ireland. Tirconnell. France. Jas. II. Ls. XIV. Irish.

hostesque reliquissent, sed confestim sese *Theodoro* dedidissent, et naturæ pariter, ac sacramenti quo se obstrinxerant, obliti, ei, ut legitimo Regi, paruissent.

47. Tanta infamia tam operoso artificio, et subtili commento in vulgus sparsa, tam constantibus de *Cypriorum* perfidia atque opprobrio rumoribus, totam, qua lata est, *Syriam* ita pervasit, ut Mercatores *Cyprii*, qui oppressæ patriæ mala ac domesticas calamitates subterfugientes, et religionis simul ac libertatis avidi, natale solum exilio verterant, et certas sibi sedes apud exteros fixerant, jam inde ex quo crudelis *Attilas* everso regni jure, et Rege per scelus exacto, Tyrannidem occupavit, propter inustum genti dedecus intra domorum septa clausi nusquam prodire auderent: tanto eorum odio populus in universùm exarserat! Cum autem nihil, quod dictorum fidem elevaret, e *Cypro* referretur, et *Coridon* omnium quæ agebantur gnarus consciusque edicto inhibuisset, ne qua e portu solveret navis, aut in altum proveheretur, ne scilicet emanare in publicum rerum veritas posset, quo, quæ ab *Amasis* adventu evaluerant, et credulos multitudinis animos præoccupaverant mendacia, deprehensâ falsitate, in ludibrium comminiscentium verterentur. Quin et *Antiocho* ipsi his artibus illusum est, quanquam summa in eo, et plane principalis virtus sit, aliorum consilia altius rimari, arcana pervestigare, et totum fere terrarum orbem notitiâ complecti: nec immerito tamen iis, quæ a tantæ dignitatis et existimationis Viris nuntiabantur, nullo præsertim contrarium asserente, haud

the Island for lost, he judged it to noe Purpose to send Relief to a People that were not capable of any: he therefore ordered the Admirall of his victorious Fleet to bring out of *Cyprus* his own Troops, and such of the *Cyprian* Army and Nobility, as had a Mind to retire from Bondage. Ireland. Irish.

48. To return now to our forlorn Army on the River of *Lapithus*, tho' they were abandoned by their Chief, the Cavalry, however, with the Assistance of 6000 Men, *Syrian* Foot, made a brave Retreat, fighting and marching Day and Night, till they came to *Salamis*, where, finding neither King or Captain Generall, nor indeed any principal Officers, and understanding that *Amasis* left Orders that every Man should shift for himself, they were in a great Consternation; but the death of *Nisias*, killed uppon the first Onsett, was the Occasion they were not hotly pursued, haveing now Time to retire leizurely to *Paphos*: and it is admirable how every individuall Person, both Officer and Soldier, came thither without any Orders, and without the Conduct of any of theire

Boyne. French. Dublin. James II. Schonberg. Limerick.

difficulter assensit. Et proinde cum Insulam hostili penitus jugo oppressum crederet, supervacaneum ratus est, deploratæ jam conditionis populum sero et inutili auxilio juvare. Victricis igitur classis Præfecto mandavit, quotquot Nobilium militumque natalis soli desiderio, duræque servituti libertatem et socialia arma præferrent, continuo infaustæ patriæ ruinis et exitio subduceret.

48. Ut demum ea, unde nos necessaria rerum series abstraxit, repetentes, ad destitutas super *Lapithi* fluminis ripam copias regrediamur, quanquam Ductoris fugâ derelicti, et selectissimæ equitum turmæ Regem sequerenter, adsistentibus tamen sex *Syrorum* peditum millibus, dies noctesque non itineri magis quam prælio intenti, *Salamina* non trepidè aut confusè, sed servatis ubique ordinibus decenter se receperunt, ubi cum nec *Amasim* comperissent, nec alium ullum copiarum Ducem, qui palantes et sine imperio vagos regeret, ingenti consternatione perculsi obtorpuerunt, cum præsertim abeuntem Regem mandasse inter tumultuantes percrebesceret, quisque sibi, qua tutissime posset consuleret. *Nisiæ* vero mors in ipso conflictu inter initia pugnæ interempti, hostem, ne acriori impetu fugientium terga cederet, retardavit, spatiumque *Cypriis* reliquit, sine magna aut præcipiti festinatione *Paphum* se recipiendi. At enimvero obstupescendum est omnes eodem confluxisse, nullius ductu, et Rectoris egentes, tanquam secreto aliquo naturæ genio et instructu illuc

Limerick. chief Comanders, as if they were guided to *Paphos* by some secrett Instinct of Nature. In a Week's Time after the Battle, the Appearance

Tirconnell. De Lauzun. French. there was soe considerable, that *Coridon* and *Asimo* (the *Syrian* Generall) were equally surprized; the First was concerned least such a sudden Rally might hinder (at least delay) the Execution of the Design which was hatched in the Cabinett; the other was noe less troubled that soe

French. France Louis XIV. many of the *Syrians* appeared, after he writt into *Syria*, and perhaps to *Antiochus* himself, that they were all, to a very few, cut off; and the Contrary being now made evident (for they did not loose 6 Men that Day) he had Reason to apprehend, that it might bring his Credit and

France. Sincerity in Question at the Court of *Syria:* soe that these two great Men being of one Resolution, tho' for different Ends, were linked

De Lauzun. together in a Friendship that seemed everlasting. *Asimo* longed soe much to be back in his own Country, that he could not endure to hear

Ireland. of purlonging the Warr in *Cyprus;* and it is probable that some of his

France. Captains (who longed to breathe the sweet Air of *Syria*), dispaireing of

Tirconnell. the Country, believed it impossible to preserve it. *Coridon* nourished

cunctos invitante. Tantus eo mortalium concursus septimum intra diem factus est, ut advolantem multitudinem non sine stupore quodam et admiratione *Coridon*, *Asimoque*, auxiliarium *Syrorum* Præfectus intuerentur. Illum formido incesserat, ne coalescentium indies militum numerus consiliorum, quæ privatos intra parietes structa erant, effectum aut impediret, aut certe moraretur. Vexabatur hic tot *Syrorum*, qui integri evaserant, conspectu, posteaquam ipse *Amicis* per literas, et forte etiam *Antiocho* indicasset, eos adverso prælio ad unum fere omnes cecidisse; cumque jam ipsa veritas scripta evidentissime refelleret, vix sex ex iis in illâ acie occisis, justa de causa metuendum illi erat, ne in aula *Syriaca* et levioris fidei et dubiæ sinceritatis suspectus haberetur. Quocirca par illud magnorum Virorum, diversas licet ob causas, unius tamen voluntatis, æterno amicitiæ vinculo invicem connexi videbantur. *Asimo* diuturnam absentiam tam ægre molesteque ferebat, ut bellum in *Cypro* protrahi continuarique ipso ei auditu acerbissimum esset. Nec incredibile est Ducum in illius exercitu nonnullos (potissimum qui patrii cœli dulcedinem impatientius suspirabant) sibi persuasisse, desperatas *Cypri* res nullâ humanâ ope defendi sustentarique posse. Ita affectis faces subjiciebat *Coridon*, et natalis soli desi-

this Humor, because it went along with his Design, not to oppose *Theodore* in the Conquest of *Cyprus*. For the more speedy Effecting that Work, he omitted Nothing that might encourage *Theodore* to advance, and discourage the *Cyprians* to resist: he shipt away his Wife, a *Cilician* Lady, with all his own Wealth and the King's Treasure, into *Syria*, where she gave out, (pursuant to her Instructions), that all *Cyprus* was lost, to the Citys of *Paphos* and *Cythera*, which could not hold out long; that the *Cyprians* had noe Army, and that the Nation, for the most Part, submitted to *Theodore*. All this was done, in order to fortify the King's Relation of the present State of *Cyprus*, and to keep *Antiochus* in the Dark from the true Knowledge of their Condition; and it was hoped that by this Artifice the Country would be realy lost, before the *Syrian* King should come to know, whether or noe they were capable of being releived? Of the other Side, noe Endeavours were omitted by *Coridon* to perswade the *Cyprians* that it was Folly to expect any Relief from *Antiochus*, who had his Hands soe full, that he was not able to assist

William III. Ireland. William III. Irish. English. France. Ireland. Limerick. Galway. Irish. William III. Ireland. Louis XIV. French. Tirconnell. Irish. Louis XIV.

derio ardentes stimulabat; quia *Syrorum* accelerari reditum arcanis consiliis multum conducebat, quibus jam olim statuerat, nullo graviori molimine *Theodori* conatibus in perdomanda *Cypro* obviam ire, et ut opus illud diu multumque meditatum tandem ad speratum pertingeret exitum, nihil intentatum reliquit, quo aut *Theodorus* ad instandum victoriis invitaretur, aut *Cyprii* a resistendo deterrerentur. Uxorem, *Cilicem* genere, cum opibus et regiâ gazâ in *Syriam* navibus præmittit, ubi, prout convenerat, in vulgus spargit universam *Cyprum* amissum esse, *Papho* et *Cytherâ* urbibus exceptis, quæ et ipsæ longioris obsidii moræ pares esse non poterant; nullum *Cypriis* exercitum superesse; et totam fere gentem in *Theodorum* cessisse. Fabricata hæc omnia, ut, quæ Rex ante vulgaverat de præsenti rerum in *Cypro* statu, confirmarentur; utque *Antiochum* penitus lateret, quo in articulo summa negotiorum staret, et hoc artificioso commento eventurum sperabatur, ut Insula prius hosti funditus traderetur, quam in *Syrorum* Regis notitiam venisset, eam esse Incolarum conditionem, ut sublevari, et auxilii capaces esse possent. At parte ex alia *Coridon* omni vi nitebatur *Cypriis* suadere, vanam esse ab *Antiocho* suppetiarum expectationem, qui tot simul undique circumfundebatur hostibus, ut vix sua defendendo, nedum alienis calamitatibus allevandis sufficere posset, proinde

them, and noe visible Way now left for Self-preservation, but to treat with *Theodore*, who likely, at that Time, would give them any Conditions, that he might be at Liberty to joyne with the Rest of the Confederates, in order to attack *Syria* on all Sides. But the Generality of the *Cyprish* Nation were of an other Sentiment; not expecting the Performance of any Treaty with the *Cilicians*, who infringed soe often the publick Faith. In a grand Councill at *Paphos*, it was concluded to dispatch two Persons of Quality into *Syria*, to signify their present Condition and Resolution to defend the Country, not doubting but *Antiochus* would powerfully support them, for it was his true Interest to give *Theodore* Work in *Cyprus*. It was also resolved in that Consult, that *Lysander*, the Darling of the Army, should comand in chief, next to the Captain Generall. When these Results were made known to *Coridon* (for he was not that Day at Councill), he seemed to like neither. He said it did not belong to the Councill to send Deputyes abroad: it

William III.
France.
Irish.
English.
Limerick.
France.
Louis XIV.
Will. III. Ireland.
Sarsfield.
Tirconnell.

reliquum esse, eamque unicam ad salutem patere viam, mature cum *Theodoro* de pace transigere, quem verisimile erat nullas æquas conditiones id temporis rejecturum, quo promptus posset cum reliquis fœderatorum Principum ad *Syriam* omni ex parte invadendum consociari. Tot machinis, tot terriculamentis *Cypriorum* vel animos contundere, vel fidem labefactare conabatur; quorum tamen longe diversa mens erat, memoriâ recolentium, quoties irrita cum *Cilicibus* fœdera percussissent, quoties pacis leges publicâ fide interposita sancitas, immani perfidiâ rupissent. Frequenti igitur concilio *Paphi* habito placuit, duos conspicuæ dignitatis Viros in *Syriam* Legatos mitti, tum, ut quo jam in statu domi res essent, quantoque animorum ardore pro focis et aris pugnare decrevissent, diserte renuntiarent; tum etiam ut afflictarum rerum levamen obnixius exorarent: nec ulli dubium erat, quin *Antiochus* subsidiorum, quantum esset satis, mitteret, quippe cujus usque adeo intererat *Theodorum* in *Cypro* quam diutissime implicari distinerique. In eodem etiam concilio ordinatum est, ut *Lysander*, militaris turbæ amor et deliciæ, secundum supremum armorum Ducem omnia posset. Cum hæc *Coridon* rescisset (nam eo forte die aberat) neutrum probavit: negabat concilio potestatem inesse legationem ad exteras nationes adornandi, hoc sui muneris, sibique proprium esse affirmans, destinaturumque quos idoneos censuisset, idque tantum pro arbitrio, et cum ipsi

was his Prerogative, and that he would send when and Whom he thought fitt. As for *Lysander*, he could not endure to hear of his Preferment. Sarsfield.

49. *Theodore*, in the Meanwhile, haveing slowly advanced to *Salamis*, was joyfully received there by the *Cilician* Inhabitants, who were numerous in that City since *Attilas* conquered *Cyprus*, which was 38 Years before the Invasion of *Theodore*. From *Salamis* he marched his Army to *Palæa*, which was surrendered without Opposition, by Orders from the Captain Generall, as the Officer commanding there did alledge. He also reduced the strong Fortress of *Condone*, for Want of a sufficient Garrison to defend it, which was often represented by the Governor; but it was not *Coridon's* Design to harrass too much *Theodore's* Army; for he believed that Nothing would breake sooner the Obstinacy of the *Cyprians*, than to behold an uninterrupted Course of Success on the other Side. Uppon *Theodore's* March from *Salamis* to *Palæa*, he sent Part of his Forces to reduce *Arsinoe*, uppon the River of *Lycus*, which, riseing from the Mounts of *Lapithia*, runs up towards *Amathusia*, and 20 Leagues

William III. Dublin. English. Cromwell. Ireland. W. III. Dublin. Waterford. Kilkenny. Tirconnell. William III. Irish. W. III. Dublin. Waterford. Athlone. Shannon. Ulster. Munster.

libitum fuisset. De *Lysandri* honoribus ne fando quidem audire poterat.

49. *Theodorus* posteaquam ad *Lapithum* flumen prospere pugnaverat, modicis itineribus *Salamina* contendit, ubi exultantibus præ lætitiâ animis excipitur a *Cilicibus* incolis, qui ibi magno numero consederant, ab eo usque tempore quo Tyrannus *Attillas Cyprum* pertinaci bello perdomitam subjugaverat, octo et triginta annis, quam paratâ expeditione *Theodorus* Insulam denuo invasit. *Salamine Palæam* cum exercitu petiit, quam statim in deditionem accepit, idque jussu et imperio *Coridonis*, penes quem summum armorum regimen, ut loci illius Gubernator, præproperæ deditionis reus actus, affirmaverat. *Condonam* etiam munitissimum propugnaculum absque ulla difficultate subegit; licet enim Præfectus Præsidiariorum discrimen imminere ex defensorum paucitate crebro per litteras suggereret, incassum tamen preces ceciderant, nam *Coridoni* propositum non erat *Theodoritarum* animos atterere, et nimiis laboribus fatigare: non aliâ quippe ratione obstinatam *Cypriorum* pervicaciam frangi prorsus atque illidi posse arbitrabatur, quam si indefesso victoriarum cursu, nec interruptis successibus ferocientem hostem conspicerent. Cum *Theodorus Salamine Palæam* proficisceretur, partem copiarum ad oppugnandam reducendamque *Arsinoem* misit. Oppidum illud est extructum super

Limerick. Connaught. Leinster. Munster. Shannon. Ireland. Lieut.-Gen. Douglass. William III. Athlone. Sarsfield. Limerick. Will. III. Tirconnell. L. G. Douglass. Limerick. Sarsfield.

beyond *Paphos* disburdens itself into the main Sea, dividing *Paphia* from the Provinces of *Salaminia* and *Amathusia*. This Tract of Land between *Lycus* and the Sea may be justly called the Citadel of *Cyprus*, which has beene alwaies a Refuge to the Inhabitants of the other Provinces to retire into, when they were overpowered by the Enemy. *Lycippus*, the Captain who led the Forces of *Theodore* to take the Towne and Castle of *Arsinoe*, after ten Dayes vain Attempt uppon the Place, haveing Intelligence of *Lysander's* comeing, with a considerable Party from the Camp near *Paphos*, to relieve it, retired hastily by Night, and went by great Marches to joyne *Theodore*. It was remarkable *Coridon* could not dissemble the Dissatisfaction he received by this Retreat of *Lycippus*, and haveing ordered back to *Paphos* most of the Troops that came with *Lysander*, he comanded him, however, with a very inconsiderable Party, to follow and observe the Enemye's Motions; whilst, in his Absence, he contrived all the Means that Art could invent, to draw the Captains of the Army (among whom he had a great many Creatures of his own) and

ripam fluminis *Lyci*, qui e *Lapithiæ* montibus procurrens, *Amathusiam* versus placido alveo delabitur, *Paphumque* transvectus, post emensum viginti leucarum spatium occidentali mari miscetur; *Paphiamque* ingenti aquarum divortio a *Salaminiæ* et *Amathusiæ* finibus disterminat. Vastus ille et longo ambitu protensus terrarum tractus, qui hinc *Lyco* amne, inde exteriore alluitur mari, *Cypri* propugnaculum haud immerito nuncupari potest; nam ab omni retro ætate tutissimum munimentum erat, et inexpugnabilis instar arcis, quo reliquarum provinciarum accolæ sese recipiebant, quoties a præpollentibus urgebantur hostibus. *Lycippus*, qui copiis præerat, quas *Theodorus* ad *Arsinoem*, castrumque ibi in potestatem redigendum delegerat, postquam decem dierum obsidione locum frustra pressisset, audito *Lysandrum* cum haud temnendâ amnu a castris non procul *Papho* positis in auxilium adventare, noctu tumultuosâ profectione regreditur, et, re infecta, magnis itineribus ad *Theodorum* contendit. Illud vero notabile, *Coridonem* occultare non potuisse anxietatem offensionemque, quam ex præpropera *Lycippi* fugâ conceperat, et jussis magna ex parte turmis, quas *Lysander* duxerat, *Paphum* reverti, ipsi infrequenti agmine sequi, et hostium tergis inhærere imperavit: dum ille interim omni artificio copiarum Duces, quo in honoris gradu multos suarum partium collo-

the Members of the Councill, who were, for the most Part, of his Chooseing (for he did what he pleased with *Amasis*), to condescend to a Treaty with *Theodore*, as the best Expedient that could be then fixed uppon for Self-preservation. To induce them the more thereunto, and to dishearten altogether the *Cyprian* Troopes (who were raw Men, not acquainted with Seidges), from undertaking the Defence of *Paphos*, *Asimo*, the *Syrian* Generall, haveing viewed and surrounded all the Outworkes and Fortifications of *Paphos*, which, indeed, were not fully finished, he publickly declared the Place was not tenable; and next Day, as if he despaired of its Defence, he marched to *Cythera*, incamping his veteran Troops under the Walls of that Towne: and yet all these Discouragements, which were designedly concerted between *Coridon* and *Asimo*, could not divert the *Cyprian* Infantry from theire former Resolution, to expose theire Lives for the Defence of *Paphos*, which was of soe great Importance for the Preservation of *Cyprus*.

James II. William III. Irish. Limerick. De Lauzun. French. Limerick. Galway. Tirconnell. De Lauzun. Irish. Limerick. Ireland.

50. *Theodore* made noe great Hast to *Paphos*, to give *Coridon* the more Time for compassing his Design to bring the *Cyprians* to a generall Condescention for a Treaty; and when he found Matters were dis-

Will. III. Limerick. Tirconnell. Irish.

caverat, et qui in concilium admittebantur, quos plurimum ipse elegerat (nam *Amasi* pro arbitrio moderabatur), pertrahere niteretur, ut in fœdus cum *Theodoro* ineundum consentirent, tanquam id unicum esset, quod tum excogitari posset, publicæ salutis remedium. Ut autem eo citius inclinarentur multitudinis animi utque *Cyprius* miles (tyronum nempe exercitus, et urbium obsidiis insuetus) a propugnandâ *Papho* absterrerentur, *Asimo Syrorum* Præfectus, inspectis perlustratisque exterioribus munitionibus et operibus, quæ nondum sane perfecta erant, circumstanti coronæ publice enuntiavit, locum defensioni ineptum esse, atque ita posterâ die profectionem *Cytheram* versus suis indicit, ubi cum veteranis cohortibus castra sub ipsis urbis mænibus locat. Nec tamen hæc terroris machinamenta, quæ deditâ operâ a *Coridone* pariter et *Asimone* excogitabantur, *Cyprium* militem aut avertere, aut retardare poterant, quo minus *Paphum* tanti ad eripiendam hosti *Cyprum* momenti locum, communibus et animis et viribus defensum irent.

50. *Theodorus* lento et parum festinato gradu urbi succedebat, quo opportunum *Coridoni* tempus concederet, ut juxtà quam propositum erat *Cyprios*

posed thereunto, most of the prime Comanders being already gained, he
Sarsfield. advanced near the Towne. Whereuppon *Lysander* being sent for, and
Limerick. arriveing at *Paphos*, was much surprized to find such a Change in the Generall Officers, who, however, durst not act any Thing contrary to the Sentiments of the Tribunes who headed the Legions, and who were, for
Sarsfield. the most Part, of *Lysander's* Resolution, to continue the Warr. Uppon
Limerick. his Arrival the Scene was altred; the Defence of *Paphos* was resolved uppon, and all the Infantry were ordered to man the Place, excepting three Legions, ordered to garde some Foords near the Towne uppon the
Shannon. River of *Lycus;* the Men at Arms and Light Horse encamping near the
Connaught. City, on *Paphia* Side.

August, O. S. 51. On the 9th Day of the sixth Month, and the fortieth after
Boyne. W. III. the Engagement on the River of *Lapithus*, *Theodore* appeared with
Limerick. his victorious Army, and began the fatall Seidge of the City of *Pa-*
Tirconnell. *phos.* Next Day after, *Coridon*, without consulting the Rest of his Cap-

ad implorandam pacem perduceret; cumque jam omnia eò inclinari viderentur, primoribus totius exercitûs in partes pellectis, ad oppidum tandem copias admovet. *Lysander* vero, quem in ea trepidatione obsessi raptim advocaverant, *Paphum* appulsus, attonito similis cohorruit, cum præcipua rerum capita, et qui in exercitu maxime pollebant, adeo mutatos, et a prioribus consiliis aversos reperisset: unica tamen, et extrema in Tribunis fiducia, qui plurimum cum *Lysandro* tendandam belli aleam sentiebant quorum nutum legionarius miles observabat; nec illis adversantibus cæteri hiscere, aut quidquam audere posse videbantur. Cum ille primum se in conspectum dedit, versa est rerum facies; erecti omnium ad defensandam *Paphum* animi; universæ peditum copiæ in urbem introductæ præter tres legiones, quas præsidio ad vada *Lyci* fluminis oppido adjacentia reliquerant. Equitatus et levis armaturæ turmæ haud procul muris, qua *Paphum* spectant, stativa habebant.

51. Ad nonum sexti mensis diem, et ad quadrigesimum quam super *Lapithi* amnis ripas pugnatum erat, *Theodorus* victrices copias late explicuit, et circumjecta urbi, castris in ampliora, quam pro numero spatia protensis, validissimis equitum peditumque turmis in terroris speciem compositis, occupavit; ac tandem fatalem illam *Paphi* obsidionem, infelicem ipsi, *Cilicibus* ignominiosam, sed gloriosam *Cypriis*, qui numero et experientiâ longe inferiores,

taines, ordered the Legions who garded the Foords to withdraw from thence, and march all along to *Cythera*, whereby *Theodore* had the Passage left open to send Part of his Army on *Paphia* side the River, and surround the City on all Sides; and, in Effect, some of his Cavalry haveing gott over, next Morning made a Shew as if they would beseidge *Paphos* on that Side also; but, though they returned back the same Day, they did, however, soe alarme the *Cyprian* Horse Camp, that *Coridon* and his inseparable Companion, *Asimo*, retired in great Hast over Night, and rid all along to *Cythera*, leaving the Horse encamped half Way between that Towne and *Paphos*. Whilst they were at *Cythera*, they gave out that *Paphos* could not hold above 5 or 6 Daies; that the *Cyprian* Soldiers were soe cowed, that they would never defend it; as for *Cythera*, they declared openly it was noe Place tenable: and yet both these Townes were held impregnable in former Times: and soe leaveing noe Artifice unattempted, to induce the *Cyprians* to a speedy

Galway. W. III. Connaught. Limerick. Irish. Tirconnell. De Lauzun. Galway. Limerick. Galway. Limerick. Irish. Galway. Irish.

tot simul suis sedibus excitarum et continuis elatarum successibus gentium molem sustinuere, spe tamen potius proditionis, quam suarum virium fiduciâ aggressus est. Postridie *Coridon*, inconsultis armorum ducibus, legiones, quæ ad vada in stationibus erant, jussit, desertis fluminis ripis, rapido agmine *Cytheram* contendere, quo facto aperta est *Theodoro* via, ut, nullo obsistente amnem trajicere, et premere oppidum ex omni parte circumseptum haud difficulter posset: et profecto eques postero die transmisso fluvio, specimen urbem ab illo quoque latere oppugnantium fecit. At quanquam eodem die sese in castra recepissent, tantum tamen terrorem equestres inter turmas excitarunt, ut *Coridon*, simulato metu, et arreptâ occasione, cum individuo comite *Asimone* nocturnis itineribus, et incredibili celeritate *Cytheram* usque convolarit, equestribus copiis medio *Paphum* inter eamque urbem spatio castra metantibus. Dum in oppido *Cytherâ* curarum belli obliti, sed in pacis conditiones obnixius intenti agitabant, constanti rumore sparsim vulgaverant, *Paphum* ultra quintum aut sextum diem obsidioni ferendæ non esse; et *Cyprum* militem ita trepidare et obtorpescere timore, ut defensionem cito deserturus esset; nihil vero in *Cythera* munimenti esse, quo propugnari posset (licet superiori ætate ambo hæc loca inexpugnabilia crederentur): dumque ita omni arte satagerent, ut *Cyprios* ad maturandam deditionem urgerent, haud modico stupore correpti sunt, cum

Sarsfield. Submission, they were not a little surprized to hear of *Lysander's* fortu-
William III. nate Success in defeating the Convoy comeing to *Theodore's* Camp from
Dublin. *Salamis*, and destroying the great battering Engines, the Provisions, and
all other Instruments of Warr, which gave such an Encouragement to
Irish. the *Cyprians*, that they laid aside all Thoughts of capitulating. It was
Tirconnell. De much taken Notice of, how *Coridon* and *Asimo*, with all their Partizans,
Lauzun. French. were crest-fallen uppon the Newes; for the *Syrians* saw that it delayed
Tirconnell. theire Return, and *Coridon's* Creatures understood well that it ruined
theire Project. They made it therefore their Business to villify and ridi-
cule that brave Action, saying it was Folly to think such an Accident,
Limerick. which was inconsiderable in itself, could hinder the Loss of *Paphos*, or
Ireland. promote the Preservation of *Cyprus*. That the advantageous Articles
William III. that might be now obtained from *Theodore*, before the Surrender of
Limerick. *Paphos*, could not be rationally expected after the Loss of that Place,
French. which must infallibly happen within a few Dayes; and the *Syrian* Troops
Irish. being resolved to goe off, it was to be feared that the *Cyprians*, looseing
Limerick. *Paphos*, and deserted by theire Allyes, would gett no other Conditions

Lysandrum egregiâ felicitate nec minore virtute Præsidiarios, qui *Salamine* in *Theodori* castra missi erant, ex improviso adortum fudisse, et machinas arietandis mœnibus aptas, commeatus, aliaque belli instrumenta, subjectis ignibus absumpsisse, ac penitus disperdidisse, renuntiatum fuisset: quæ in tantum *Cypriorum* animos virtutis æmulatione stimularunt, ui omne icendorum fœderum consilium prorsus aversarentur. A multis non immerito observatum est, quantum *Coridon Asimoque* cum reliquis earundem partium hominibus ad illa nuntia ceciderint animis: *Syri* enim expectatum reditum sibi eo eventu præclusum impræsentiarum viderant; *Coridon* cum Asseclis consilia sua eversa atque interrupta intellexerant: Quod igitur tunc supererat unum, egregium tanti facinoris decus deterendo et verbis levando maligne traducere statuerunt, haud prudentium esse, dictitantes, arbitrari, tam exigui momenti casu aut *Paphi* excidium impediri posse aut ullam *Cypro* securitatem procurari: æquas pacis conditiones, quas stante *Papho* a *Theodoro* obtinerent, eâdem jam excisâ aut deditâ (quorum alterutrum mox futurum sit) nullo modo expectari a vera sentientibus posse; et *Syris* jam profectionem adornantibus, verendum esse, ne *Cyprii* a Confœderatis deserti, et socialibus destituti auxiliis, non alias

but Mercy. This was industriously spred among the Nobles and Captains of the Army, who, indeed, had good Reason to be disatisfyed with the Proceedings of *Asimo* and his *Syrian* Troops, for, in Leiw of Assistance and Encouragement, they daily disheartened the People; and the Irregularityes they comitted in theire March and Quarters were soe exorbitant, that it must needs alienate from them the Hearts of the *Cyprians*. But *Lysander* and his Party were not wanting to represent to the People, that there was noe Danger of looseing *Paphos*, when it was not besiedged on both Sides; that *Theodore* was not powerfull enough to surround it; that the Disorders of the *Syrian* Troops were purposely tolerated, to make the *Cyprians* weary of them, whereby they might have an honourable Pretext to quitt the Country; and that *Coridon* designedly connived at it, because, by ruining the Country, the People were rendred unable to maintaine a Warr: besides, he hoped that this rude Behaviour of the *Syrians* would make the Inhabitants of *Cyprus* to incline the sooner

De Lauzun. French. Irish. Sarsfield. Limerick. William III. French. Irish. Tirconnell. French. Ireland.

pacis leges, quam irati Victoris clementiam nanciscantur. Hæc de industria Optimates inter et copiarum Duces jactata disseminabantur; nec sine gravissima sane causa Insulani omnes *Asimonis Syrorumque* tum sinistro progressu, tum quotidianis flagitiis offendebantur: qui, quos solari, ad constantiam hortari, et modis omnibus juvare debuerant, indies magis magisque infanda patrando, hostium vires in immensum augendo, suas attenuando percellebant; tamque enormia, et humanæ patientiæ intolleranda in itinere et contuberniis factitaverunt, ut tot scelera detestantium *Cypriorum* odiis et execrationibus flagrarent. Non defuit *Lysander* cum conciliorum participibus consciisque populum militemque interim admonere, res *Paphi* in nullo discrimine versari, dum utrimque obsidione non premeretur; nec *Theodoro* satis validas esse ad circumsidendam urbem copias; immanem et nefariam *Syrorum* cohortium licentiam idcirco non tolerari modo, sed etiam foveri, ut *Cyprios* earum tandem aliquando tæderet, atque ita specioso demum prætextu Insulam tanquam Accolarum injuriis pulsi, desererent. *Coridon* etiam connivendo mirum quantum fœdis et illicitis eorum facinoribus indulgebat, ut agrorum vastitate, bonorum, direptionibus, et rerum omnium inopia laborantes Incolæ, protrahendo sustinendoque bello impares efficerentur. Sperabat præterea libidine, avaritia, crudelitate, et præcipiti barbarie *Syrorum* militum per fas et nefas ruentium even-

English. to a Treaty with the *Cilicians*, from whom they might hope for milder
Irish. Usage. Some zelous *Cyprians*, as well of the Nobles and Officers of the
Bishops. W. III. Army, as also some holy Flamins, knowing that if *Theodore* prevailed,
Roman Catholic. he would suppress the *Delphine* Rites, were of Oppinion, that the onely
James II. Way to preserve the true Worship of the Gods, the Service of *Amasis*,
Tirconnell. and the Interest of the Country, was to lay *Coridon* aside, and to enter
into a mutuall League and Association among themselves, for those neces-
Irish. sary Ends. This Expedient, which the most knowing *Cyprians* looked
uppon as the best they could take to rescue the Country from the Arms
William III. of *Theodore* and the Treachery of theire own Governors, was not, how-
Sarsfield. ever, approved by *Lysander*, who either wanted Resolution to goe on
with soe great an Undertaking (tho' noe Man doubted his personall Cou-
rage), or perhaps did not think it justifyable in him to depose the Vice
James II. Roy of *Amasis*, and enter into a new Association without the King's
Authority; soe that this Project, unhappily, fell to the Ground, which
Ireland. occasioned the Loss of *Cyprus*.

turum, ut *Cyprii* tot malis offensi lassique ad expetendam cum *Cilicibus* pacem pronioribus mentibus inclinarentur; quippe quos mitiores hostes, quam illos amicos experti essent. Multi tam ex *Cypriis* Ducibus et Magnatibus, quam ex eorum numero qui Sacerdotiis eminebant, et Deorum immortalium cultui sanctiùs propiùsque vacabant, gnari *Theodoro* rerum potiente *Delphicos* ritus penitus abolendos, consopiendosque, id unum solemne remedium occurrere opinabantur, quo debitus Numinibus honos conservaretur, collapsæ *Amasis* partes sustentarentur, et concussa et vexata Patria imminenti eriperetur exitio, si deposito *Coridone*, ad hæc facilius exequenda mutuis inter se fœderum nexibus consociarentur. Hæc via, quam *Cypriorum* prudentissimi maxime omnium idoneam censebant ad fatiscentis jam regni salutem incolumitatemque et *Theodori* gladios in publicam perniciem micantes, pariter atque domesticam regentium perfidiam propulsandam, *Lysandro* nihilominus haud placuit, cui aut animus ad tam grave negotiorum pondus ferendum defuit (fortem enim et intrepidum inter pericula nemo dubitabat), aut fortasse aliquam perfidiæ umbram formidabat, si excusso illius jugo, quem *Amasis* rebus præfecerat, non expectatâ Regis authoritate, novis se fœderibus implicaret. Ex hujus igitur consilii frustrato successu exitium *Cypri* secutum est.

52. *Coridon* haveing now convoked all the Generall Officers at *Cythera*, he produced to them (but it was under the Seal of Secrecy) a Letter from *Amasis*, containing his Orders to such of the Army as were willing to repaire to him, to take this Opportunity of the *Syrian* Fleet, which then rid in that Harbour, dispenseing the Rest from theire Oath of Fidelity, and giveing them free Liberty to submitt to *Theodore*, and make the best Conditions they could for themselves. Some of *Coridon's* Party haveing hereuppon declared theire Willingness to goe off, *Lysander* stood up and said, this Letter was grounded uppon Misinformation of the present State of Affaires; that if the King were rightfully informed how the Case stood in *Cyprus*, where they had a considerable Army, and resolute to hold out to the last Man, and how fesible it was to defend that Part of the Kingdom which lyes betweene the River of *Lycus* and the Sea, untill they were releived out of *Syria*, His Majestie

Tirconnell. Galway. James II. French. William III. Tirconnell. Sarsfield. Ireland. Shannon. France.

52. Jam *Coridon* præcipuis militarium Virorum capitibus *Cythæram* convocatis, litteras regias, religioso tamen silentio premendas, aperit, quibus innuebatur, ut quotquot militum exilium Patriæ præferrent, *Syris* navibus commodum in eo portu tum stantibus ad trajiciendum uterentur; reliquis Sacramento exolutis, permissisque uti percusso cum *Theodoro* fœdere, quibus optime possent conditionibus sibi prospicerent. Dum hæc magnâ animorum auriumque aviditate a *Coridianæ* factionis hominibus haurirentur, prorumpit in medium *Lysander*, et in hanc maxime sententiam verba facit: "Mihi sanè videntur regiæ litteræ dolo malo et præposteris artibus extortæ eorum, qui in id omni conatu incumbunt, ut regni statum non ex rerum veritate, sed corrupta narratione et in deteriùs repræsentent. Quis enim vel levi conjecturâ autumabit, si modo Regi sine fuco et fraude indicaretur, quantum spei *Cypriis* ad protrahendum bellum supersit, quantum armorum in Insula viriumque, quam paratis animis aut victoria hostem, aut mortem fortiter occumbendo lacessere destinaverunt, quam denique ex facili, quidquid terrarum *Lycum* inter et mare jacet, tamdiu ab hostili incursu defensari possit, donec expectatæ e *Syria* suppetiæ adventent; quin non modo neminem invitaret ad patrios lares cum flagitio et dedecore deserendos, sed ultro potius hortaretur, ut focos et aras pro virili tutarentur. Proinde excedant, ut libet, natali solo, qui brevem vitam famæ et posteritati præferre possunt; ignobili fugâ ignominiam pariter suam,

would, insted of inviteing them to leave the Country, rather encourage them to stay, and defend it; and that, for his Part, he was resolved, not to be imposed uppon by any such Artifice, to abandon his Country or the King's Interest in *Cyprus:* and most of the Tribunes haveing declared the same Resolution, *Coridon* was forced to pass by the Proposall for that Time.

Ireland.

Tirconnell.

Galway.

Limerick. Tirconnell.

53. Whilst they were in these hott Disputes at *Cythera*, about quitting the Country, Letters came from the Governor of *Paphos* to *Coridon*, with an Account that the Enemy, haveing gained the Outworks, gott near the Towne Wall, which they furiously battered with theire Rams, and other new invented Engins, that were terrible to the Beseidged; and therefore it was requisit the Cavalry should advance to releive the Towne, in Case of Danger. *Coridon* finding that, uppon this Alarme, *Lysander* was resolved to march streight to *Paphos*, believed it his Interest to head the Army in Person, in order to prevent any brave Attempt

Tirconnell.

Sarsfield. Limerick.

domosque ad exteros transvehant, quibus incertam caducæ lucis usuram æterni nominis dispendio emercari est animus: mihi stat, quam infans reptavi terram, vel gladio hoc occupare, vel sepulchro: scilicet ut inanibus fabulis et commentis illorum a charissimæ Patriæ complexu avellar, quos aut degener metus exagitat, aut ipsa timiditate fœdius proditionis pretium excæcat: eat purus hic et nullâ scelerum labe contactus sanguis: in quod seu sanctiùs seu gloriosius opus impendi potest, quam ut religioni dicetur et Regi? cadendo cœlum, superando immortale decus merebimur." Tali oratione sed multò magis dicentis auctoritate Tribunorum fortissimi in *Lysandri* sententiam iverunt, et invitus licet *Coridon* nolentes ultrà in id tempus urgere, destitit.

53. Dum hisce altercationibus tempus in urbe *Cythæra* teritur, consultaturque an e patria commigrandum sit, superveniunt litteræ a gubernatore *Paphi* ad *Coridonem* missæ, quibus ferebatur hostem, expugnatis exterioribus munimentis et propugnaculis sub ipsis mœnibus tetendisse: ea furioso impetu arietibus, aliisque machinis novissime excogitatis conquassari; unde terror ingens obsessis, et intra muros paventium et trepidantium tumultus, ac proinde necessarium esse equitatum admoveri, ut si quid gravioris periculi ingrueret, urbi auxilio esse possent. Cum *Lysander*, audito loci discrimine, iter confestim raperet, et quanto potuit celeritate *Paphum* contenderet, *Coridon*

that might be made contrary to his Design. *Asimo*, leaveing his *Syrian* Forces encamped under the Walls of *Cythera*, went along with *Coridon* as a Volunteer; for it seems they could not live asunder.

De Lauzun. French. Galway. Tirconnell.

54. Never was a Towne better attacked, and better defended, than the City of *Paphos*. *Theodore* left nothing unattempted that the Art of Warr, the Skill of a great Captain, and the Valor of veteran Soldiers, could putt in Execution to gain the Place; and the *Cyprians* omitted Nothing that Courage and Constancy could practice to defend it. The continuall Assaults of the One, and frequent Sallys of the Other, consuming a great many brave Men both of the Army and Garrison. On the 19th Day, *Theodore* (after fighting for every Inch of Ground he gained), haveing made a large Breach in the Wall, gave a generall Assault, which lasted for three Houres; and tho' his Men mounted the

Limerick. William III.

Irish.

William III.

suarum esse partium arbitratus est equestres copias eo ducere, ut præsens curaret ne (quod nollet) arduum aliquid at gloriosum alieno ductu et auspiciis molirentur, individuus *Coridonis* comes *Asimo* qui ab eo nusquam recedebat, *Syris* cohortibus ad *Cytheram* relictis, proficiscentem secutus est.

54. Non alia unquam urbs, licet omnium ætatum annales, populorumque omnium res gestas evolveris, aut acriori impetu oppugnata, aut pertinacioribus animis defensa, quam *Paphus* ea tempestate fuit. Nihil inausum, nihil intentatum reliquit *Theodorus* quod aut bellicarum artium peritia, aut experientia magni Ducis, aut veteranarum cohortium robur exequi posset, ut oppidum in suam potestatem redigeret: nec segniori conatu *Cyprii* quidquid spectata in adversis virtus et infracta malis constantia, aut agere poterat, aut pati, fortiter et impigre efficiebant, tolerabantque, quo locum tanto tamque acri nisu petitum non minori pervicaciâ defensarent: continui hinc vallo assultantium, inde portis erumpentium congressus, tam ex obsidentium quam ex præsidiariorum numero, ingentem fortissimorum Virorum multitudinem absumebant: illos spes et partæ ante victoriæ in ipsa pericula præcipites agebant: hos imminens patriæ excidium, religionis ardor, et in regem inconcussa fides ad ultima audendum succendebant. Undevicesima die *Theodorus* (qui ne pedem latum sine sanguine et vulneribus progredi poterat) stratâ muri parte per patentes ruinas impetum fecit: ubi ad tres integras horas dubio utrimque marte pugnatum est: et quanquam hostium alii ipsam urbem perrupissent,

Breach, and some entred the Towne, they were gallantly repulsed, and forced to retire, with considerable Loss. *Theodore*, resolveing to renew the Assault next Day, could not perswade his Men to advance, tho' he offered to lead them in Person; whereuppon, all in a Rage, he left the Camp, and never stopt till he came to *Palæa*, where he took Shipping for *Cilicia*; his Army in the mean Time retireing, by Night, from *Paphos*.

William III.

Waterford.

England. Limerick.

55. The Raiseing of this Seidge was soe great a Disappointment to *Coridon's* Design, that he could not, with all his Cunning, dissemble his Resentment; but that which most surprized all Men was, the sudden Resolution he took, to goe along with *Asimo* into *Syria*, when all the World expected he would make Use of this happy Advantage to recover *Palæa*, and perhaps all the Province of *Salaminia*. 'Tis true that his Goeing off did not displease the Generality of the Nation, who did not approve his Design of subjecting the Country to the Power of *Theodore*,

Tirconnell.

De Lauzun. France.

Waterford. Leinster.

William III.

obstinatis tamen propugnatorum viribus exturbabantur, et in castra non sine magna militum jacturâ redigebantur. Postridie *Theodorus* cum aleam universæ rei in medium conjicere, et omnibus copiis oppidum denuò aggredi statuisset, quanquam Ducem se perterritis offerret, et discriminum societatem non respueret, haud tamen evicit aut persuadere valuit, ut aut cæptis insisterent, aut expertam virtutem novis conatibus irritarent. Unde accensus irâ, dolore furens, et ignominiæ impatiens degenerem suorum pavorem detestatus castra deserit, et cursu, quam potuit contentissimo *Paleam* pergit, ibique conscensâ navi in *Ciliciam* revertitur. Interea exercitus, desperato rerum eventu, tumultuariâ profectione, relicta *Papho*, in interiora regreditur.

55. Irrita *Paphi* obsidio et recedentium *Theodoritarum* trepidatio, in tantum *Coridoni* ingrata evenerant, consiliisque, quæ diu animo versaverat, contraria erant, ut nullo fraudum artificio molestiam ægritudinemque sauciæ mentis dissimulare quiverit: at quod obstupescendum maxime omnibus visum est, erat repentina et inexpectata in *Syriam* cum *Asimone* profectio, citra omnium spem et opinionem, qui oblatæ occasionis felicitate usurum arbitrabantur ad *Paleam* ex hostium manibus recuperandam, tentandamque (quæ inde forte secutura erat) *Salaminiæ* universæ deditionem. Haud diffiteor ipsius discessum non ita maximæ *Cypriorum* parti injucundum fuisse, subverentium ne quo tandem dolo insulam *Theodori* jugo et *Cilicum* inveteratorum hostium potestati

and to the Mercy of the *Cilicians*, who were theire sworn Enemyes. But yet there wanted not some even of the *Cyprish Delphicans*, who coveted Nothing more than to submitt to Prince *Theodore*. These were Men of New Interest, soe called because they purchased from Usurpers the Inheritance of their own Countrymen, which *Attilas* and the rebellious Senat of *Tarsus* formerly distributed among the *Cilicians ;* and these Lands being all restored to the ancient Proprietors by a late Decree of the States Generall convened by *Amasis*, in the City of *Salamis*, uppon his first Arrivall in *Cyprus*, the coveting Purchasers, prefering theire private Gain before the generall Interest of Religion and Country, were for submitting to a Government, which they very well knew could never allow that Decree. These, however, were the Men advanced by *Coridon* to all beneficiall Offices of the Kingdom, without Regard to Meritt, or Capacity for manageing the Employments; for, to be a Creature of *Coridon's* was the only Qualification requisit, in those Days, to make a compleat Captain, or an able Statesman. Before he tooke Shipping for *Syria*, he established a new Form of Government in his Absence, never

English. Irish. Roman Catholics. William III. Cromwell. Parliament. London. English. Parliament. Jas. II. Dublin. Ireland. Tirconnell. Tirconnell. France.

aliquando subjiceret. Erant tamen ex *Cypriis*, etiam *Delphicæ* religionis Viri, et fortasse ex *Galamidarum* stirpe, qui omni prorsus conatu id agebant, ut *Theodoro* Principi se suaque quantocius permitterent. His a novo fundo nomen inditum, quippe qui ab injustis possessoribus hæreditarios popularium suorum agros coëmerant, quos, *Attila* tyrannidem occupante, perduellis *Tarsi* Senatus inter scelerum administros *Cilicas* diviserat: et hæc prædia antiquis possessoribus restituebantur nuperrimo Senatus consulto, sub ipsum *Amasis* in Insulam adventum facto, cum ordines regni *Salamine* convenissent. At avari illi alieni juris emptores, cupiditate cæci, et privata commoda publicis Patriæ et Religionis utilitatibus præferentes, eam imperii formam optabant, quam decreti illius vim et effectum frustraturam probe noverant. Hos tamen solos *Coridon* ad præcipua regni munia summosque potissimum evexit Magistratus, nulla habitâ aut meritorum ratione, aut quam capaces ad obeundas dignitates, aut imposita sibi onera sustinenda forent; nam quanto quis *Coridoni* carior, tanto opibus et honoribus eâ tempestate tollebatur; non alio etenim nomine tum opus erat, quam *Coridoni* intimum esse, ut quis egregius bello Dux, aut Reipublicæ administrandæ peritissimus censeretur. Antequam in *Syriam* navi-

Ireland.

before heard of in *Cyprus*. Twelve Senators were named, to manage the civill Affaires, the major Part being New Interest Men, without whose Concurrence the Rest could not act. He chose *Tyridates*, a naturall Son of *Amasis*, to comand the Army; and in regard his Youth gave him but little Experience, he appointed a select Councill of Officers to direct him, among whom *Lysander* was the last in Commission; and it is probable he had not named him at all, but that he dreaded the Army would revolt to him, if he were discontented, which might dash in Pieces the Vice Roy's Project.

Duke of Berwick. James II.

Sarsfield.

56. The Reasons moveing the Vice Roy to goe off in such a Juncture were variously reported. He gave out himself, and his Creatures spread it abroad, that he was sent for by *Amasis*, to give the King of *Syria* a true Account of the present State of *Cyprus*; *Antiochus* haveing declared that the severall Relations given him of Affaires there, were soe various and clashing, that he resolved to suspend his Belief, untill

James II.

France. Ireland. Louis XIV.

gasset, novum, et ante illum diem in *Cypro* inauditum regimen instituit, quo res in Insula, dum ipse abfuisset, gubernarentur ad civilium rerum negotia peragenda, duodecim Senatores elegit, iique erant magnâ parte Novi-fundii, ut nuncupabantur, absque assensu quorum nihil omnino reliquis decernere licebat. *Tyridatem Amasi* ex concubina genitum exercitui præfecerat, et quoniam immatura Juvenis ætas tantæ moli experientia par esse non poterat, selectorum Ducum concilium nominavit, quorum authoritate et prudentiâ in arduis regeretur. Hos inter *Lysander* vix ultimum obtinuit locum; nec incredibile est illum prorsus omittendum fuisse, nisi subtimuisset *Coridon*, ne iratum et contemptu aversum *Lysandrum* milites ad unum omnes sequerentur, idque meditata diu concilia penitùs frustrato exitu dissipasset.

56. Quæ Gubernatorum causæ ad concreditam sibi regni curam in eo maxime rerum articulo deserendam impulerint, variis sermonibus pro diversis hominum affectibus distrahebatur: spargebat ipse in vulgus, tum suâ, tum amicorum operâ, *Amasis* litteris accitum, et imperio parentem proficisci, ut quo in statu res *Cypri* verterentur non fucatâ narrationis serie *Syrorum* Regi nuntiaret: *Antiocho* (aiebant) affirmante, tantam esse rumorum inde emanentium diversitatem, tamque dubiis Authoribus ferri, ut nullius verbis fidem habiturus sit, nisi præsens *Coridon* omnia ordine promeret. Ast aliis a veri-

Coridon, himself, came in Person to inform him. But, it seemed im- Tirconnell.
probable to most Men, that *Antiochus* would expect so great a Warriour Louis XIV.
(as *Coridon* was esteemed by those that were not thorrowly acquainted Tirconnell.
with him) should, in the Heat of a Campagne, abandon his Army,
haveing a victorious Enemy against him in the Field, only to give the
King of *Syria* a true Account of the *Cyprian* Affaires, which might be France. Irish.
done by Letter, or by a trusty Friend or Messenger; or *Antiochus* might Louis XIV.
send some Person of Creditt to consult him in *Cyprus*, without oblidging Ireland.
him to quitt a Country, where his Presence was held soe necessary. The
Dispatch that came to him out of *Syria* (which he mett at Sea, and sent France.
to the new Senat,) makeing noe Mention of his being sent for, or expected
in *Syria*, but, to the Contrary, encourageing him to a vigourous Defence, France.
and assureing him of a speedy Relief from the *Syrian* King, shews the French.
Fallacy of this Reason. Others, who pretend to penetrate a little fur-
ther, were of Opinion that *Coridon* was on fickle Terms in *Syria*, and Tirconnell.
perhaps with *Amasis* himself; haveing advised him to that shamefull France. James II.

tate alienum videbatur, sperasse *Antiochum*, ut *Coridon* tanti nominis bellator (talem enim fama inter ignotos vulgaverat) eo præsertim tempore, cum armis omnia fremerent, et victrices hostium copiæ campos undique persultarent, exercitum improvisò desereret, et salutem atque incolumitatem Patriæ tot circumstantibus simul casibus exponeret, ut scilicet *Syrorum* Regi domesticarum rerum statum exactiori curâ renuntiaret, quod autem litterarum ministerio, aut fido nuntio longe commodiùs transigi posset, aut ipsi *Antiocho* promptius esset in *Cyprum* legare spectatæ fidei virum, qui omnia ibi sedulâ diligentiâ pernosceret, quam illum, in quo summum regni momentum vertebatur, tot simul negotiis subtrahere. Ad hæc litteræ ad ipsum ex *Syria* datæ (quas inter navigandum acceperat et confestim ad novum illum, suumque Senatum transmiserat) nec illum in *Syriam* vocatum, nec ibi omnino expectatum referebant, sed contra hortabantur ut forti et fideli operâ Patriæ defensionem susciperet: auxilia præterea a *Syrorum* Rege brevi adfutura pollicebantur; plane ostendunt quam fallaci obtentu suos tot inter angustias dereliquerit. Alii, qui sibi videbantur altius in consiliorum sacraria penetrasse, et sagaciori indagine occultas detexisse causas, opinabantur *Coridoni* suboluisse, sinistriori se famâ in aula *Syriaca* traduci, nec ipsi etiam *Amasi* inculpatum videri; uni-

Ireland. Retreat he made out of *Cyprus*, in Hope it might induce the Nation (who, indeed, were much discouraged at the King's Flight,) to a more speedy Complyance with the Design; and now that the unexpected Limerick. Defence of *Paphos* seemed (at least for a while) to overthrow theire Project, and thwart theire Politicks of covering hereafter theire own great Oversights, under the specious Pretext of that false Calumny of Treachery and Cowardize, which they endeavoured all along to cast Irish. uppon the poor *Cyprians*, he judged it of absolute Necessity to appear French. in Person in the *Syrian* Court, in order to take further Measures of con- Ls. XIV. Irish. tinuing *Antiochus* still in the Dark, as to the true State of the *Cyprian* Affaires, without which Blindation they could not possibly compass their Design. And he had Reason to hope that when he appeared uppon the Place (and the Truth is, he was a Man of a good Mein, and French. stately Presence) the *Syrian* King would give more Credit to the Vice Roy's Relation, supported by the King himself, than to idle Reports, or Letters from private Hands, when Nothing appeared that was authen- Berwick. tick, to the Contrary; and, by ordering *Tiridates* and the new Senate to

cum nempe indecoræ istius et ignominiosæ ex *Cypro* fugæ Authorem; quo gentem illam, ad subitum sane, et inopinatum Regis discessum non nihil vacillantem, fluctuantemque ad hosti protinus succumbendum, velut fatis urgentibus et postulante necessitate pertraheret. Cumque jam defensa ultra expectatum *Paphos*, propositum illud, saltem ad tempus evertisset artesque præcidisset, quibus suam hactenus seu ignorantiam rerum, seu perfidiam abdere satagebat sub prætensis ignaviæ ac proditionis nominibus, quibus insontes *Cyprios* jam inde a principio omnium odiis exponere conatus fuit. Hisce rationibus motus, suam in aula *Syriaca* præsentiam, quo calumniantium ora obstrueret, summe necessariam existimabat, ut novis machinationibus *Antiochi* circa res *Cypri* inscitiam continuaret, qui si quomodo negotia, ut tum stabant, penitus rescivisset, misso subsidio, et confirmatis partibus, quæ ille diu moliebatur, indubie in irritum corruissent. Nec sine causa sperabat, cum se in conspectum dedisset (corporis enim habitu et ingenti oris specie eminebat) *Syriæ* Regem sibi, Gubernatori utique accedente sui Regis testimonio potius acquieturum, quam aut vanis rumoribus, aut privatorum hominum litteris, cum nihil, quod publicâ auctoritate fultum esset in contrarium apa-

suffer noe Person of Quality to come out of *Cyprus*, in his Absence, he seemed to prevent any Opposition that might be given him in *Syria*. It was, however, admired by some, how he could have the Confidence to appear in that Court, after acting soe barefaced against the Interest of *Antiochus*, which was to cutt out such Work for *Theodore* in *Cyprus*, as would keep him in Action there, and divert him from giveing the Confederates that powerfull Assistance which he promised, and they wanted; for it was unlikely that the King of *Syria*, the most knowing Monarch in the World, should be ignorant of the Transactions in a Country soe near him as *Cyprus*, and in whose Concernes he had soe great an Interest; or that he could be a Stranger to *Coridon's* Embargue uppon the Ships, which was soe publick that it could not be concealed, and the Design of it was easily understood. But *Coridon*, relying altogether on the great Influence he had uppon *Amasis*, and haveing gained *Asimo* to confirm his Relation, he believed himself armed with all necessary Precautions to succeed in his Enterprize.

Ireland. France. Louis XIV. Will. III. Ireland. France. Ireland. Tirconnell. Tirconnell. Jas. II. De Lauzun.

57. Uppon the Arrivall of the inseperable Friends, *Coridon* and Tirconnell.

reret; et quidquid in *Syria* cæptis obsistere posset, prævertisse videbatur *Tyridati* novoque Senatu callide mandando, ne quem, dum ipse absens fuisset, e Primoribus *Cypro* excedere paterentur. Nonnullis tamen admirationi fuit, quanta fiducia in illam se Regiam conferret, posteaquam tam aperto molimine sese *Antiochi* commodis opposuisset, cujus magnopere intererat *Theodorum Cyprio* bello implicitum distineri impedirique, ne cum confœderatis Principibus cum iis se copiis adjungeret, quas et ille promiserat, et illi indigebant. Vix enim sperari poterat *Antiochum*, Regum toto terrarum orbe negotiorum notitiâ instructissimum, *Cypriorum*, gentis tam vicinæ, quorumque e successu suæ ipsius res non minimum pendebant, statum et conditionem ignoraturum fuisse: nec illum latuisse credibile est, cum *Coridon*, ne quis e portu solveret, inhibuisset; quod ita in publicum emanaverat, ut celari vix posset, et, quo consilio factum fuisset, ex facili nosceretur. At *Coridon Amasianâ* fretus amicitiâ, et *Asimone* in partes tracto, qui quæ ipse narasset, assensu confirmaret, satis se ad consequendum, quem sperabat, cæptorum exitum instructum paratumque ratus est.

57. Cum jam par illud fidelissimorum animorum *Coridon* et *Asimo* in

De Lauzun. France.

Asimo, in the Kingdom of *Syria*, the first received Letters from his Correspondents at Court, whereby he understood that it was to noe Purpose to hope that he might lay the Blame of past Miscarryages on the Nation of *Cyprus*, who, by their gallant Defence of *Paphos*, acquired such a Reputation in the *Syrian* Court, that he must not think of justifying himself that Way; that noe other was now left, but to impute all the Fault to *Asimo* and his *Syrian* Troopes. *Coridon*, haveing received this Advice uppon the Road, feigns himself indisposed, and altogether unable to continue his Journey; but, he earnestly pressed *Asimo* to hasten before him to Court, to tell the Story which was formerly concerted between them; that when he came up, he would confirm it; and soe, after many reciprocal Endearments and Protestations of inviolable Friendship, they parted. Deluded *Asimo*, makeing all the Speed he could, to give both Kings an Account of the present Condition of *Cyprus*, (as it was formerly concluded uppon between the two Friends,) told that it was a lost Country, not to be retrieved; that the Nation, for the most Part, readily submitted to the Prince of *Patera*, to whom they were generally in-

Ireland. Limerick. French.

De Lauzun. French. Tirconnell.

De Lauzun.

De Lauzun.

Ireland.

P. of Orange.

Syriam appulissent, priori litteræ ex aulâ a familiaribus oblatæ sunt, quibus innuebatur incassum eum de præterritis calamitatibus *Cyprios* criminaturum, qui *Paphum* tantâ fortitudine, tamque strenuâ egregiæ virtutis laude defensando, usque adeo in aula *Syriaca* sermonibus hominum extollantur, ut alia prorsùs excogitanda sit via, quâ suam innocentiam asserere possit: nihil porrò occurrere expeditiùs quam ut culpam in *Asimonem Syrosque* transferat. *Coridon* his in ipso itinere admonitus, subito adversam valetudinem causatur, seque ferendæ viarum agitationi penitùs imparem simulat: *Asimonem* etiam atque etiam urget obsecratque, in Regiam acceleret: ut jam olim convenerat, relationem adornet: ipsum, cum eò successisset, omnia confirmaturum. Atque ita mutuis inter se amplexibus defuncti, promissaque in æternum reciproca fide digrediuntur. Fallacis amicitiæ spe deceptus *Asimo* quantâ maximâ potest celeritate accurrit, ut, prout antè cum Socio convenerat, ambobus Regibus præsentem rerum in *Cypro* faciem ob oculos ponat. Confidenter enarrat Insulam funditùs amissam, nec ullis viribus recuperari posse, gentem magnâ ex parte sub ipsa initia *Pataræo* Principi sese dedidisse, reliquorum animos eò inclinari; paucissimos illos, qui arma adhùc tenuissent, et *Paphi* in obsidione

clined; that those few who held out, and defended *Paphos*, were influ- Limerick.
enced by *Coridon*, who was the Life of the Cause, he alone haveing Tirconnell.
hitherto preserved the Intrest of *Amasis* in the Kingdom of *Cyprus*; Jas. II. Ireland.
soe that *Asimo* omitted Nothing that might be said in Comendation of De Lauzun.
his Friend's Conduct and Courage, not doubting, when *Coridon* came to Tirconnell.
tell his Story, but he would give the same Character of *Asimo*. But De Lauzun.
here the *Cyprian* outwitted, or rather betrayed, the *Syrian* Courtier; Irish. French.
for *Coridon* noe sooner arrived, than he told both Kings that tho' the Tirconnell.
Affaires of *Cyprus* were desperate, Something more might be done for Ireland.
the Intrest of theire Majestyes, if the *Syrian* Troopes could be perswaded French.
to stay at *Paphos*, or, indeed, to act any Thing for the Service of *Amasis*, Limerick. Js. II.
or the Intrest of *Antiochus*. Poor *Asimo* was thunderstruck at this un- Louis XIV. De Lauzun.
kind Retribution from his deare Comrade; but it was not in his Power
now to gainsay the first Account he solemnly gave of *Coridon's* Bravery; Tirconnell.
and *Antiochus* was soe much disatisfied with his Behaviour in *Cyprus*, Louis XIV. Ireland.
that had not the earnest Interposition of *Amasis* and the Entreatys of James II.

durassent, *Coridonis* operâ et continuis hortatibus id præstitisse; in illo omnia versari, unum illum exultantem successibus hostem repressisse, et *Amasianas* partes jam collabefactas, ruentesque suis humeris in regno *Cypri* hactenus sustentasse. Nec quidquam ab *Asimone* prætermissum, quo aut expertam Amici in dubiis prudentiam, aut invictum periculis animum collaudaret, haud ambiguus *Coridonem*, cum in scenam semel prodiret ut suas partes ageret, non dissimili præconio sibi gratias relaturum. At hic *Cyprius* iste ex infido *Cilicum* genere consuetis aulicorum artibus incautum et nihil tale suspicantem *Syrum* aut decepit, aut veriùs prodidit. Nam eum jam *Coridon* appulisset, ambobus coram Regibus disertè affirmavit, quanquam res *Cypri* ad desperationem proximè accessissent, aliquid tamen ulteriùs pro Regum causa præstari potuisse si longior ad *Paphum* mora a *Syris* cohortibus impetraretur, aut omninò quidquam moliri voluissent, quod aut in *Amasis* aut *Antiochi* res esset. Stetit miserabilis *Asimo* attonito similis, et velut fulmine ictus cohorruit stupore defixus, cum tam indignum meritis ac benevolentiâ suâ præmium a fraudulento socio repositum vidisset. At serum jam erat retractare quæ in *Coridonis* laudes antè congesserat. Et *Antiochum* gesta in *Cypro* in tantum exasperaverant, ut nisi *Amasis* vehementèr intercessisset, et Regina *Diana*

Q. Mary. Queen *Diana* prevented it, his Appartment would be certainly prepared in that Dungeon where he had it formerly, for his Presumption to pretend to a great Lady of the Royall Blood.

Tirconnell. 58. *Coridon*, notwithstanding this good Success of his first Essay at Court, had a hard Game to play when he began to negociate with the France. able and knowing Ministers of *Syria*, who could not be Strangers to his Ireland. Proceedings all along in *Cyprus ;* but some of those, (especially of the second Rank,) were also gained by Degrees, by what coloured Arguments was best known to themselves. For it was not then doubted but Tirconnell. France. that the King's Gold, which *Coridon* sent before him into *Syria*, was bountifully distributed, to gain Friends at Court; which shews the Weakness of humane Forecast; that that which was purposely laid out Louis XIV. Ireland. by *Antiochus* to continue the Warr in *Cyprus*, and thereby give powerfull Diversion to the comon Enemy, should be now employed to corrupt his own Servants, to act against the Intrest of their Master. Some were of

ferventissimis evicisset precibus, in ejusdem carceris tenebris proculdubiò jacuisset quo se olim inclusum viderat ob vesanum Principis e regiâ domo fœminæ amorem.

58. Quanquam primordia hæc *Coridoni* in aulâ læta et ex voto successisse videbantur, laborabat tamèn, et animo atque ingenio fatiscebat, cum exactior illi reddenda fuit ratio coram sagacissimis regni *Syrorum* Administris, quorum prudentiam longa experientia, et rerum usus comprobaverat, quique quid in *Cypro* actum erat, tanto judicii acumine tantaque perspicacitate præditi omninò ignorare non poterant. At horum nonnulli inferioris præsertìm notæ et secundi gradûs, venales quippè avidique et auri fulgoribus capti, sensim in partes pellicebantur, quibus argumentis convicti fidem exuerint, ipsis haud ignotum. Regiam enim gazam, quam *Coridon* in *Syriam* præmiserat, prodigâ manu et immensis largitionibus inter Aulicos spargi, quo studia hominum, favorque et amicitiæ compararentur, nulli dubium erat. Non alio magis experimento humanæ prudentiæ ludibria, et vanitas consiliorumque inter mortales infirmitas atque incertitudo monstrantur. Pecunia quippe quam *Antiochus* in *Cyprii* belli sumptus destinaverat, ut hostium vires eò distractæ divisæque debilitarentur, jam ad corrumpendos ejusdem *Antiochi* servos, et a Domini negotiis commodisque avertandos effundebatur. Existimabant alii pristinam

Opinion that his Lady's former Acquaintance with *Antipater*, the great Favourite and chief Minister of *Antiochus*, was of noe small Advantage to him at that Time. To gain the Favour of the *Cilician* Courtiers, who were then about *Amasis*, he confidently imparted to them his Designe, and the Reasons he had for it: he owned himself a *Cilician* by Extraction, that his Lady was one by Birth, and that, whilst he continued in any Power in *Cyprus*, he would maintaine there the *Cilician* Intrest, and not suffer it to be lost, and not seperated from the Crown of *Cilicia*, as the *Cyprians* would have it. This ingenious Declaration of *Coridon* gained him the Friendship of most of the *Cilicians* in that Court, who were not wanting to render *Amasis* somewhat jealous of *Antiochus*, as if he designed to conquer *Cyprus* for himself; and that, therefore, he should follow the Advice of *Coridon*, who knew best how to disappoint the *Syrian* King of his Intention. But, to secure from any Opposition out of *Cyprus*, he gott *Amasis* to command *Tyridates*, to suffer noe Person

De Louvois. Louis XIV. English. James II. Englishman. Ireland. English. England. Irish. Tirconnell. English. Js. II. Ls. XIV. Ireland. Tirconnell. French. Ireland. Jas. II. Berwick.

Uxoris ejus familiaritatem et vulgatos amores cum *Antipatro*, cujus summus tunc in aula locus et præcipua potentia erat, non minimum periclitanti succurrisse. Ut vero ex alia parte *Cilicum* animos, qui tunc cum *Amasi* erant, novis artibus et arctiori charitatis vinculo sibi conciliaret, adstringeretque, illis quid a primordio rerum intenderit, et quibus rationibus adactus, apertè demonstravit. Antiquâ stirpis serie e *Cilicum* genere oriundum se, Uxorem duxisse in *Cilicia* etiam natam; ac proindè dum in *Cypro* aliquid posset polleretque, *Cilicum* partes pro virili sustentaturum, nec commissurum ut *Cyprus* a *Ciliciæ* regno avelleretur, quod ut effectum darent, nihil non *Galamii* moliebantur. Ingenua hæc, et non fucata confessio, omnium ferè, qui *Amasim* sequebantur *Cilicum* animos benevolentiâ planè singulari *Coridoni* devinxit, qui *Amasim* subinde, ut ab *Antiocho* sibi caveret submonere, et suspicacem animum perstringere non desistebant, ut qui *Cyprum* victoriæ jure ditionis suæ facere pararet, eòque magis *Coridonis* ille monitu consilioque duci deberet, qui optime et sciret, et posset *Syri* Regis conatibus obviam ire. His ita dispositis ne quid e *Cypro* in contrarium ferretur, quod grande illud arcanum proderet, importunis precibus *Amasim* impulit, ut *Tiridati* in mandatis daret, summâ ope niteretur curaretque, ne quis e regni Proceribus, absente *Coridone*, maria trajiceret. Cum jam *Amasim Coridon* in ea opinione obfirmasset, ut, dedita

Tirconnell. Jas. II. Ireland. England. Louis XIV.

of Quality to cross the Seas in *Coridon's* Absence; and soe, haveing confirmed *Amasis* in his former Resolution of looseing *Cyprus*, in Order to recover *Cilicia*, and haveing only demanded of *Antiochus* a very inconsiderable Help of a few Arms, and a small Quantity of Provisions (without calling for any other Ayd of Men or Money), and the same was not to come untill within three or four Months after, he hastened his Preparations to return to *Cyprus*.

Ireland. French. Tirconnell. De Lauzun. Galway. Berwick. Shannon. Leinster. English. Sarsfield. Shannon.

59. The *Syrian* Fleet, which wafted *Coridon* and *Asimo*, was not as yet out of the Bay of *Cythera*, when young *Tyridates*, at the Head of 4000 Foot, 2000 Men at Arms, and as many light Horse, passed the River of *Lycus* into the Province of *Salaminia*, where he attacked the Castle of a *Cilician* Knight, to which he applyed his Ramms and other battering Engines, tho' it might be easily gained without any such Trouble. But, uppon an Alarm of the Enemyes Advance to releive the Place, tho' with a Party much inferior to his Forces, he suddenly discamped, contrary to *Lysander's* Advice, and never stoped till he crossed the *Lycus*

hosti *Cypro*, *Ciliciam* tempestiviùs et faciliùs recuperare posse arbitraretur, hortatusque esset, ut, si maturum in Patriam reditum, si placatos, subditorum animos, si avitum decus, et pristinam regni majestatem precariæ apud Exteros conditioni præferret, ne dubitaret levi hac jacturâ futuræ felicitati litare; cum presertim quidquid modo amittere videretur, mox cum paterno imperio recepturus esset, cumque nec magnum, nec diù duraturum telorum commeatuumque (ne injecta quidem Virorum aut pecuniæ mentione) subsidium ab *Antiocho* petiisset, impetrassetque, nec id ipsum venturum in tertium aut quartum post mensem, lætus successu et votorum, ut rebatur, compos, regressum in *Cyprum* summa celeritate apparavit.

59. Nondum *Syriæ* naves quæ *Coridonem Asimonemque* in altum vehebant, e *Cythæriaco* portu solverant, cum *Tiridates* quatuor peditum, equitum duo, et totidem levis armaturæ millia secum trahens, transmisso *Lyco* amne, *Salaminiam* invasit, ibique haud præmunitum *Cilicis* equitis castrum circumsedit: jam arietibus, jam balistis quassabantur muri turresque, quanquam locus nullo tantæ molis apparatu haud difficulter capi posset. At audito hostem cum haud quaquam pari suorum numero in auxilium obsessorum appropinquare, subito, reclamante licet *Lysandro* et certam victoriam e manibus eripi

back againe, retireing with his Troops into *Paphia*, haveing by that successless Attempt, and his shamefull Retreat, discouraged the Army, and disheartened the whole Nation of *Cyprus*. About this Time, *Theodore* sent into *Cyprus* a Reinforcement of fresh Troops, under the Command of *Taliarchus*, Uncle, by the Mother, to *Tyridates*, formerly a bosom Friend of *Amasis*, from whom he deserted, uppon *Theodore's* first Landing in *Cilicia*, and was so perfidious, that he designed to betray the poor King, and deliver him up into his Enemy's Hands. *Taliarchus*, who now comanded all the *Cilician* Army in *Cyprus*, being encouraged by *Tyridates'* Retreat into *Paphia*, and the Departure of the *Syrian* Troops, assaulted the City of *Amathus*, which he took without much Opposition, tho' it was sufficiently provided with all Necessaryes to sustaine a long Seidge; but the Misfortune of the Governor was such, that he gave up the Place without secureing Conditions for the Garrison (as the *Cilicians* pretended), who were all made Prisoners of Warr, and barboursly treated. *Grachus*, a bastard Son of King *Pythagoras* the Second, was killed

Connaught.

Ireland. William III. Ireland.

Lord Churchill. Berwick. James II. William III. England. Churchill.

English. Ireland. Berwick. Connaught. French. Cork.

English.

Duke of Grafton. Charles II.

vociferante, receptui canit, nec ante destitit, quam trajecto rursùm *Lyco* magnis itineribus copias in *Paphiam* reduceret: quâ tam infelici expeditione, tamque infami et ignominiosâ fugâ tum militares animos contudit, fregitque, tum universam nationem panico quodam terrore complevit. Sub hæc tempora in *Cyprum Theodorus* recentes copias in supplementum veterani exercitus misit, Duce *Taliarcho*, *Tyridatis* avunculo; Regi olim *Amasi* in paucissimis is fuit, deinde Proditor sub ipsum *Theodori* in *Ciliciam* adventum, tantaque rabie et crudelitate sæviit, ut naturæ ac meritorum sensum oblitus, miserum incautumque Regem improviso oppressum in hostium manus tradere statueret. Jam *Taliarchus* ille supremus *Cilicum* in *Cypro* militantium Præfectus, *Tyridatis* in *Paphiam* fugâ alacrior, et *Syrarum* cohortuum discessu tumidus, *Amathunta* obsedit, quam absque ulla ferè difficultate, licet commeatibus, aliisque ad ferendas longioris obsidionis moras instructissimam, statim in potestatem redegit. At vero Gubernatoris seu imprudentiâ seu fraude evenit, ut (hoc *Cilices* allegabant) priùs dederetur urbs, quam ullis conditionibus Præsidiariorum aut securitati aut libertati provisum esset; unde omnes in vincula et carcerem conjecti, multas ærumnas, et barbaræ imanitatis sævitiam pertulerunt. *Gracchus Pythagoræ* Secundi nothus, dum mœnibus inter primos succederet, in

William III. Jas. II. Irish. Roman Catholic. Protestant. Cork. Kinsale.

uppon the Attack: he comanded *Theodore's* Navy, and was an inveterate Enemy to his Uncle, *Amasis*, and of the *Cyprish* Nation, whom he mortally hated, uppon the Account of the *Delphican* Worship, whereof they were as zelous Professors, as he was a violent Assertor of the *Martanesian* Sect. From *Amathus*, the Army marched streight to *Marium*, ten Miles from thence: they entred the Towne without any Resistance, the Governor's Orders to burn it, being unfortunately delayed by the Officer who had it in Charge, till the Enemy came and possessed it, which was noe small Help to carry the Fort; for the Season was soe cruell and bitter, being in the latter End of Antumn, that *Taliarchus* could not possibly keep the Field; but now, haveing lodged his Men within the Towne, he sent Detachments daily from thence to attack the new Fort, which was valiantly defended by *Scotoris*, a *Cyprian* Knight and a brave Comander, who held out for 20 Daies, hopeing in vain to be hourly releived by *Tyridates*. At length, the Governor, when he saw no Likelyhood of Succor, and that the Walls were all battered about his

Churchill. Sir E. Scott. Irish. Berwick.

ipsâ acie transfossus occubuit. Classi is præerat, tum Patrui *Amasis*, tum *Cypriæ* gentis infestissimus hostis, quos omnes implacabili odio *Delphicos* propter cultus insequebatur; nec enim ardentius illi antiquam religionem propugnabant, quam iste *Martanesios* ritus affectabat. *Amathunte Marium* prosperis rebus elatus ac ferocior recta proficiscitur exercitus, quod oppidum decem inde millia passuum abest: locum nullo reluctante intrant: mandatum Gubernatoris de subjiciendo tectis igne Centurio, cui id præceptum erat, infelices moras trahendo neglexit, donec superveniens inopinato hostis loco potitus est, quod ad capiendam arcem magni fuit momenti: nam Autumni fine, jam appetente, tanta erat aeris asperitas, intolerandis frigoribus et tempestatum vi, ut *Taliarcho* exercitum sub pellibus habere difficile esset: at modo, cum miles sub tectis agitaret, promptum erat recentia indies subsidia fessis submittere, qui novo subinde impetu arcem aggrediebantur: eam tamen summâ virtute ac pervicaciâ defensabat *Scotoris*, *Cyprius* eques, vir acer, et bellicarum rerum peritissimus, obsidionemque traxit in vicesimum diem, quotidiana a *Tyridate* auxilia incassum sperans, qui toto eo temporis spatio, rerum, quæ agebantur, immemor et incuriosus videbatur. Tandem Præfectus omni suppetiarum spe frustratus, cum collapsa multis in locis mœnia ruinam fecissent, ac

Eares, more than two Parts of the Garrison being cut off, he surrendered the Place uppon very honourable Conditions, (his Lady rideing out in her Coach uppon the Breach,) and came to *Paphos*, to give *Tyridates* an Account of the Action; but certainly, next to *Paphos*, the new Fort of *Marium* was the Place best defended in *Cyprus* during the Warr.

Limerick. Berwick. Limerick. Kinsale. Ireland.

60. It might be easily understood by the young Generall's Behaviour, that he acted all along pursuant to the Instructions of *Coridon;* who, to make him the more observant of the Will he left him, did not fail to assure him, that it was both the Intrest and absolute Order of *Amasis* to act after that Manner; and it is probable that *Maxilles*, *Amilcar*, and *Scylla*, the *Cilician* and *Pamphilian* Directors left by *Coridon* to guide the Youth, (for he would not trust him to be managed by *Lysander*, or any *Cyprian* Comander,) were not wanting to putt him in daily Mind of his Lesson. These Considerations occasioned a great Meeting at *Paphos*, of the Nobility, *Flamins*, and prime Officers of the Army, who, haveing called to theire Assistance the learned Gown-men then in Towne, demanded theire Opinion touching the present Form of

Tirconnell.

Jas. II. Colonel Maxwell. John Hamilton. Col. Sheldon. English. Scotch. Tirconnell. Sarsfield. Irish.

Limerick. Bishops.

duæ Præsidiariorum cecidissent partes, haud iniquis nihilominus conditionibus deditionem fecit. *Scotoris* uxor per collapsa murorum citato curru invecta est. Ipse post deditam arcem properè *Tyridati* se sistit, rerum ei gestarum rationem exacte redditurus; at ille contemptim et nullo honore venientem excepit; quanquam *Marii* arx, secundum *Paphum*, toto belli in *Cypro* tempore fortissimè defensa est.

60. Novi Ducis mores propriùs observantibus promptum erat æstimare quàm religiosè juxta *Coridonis* mandata procederet, quamque ille ante discessum crebro ei ingereret, quæ jubebantur, in rem *Amasis* esse, et ita ipsum destrictè imperasse; nec ullus dubitandi locus est, quin a *Maxille*, *Amilcare*, et *Schyllâ*, *Cilicibus Pamphiliisque*, quos rectores juveni custodesque *Coridon* apposuit, (nec enim *Lysandro* aut alii cuipiam e *Cypriorum* Proceribus ejus curam demandasset,) hæc eadem præcepta impensè frequenterque inculcarentur. His maturè et altius pro gravitate rerum et regni necessitate perpensis consideratisque, effectum est ut ingens *Paphum* concursus fieret Optimatium, Flaminum, præcipuorumque belli Ducum, et, quotquot tunc aderant, Jurisconsultorum; peritissimis in Concilium advocatis, quæsitum est, quid de præsenti imperii

Tirconnell. Government left by *Coridon ;* and they all answered that the Power he left was not legall; for that by the ancient Constitution and the fundamentall Laws of the Land, *Cyprus* must be governed by a King or a Vice Roy, or, at least, by a Deputy or two, vested with the Royall Authority; and there being noe King, Vice Roy, or Deputy, now in the Kingdom, the Government was, therefore, unhinged, and the Nation at Liberty to choose what Forme of Rule they thought most convenient for Self-preservation. It is probable that *Coridon* himself was not ignorant that his new Modell of dividing the Power was without Law or President; but he considered if he made Choise of *Tyridates* for his Deputy, (and he durst not name any other, whilst the Son of *Amasis* was in *Cyprus*), the King, who had a fond Affection for the Youth, might continue him in the Employment, and lay *Coridon* aside; he hoped, moreover, to be back in *Cyprus,* before Notice were taken of this Irregularity in the Government. Whatever his Reason was to leave Matters in that Disorder, the Assembly of *Paphos* made Use of it, in order to depose his Creatures (or, at least, endeavour it), to whom the Management of publick Affaires, both Civill and Military, was wholy intrusted in his Absence.

Ireland. Tirconnell. Berwick. James II. Ireland. Tirconnell. Ireland. Limerick.

forma a *Coridone* institutâ sentirent. Unanimi omnium consensu responsum est, potestatem ab eo ordinatam nullo legum adminiculo sustineri: vetustissimis enim constitutionibus et antiquo Regni jure cautum esse, ut in *Cypro* aut Rex præesset, aut Gubernator, aut vicaria saltem potestas uni, duobus, aut ad summum tribus commissa, quibus regia authoritas inesset: cumque Regnum ea tempestate nec Regia majestate, nec fiduciario ullo honore regeretur, succusso imperii fundamento, gentem liberam esse, ut pro arbitrio eam regiminis formam eligant quam publicæ incolumitati aptissimam judicaverint. Credibile est non fugisse *Coridonem* ipsum novum hunc spargendæ in plures potentiæ modum, nec ullis juris placitis nec superiorum temporum exemplis niti. Anxio autem volutaverat animo, si *Tyridatem* rebus præficeret (nec alium, dum in Insulâ regia soboles esset, in hunc apicem eligere audebat) ne Rex, qui juvenem ardenter deperibat, se excluso, dominatum illi confirmaret. Quibuscumque denique rationibus motus est, ut res tam confusas relinqueret, regni conventus tunc *Paphi* congregatus, ea occasione usus est in deponendis *Coridonis* amicis, quibus solis, eo absente, civilium bellicarumque rerum cura commissa erat.

61. Whereuppon two Tribunes and an eminent Gown-man were sent to *Tyridates*, who represented to him, in mild and moderate Terms, that the Power left by *Coridon* was not authentick, and that there was noe legall Authority extant at that Time in the Kingdom of *Cyprus;* that, however the Army and Nation would unanimously choose him for theire Chief, and that he should have all the Power, Civill and Military, in his own Hands, untill the King's further Pleasure were known, provided he would admitt a select Councell of Officers, to be named by the Tribunes, without whose Advice and Consent he should act Nothing releating to the Warr; two able Persons of Quality, for every Province, to be chosen to assist him in the Management of civill Affaires; and that Agents should be imediately dispatched from the Nation, to give *Amasis* a true Account of Transactions since he left *Cyprus*, of theire present Condition, theire Resolutions and Wants. These Proposealls were made to *Tyridates* on the last Day of the 7th Month, and in the 3rd Year of the Warr; to which he answered (as he was prompted by his Tutors), that he knew the Power left by *Coridon* was not legall,

Berwick. Tirconnell. Ireland. Jas. II. Ireland. Berwick. September, O. S., 1690. Tirconnell.

61. Quocirca duo e spectatissimis Militum Tribunis, et unus non infimæ inter Jurisconsultos notæ ad *Tyridatem* destinantur, qui mitibus verbis, et modesta oratione, doceant ordinatam a *Coridone* potestatem veteribus regni constitutionibus contrariam esse; adeoque nullum ea tempestate inter *Cyprios* legitimum extare magistratum: prærogativa tamen militari, plebisque ac nobilium favore, rerum ipsi summam uno ore deferri: unus ille civilia negotia, unus armorum moderamen capesseret, donec regiæ voluntati aliter statuere visum foret: ita tamen ut ex præcipuis ordinum Ductoribus a tribunis militum eligerentur, quorum consensu et auctoritate omnia perageret: duo ex uniuscujusque Provinciæ Optimatibus crearentur, qui civilia pertractantem adjuvarent, legati confestim ad *Amasim* gentis nomine mitterentur, qui, quid in *Cypro* ab Regis excessu actum, quo in articulo rerum deprehensi essent, quid decrevissent, et quanta necessitas instaret, cum fide omnia exponerent. Hæc non iniqua ordinum postulata ad *Tyridatem* delata sunt sub extremum septimi mensis diem, et tertio postquam bellum exarserat anno. Responsum ab eo acceptum est (ita tutores præmonuerant) scire se imperii formam a *Coridone* institutam vaccilare, et adversari legibus; at enimverò a

but that he would accept noe Authority from the Army or Nation; saying that he might comand the Army as Lieutenant Generall, by Vertue
James II. of a former Commission from *Amasis;* he wondered the Officers would presume to meet without his Orders, and he comanded them to disperse and retire to theire respective Quarters. He was told by the Deputyes there was noe such Thing as a Generall now; and indeed there was noe
James II. Army, *Amasis* haveing already discharged them of their Alleigeance, and given them Liberty to shift for themselves; and if they were left at Liberty to submitt to the Enemy, sure they had the same Freedom to
Berwick. defend themselves; and if *Tyridates* could not accept the chief Command uppon those Terms, they were oblidged by the Law of Nature to take the best and most proper Methods they could fix uppon for Self-
Berwick. preservation. But *Tyridates* gave them noe other Answer that Day. The
Sarsfield. next Morning, (after he consulted his Directors), *Lysander* found him more plyant; he was satisfyed to have a Councill of Officers for the

milite, Proceribus, et plebe delatam potestatem æquitati utique contrariam, respuere: posse se nihilominus summam rerum usurpare, et sine ulla legum offensione regimen exercere; quippe qui jam olim paterno consensu exercitibus præfuisset: sibi mirum videri cur, inconsulto se, convenire in unum, et consilia statuere auderent: proinde abirent, atque in sua se hyberna, sine ulla tergiversatione, reciperent. Ad hoc nihil asperitate verborum territi placidè reponunt, nullum jam in insula armorum Ducem esse, ac ne exercitum quidem, postquam *Amasis* cunctos sacramento exsolverat, libereque et pro arbitrio permiserat, quâ quisque tutò posset viâ, sibi prospiceret: quod si liberum erat in hostium se potestatem dedere, eandem esse certè libertatem potiore ratione concessam, ut æternos numinum cultus, regium jus, se, sua, patriam, et charissima pignora, vi et armis defenderent: porrò si *Tyridates* oblatam imperii summam hisce conditionibus acceptare nollet, teneri se naturæ legibus, quo maxime possent, rempublicam et communem omnium incolumitatem tueri. Sed hæc surdo frustrà occinebantur, neque quidquam ultra a *Tyridate* impræsentiarum extorquere poterant; quanquam insequenti die (posteaquam scilicet rem seriò cum Rectoribus contulerat), inclinatiorem eum facilioremque *Lysander* comperisset. Tunc enim ad exequenda belli munia Ducum consilia non recusabat; in civilium rerum administrationem ex unaquaque Provincia

Direction of the Warr; to admit two out of each Province to manage the civill Affaires; and to consent that Agents might be imediately sent into *Syria*, by whom he would write to *Amasis*. *Lysander*, believeing that Nothing now was left undone, to the Satisfaction of all Partyes, and knowing that his Presence was necessary at *Arsinoe*, to watch the Enemyes Motions thereabout (for they had a Design of passing the *Lycus*, and making Incursions into *Paphia*), he took his Leave of *Tyridates*, and the Rest of his Friends in *Paphos*.

France. Jas. II. Sarsfield. Athlone. Shannon. Connaught. Berwick. Limerick.

62. *Lysander* was noe sooner gone, than *Tyridates* began to fall back from his Promise to sign the Address (which the Agents were to bring with them into *Syria*, and present to *Amasis* in Behalf of the Nation), if it did not containe an Expression that they were satisfyed with *Coridon's* Conduct hitherto, which he knew well would never be incerted; for their Design was to impeach *Coridon*, and to discover his Mismanagement both to *Amasis* and the *Syrian* King. But *Tyridates* believed that the Rest of the Officers, following the Example of *Lysander*, would

Sarsfield. Berwick. France. Jas. II. Tirconnell. Tirconnell. Jas. II. French. Berwick. Sarsfield.

duos admittebat: annuebat præterià, ut Legatio extemplo adornaretur, *Amasis* que per literas moneretur, iis, publicâ auctoritate et communi consensu missis, fidem haberet. Rebus ita compositis ordinatisque, ut jam *Lysander* nihil prætermissum arbitraretur, quo omnium votis satisfieret, nec ignoraret, quam necessarium partibus esset, ut ipse ad *Arsinoem* frequens consideret, quo hostium (qui jam *Lycum* trajicere et *Paphiam* incursionibus infestare decreverant) ea circum loca consiliis immineret, salutato, ut par erat, *Tyridate*, et amicorum præcipuis, ad suos regressus est.

62. Vix e conspectu aberat *Lysander*, cum *Tiridates* miris modis tergiversari, et retractare promissa cœpit, nec litteris (quas gentis universæ nomine Legati ad *Amasim* in *Syriam* perlaturi erant) nisi his, aut similibus insertis verbis subscribere volebat. *Coridonem* in eum usque diem omnia summi Ducis et prudentissimi Gubernatoris munia fortiter impigrèque obivisse. At hæc nunquam impetrandum iri probè noverat, quippe qui sciret propositum Legatis eum criminationibus lacerare, et cunctorum, quæ hactenus perperam evenerant, reum agere, ejusque vel socordiam vel perfidiam *Amasi* et *Syrorum* Regi, ex rerum veritate, et propriis coloribus exponere. At *Tyridati* persuasum erat reliquos Duces *Lysandri* exemplo ad sua quemque munia mox certatim

Bishops.

soon retire to their severall Posts; that the *Flamins* and Nobles would also return Home, and soe he might have an Opportunity to spin out the Time, and delay perfecting the Matter as long as possibly he could, in Hope that Winter, now drawing on, might put a Stop to the Agents, and keep them in *Cyprus* untill some new Orders came from *Amasis*, perhaps a Commission to himself, to command as Vice Roy; and this would putt an End to all Disputes about that Legality of Power, which was then pretended to be wanting in *Coridon's* new Modell of Government. This unexpected Tergiversation of the young Man highly incensed the Nation; *Lysander* was sent for, and a finall Resolution taken to sett up an other Form of Government, excludeing *Tyridates* and all *Coridon's* Creatures. Happy *Cyprus*, if that Resolution were put in Effect!

Ireland. Jas. II.

Tirconnell.

Sarsfield.

Berwick. Tirconnell. Ireland.

63. But *Maxilles*, a cunning *Pamphilian*, finding that the *Cyprians* were now in good Earnest, advised *Tyridates* by all Meanes to comply with theire Desires, and to dispatch himself, before the Agents, into *Syria*, to give *Amasis* a private Account how Matters were carryed in *Cyprus;* soe that *Lysander* noe sooner arrived at *Paphos* than he found the Scene

Col. Maxwell. Scotchman. Irish. Berwick. France.

Jas. II. Ireland.

Tirconnell. Limerick.

profecturos: Optimates etiam *Flaminesque* identidem domos suas reversuros; atque ita sibi licitum fore tempus procrastinando trahere, et pro viribus magnopere impedire, ne res ad exitum perducerentur; spei plenus, ingruente jam hyeme, maria Legatis tempestatum vi impervia fore, adeoque in Insula destinendos, donec novum aliquod mandatum ab *Amasi* missum superveniret, quo fortassis summa imperii ipsi demandaretur; et ita omnis tolleretur dubitatio de potestatis jure, quam legibus contrariam *Coridonem* instituisse contendebant. Hac improvisâ juvenis tergiversatione mirùm quantùm tota natio indignitate commota in iras exarsit: revocatur properè *Lysander:* nova imperii forma summo omnium consensu ordinatur: excluditur *Tyridates; Coridonis* satellites amoventur. Felicem *Cyprum*, si hæc consilia effectum cæpissent!

63. At vero *Maxilles Pamphilius*, et ingenio gentis et suâpte naturâ subdolus ac vafer, cum *Cyprios* rem obnixe urgere cerneret, *Tiridatem* monuit etiam atque etiam eorum voluntatibus obtemperaret, ne frustra renitendo ægrescerent animi, et pejus exasperarentur: tum se in *Syriam* mature præmitteret, ut legatorum ibi adventum præverteret, *Amasim* que privatim edoceret, quis tum rerum in *Cypro* status esset. Statim itaque atque *Lysander Paphum*

altred, and *Tyridates* quite another Man than the late Expresses from thence represented him ; for he signed the Address and Credentialls for the Agents, composed of a *Flamin* and three Officers of the Army; he consented that two *Flamins* and eight Noblemen, to be named by the provinciall Meetings, should be joyned to the Twelve already appointed by *Coridon*, for the Management of civill Affaires; that he would admitt all the Generall Officers to be of his Councill of War, tho' *Coridon* stinted the Number to a few Privadoes of his own ; and all this was assented unto by *Tyridates*, without any seeming Reluctancy, but Nothing of it performed, only what related to the Agents, which was solemnly done uppon the Place; and that being once perfected, the Assembly broke up; for, the principall Point being once gained, it was not doubted by *Lysander*, and the Rest of the good Patriots, but that uppon the Agents' Arrivall in *Syria*, a speedy Course would be taken by *Antiochus*, to enable the Nation to defend themselves, and reduce theire civill and military Affaires in soe good a Posture, that the Design of *Coridon* would

Berwick. Bishop. Bishops. Tirconnell. Tirconnell. Berwick. Sarsfield. France. Ls. XIV. Tirconnell.

advectus est, mutata omnia comperit, et *Tiridatem* longe diversum ab eo quem litteræ inde missæ loquebantur. Legatorum enim, qui ex *Flamine* uno et tribus militiæ Ducibus constabant, publico instrumento ultro subscripsit: voluit ut *Flamines* duo et Optimates octo in comitiis provincialibus creandi eligendique, duodecim illis adscriberentur, quos *Coridon* antebac civilium rerum administrationi admoverat: admisit in consultatione rerum militarium præcipuos omnes belli Ductores, quanquam *Coridon* ad paucos e familiaribus eum numerum arctaverat: et omnibus his *Tyridates* sine ullâ, ut videbatur, difficultate, ullove reluctantis animi signo assensum præbuit: at præstitit omnino nihil, præterea, quæ ad expediendos legatos pertinebant, quæ nullâ interpositâ morâ ibidem peracta sunt. Cum hæc ita disposita essent, comitia terminantur, obtento enim impetratoque quod potissimum erat, nec *Lysandro* dubium fuit, nec Procerum reliquis, quos patriæ charitas eò convocaverat, quin cum primum in *Syriam* appulissent Legati, *Antiochus* necessitatem rerum edoctus auxilia maturaret, quibus ferocia hostium reprimi, et *Cypriorum* natio malis hactenus fracta, e mediis calamitatum fluctibus paulatim emergere, ac respirare posset; ac res civiles militaresque *Syrorum* adventu validiores in id roboris ac firmitatis domi excrescerent, ut deditionis consilia, a *Coridone* dudum agitata, irrito

be rendred ineffectual. The Agents imediately gott on Board a Vessell then rideing in the Harbour, and ready to sett Sail, but they were soe long retarded by contrary Winds, that the Winter was farr advanced before they arrived in *Syria*, in the seaport Town of *Malus*, when *Coridon*, at the same Time, was ready to sett Sail from an other Port, in his Returne to *Cyprus*. But they were not many Furlongs at Sea, when a Courier arrived from *Syria*, bringing to *Tyridates* the above-mentioned Order of *Amasis*, procured by *Coridon*, that noe such Persons should be suffered to goe out of *Cyprus*. In the King's Letter, come by the same Courier, he declared that his Subjects of *Cyprus* could not give greater Proofs of their Fidelity to him, than by their ready Submission and Obedience to *Coridon*, and by their free and exact Observances of his Orders. Nothing more unwelcome than this Declaration could come from *Amasis* to the Generality of the *Cyprish Delphicans*, for it was as clear as the Light of the Sunn that *Coridon* employed all along his uttmost Efforts to bring them under againe the *Cilician* Yoke, and it appeared now that *Amasis* was still of the same Resolution; but they hoped their Legats would make him more sensible of his true Intrest.

France. St. Malo. Tirconnell. Ireland.

France. Berwick. Jas. II. Tirconnell. Ireland.

Ireland.

Tirconnell.

James II.

Irish Rom. Cath.

Tirconnell.

English. Jas. II.

tandem effectu conciderent. At legati quanquam extemplo navem conscenderent, quæ in procinctu ad navigandum tum fortè in eo portu stabat, tamdiu nihilominus reflantibus ventis et intractabili cœlo retardati sunt, ut provecta jam hyems esset, priusquam in *Syriam* ad *Mallum*, maritimum oppidum adveherentur: sub idem tempus *Coridon* ex alio portu in *Cyprum* rediturus solvit. Non longe autem in altum provecti sunt, cum ex *Syria* nuntius ad *Cyprium* littus appellitur cum mandatis ad *Tyridatem Amasis*, iis quidem *Coridonis* importunitate impetratis atque extortis, quibus districte inhibebatur, ne quibus legatis ex Insula navigandi potestas fieret. Litteris regiis unâ allatis continebatur, nulla in re *Cyprios* subditos sibi magis gratificari posse, et incorruptæ fidei experimenta dare, quam si *Coridonis* jussis per omnia obsecundassent, ejusque mandata libenter ac voluntarie exequerentur. Nihil minus jucundum *Cypriis Delphicæ* religionis cultoribus accidere poterat, quam hæc tanta *Amasis* erga *Coridonem* fiducia atque inclinatio; nemo enim ambigebat eum omni nisu in id semper incubuisse, ut rursum eos in antiquam servitutem redactos sævissimo *Cilicum* dominio subjiceret. Et jam clare apparebat *Amasim* ipsum

64. The *Cyprian* Agents made all the possible Hast they could to Court, but *Maxilles* was there before, and gave *Amasis* what Account he thought fitt of all Transactions. When they arrived, they gott a cold Reception from *Amasis*, who looked on them as Mutineers; and as such they were, at first, threatened with Imprisonment; but uppon a further Consideration, least the Nation of *Cyprus*, resenting such a publick Affront, might be tempted to enter into a strict League with *Theodore*, haveing received no better Usage in *Syria*, it was resolved to use them more mildly. *Amasis*, in Person, presented them to *Antiochus*, as Legats from the *Delphicans* of *Cyprus*, tho', it is believed, he left Nothing unattempted that the Authority of a Prince could doe with his Subjects, to make them decline their intended Prosecution against *Coridon*, or saying any Thing in the *Syrian* Court to his Prejudice, or in Derogation of his Government in *Cyprus;* and Queen *Diana* herself (whom People believed more sensible of her true Interest than *Amasis*) was pleased to say she knew noe Reason, when the King and she were satisfyed with *Coridon's* Conduct, why the *Cyprians* should dislike it. The Agents

Irish. Col. Maxwell. James II. James II. Ireland. William III. France. Jas. II. Ls. XIV. Roman Catholics. Ireland. Tirconnell. French. Ireland. Queen Mary of Modena. James II. Tirconnell. Irish.

in idem illud consensisse: unica tamen in Legatis spes quos quid Regi, quid regno conduceret pari fide et libertate expositurus non ambigebant.

64. *Cypriorum* legati quam poterant maximis itineribus in regiam urbem contenderunt; *Maxilles* tamen citatiore cursu prætervectus eorum adventum anticipavit, *Amasimque* de negotiis, ut convenerat, certiorem fecit. Illos supervenientes frigidius Rex, et non sincero affectu recepit, ut seditionum authores increpans, et ut talibus, primum vincula et carceres comminabatur, donec re maturius perpensâ, ne *Cyprii* publicâ legatorum ignominiâ accensi, cum *Theodoro* sanctioribus se fœderibus implicarent, cum in *Syria* injuriis et opprobrio afficerentur, mitius eos tractare destinavit, et ipse ad *Antiochum* introductos, ut *Delphicæ* e *Cypro* nationis legatos commendavit. At nihil intentatum reliquit quod regiâ authoritate cum subditis transigi poterat, quo a *Coridone* ulterius incusando criminandoque deterrerentur, neve quid in aula *Syriaca* effunderent, quod aut illius dignitate officeret, aut rerum, quas in *Cypro* gesserat, famam detereret. *Diana* quoque Regina (quam omnes acriore, quam *Amasis*, curâ, quid in rem esset, intendere opinabantur) dixisse perhibetur, sibi mirum videri, cur *Cyprii Coridonis* imperio offenderentur, ejusque facta tanta verbo-

considered they had the Concerns of a Nation to look after, and suppose the King (out of a false Maxim of State) were convinced that it was his Interest to lett *Theodore* conquer *Cyprus*, in Hope it might facilitate his own Restoration to *Cilicia*, it would be a great Hardship on the *Cyprians* to sacrifice theire Lives, theire Estates and Fortunes, the Religion of their Ancestors, and all that was dear to them in this World, out of a vain Presumption that by theire Ruin *Amasis* [would be] reinthroned in *Cilicia*, whilst they and theire Posterity should be reduced to an inevitable Necessity of endureing a perpetuall Bondage? or, rather, to be extirpated, Root and Branch? for that was known to have been alwayes the Design and Result of the *Cilicians*. They held themselves, therefore, oblidged by the indispensable Law of Nature, Honour, and Conscience, to take other Methods, as well for their own as for the Preservation of those who employed and entrusted them, by giveing to both Kings a true Account of the present State of *Cyprus*, of the Nation's unalterable Resolution to hold out to the Last; and how easie it was to recover the whole Island from *Theodore*, or at least to keep him soe employed there,

Will. III. Ireland. England. Irish. James II. England. English. Ireland. William III.

rum acerbitate insectarentur, cum sibi Regi per omnia satisfecisset. Quasi vero solæ *Amasis* utilitates et commoda nationi illi obversari debuissent; et cum illi præposterè falsoque documento persuasum esset, se propensioribus subditorum animis in avitum *Ciliciæ* regnum restaurandum iri, si *Theodorus* in *Cypro* debellasset, ideone *Cypriis* susdeque esse oportebat, vitam, bona, fortunas, majorum religionem, et quidquid denique aut sanctum aut charum hominibus est, ex inani et male fundatâ opinione suo exitio *Amasim* in amissum *Ciliciæ* solum postliminio recipiendum, dum interim sibi posterisque æternæ servitutis mala necessario sint subeunda? imo, dum se funditus eradicandos, et e medio tollendos non ignorarent, quod pervicacibus *Cilices* odiis jamdudum agitasse liquebat: inevitabili certe naturæ lege tenebantur nihil inexpertum relinquere, quo saluti et incolumitati suæ prospicerent: et si Legati, ut aliud quidquam agerent, adduci potuissent, summâ perfidiâ conceptam de se gentis universæ expectationem fefellissent. Non immerito igitur conjectare licet, eos suo non defuisse officio, et quo in statu res *Cypri* reliquissent ambobus coram Regibus haud perfunctoria narratione exposuisse: totam nationem in eo esse, ut extrema omnia pro Patria non recusent; quamque arduum

as to disable him from giveing any considerable Assistance to the confederate Princes against *Syria;* and that it was the true Intrest of *Amasis* to goe on after such a Manner in *Cyprus*, that might enable him to enter into *Cilicia* with the Sword in Hand, and as a Conqueror reestablish the ancient Worship of *Delphos*, and secure his Royall Prerogative from being hereafter invaded by his inconstant *Martanesian* Subjects, who, by the Principles of their new Religion, were sworn Enemyes to Monarchy. They represent to *Antiochus*, that the Nation of *Cyprus*, uppon the Assureance he gave them of his Royall Protection, were encouraged to declare in Favour of *Amasis*, against the Prince of *Patera;* that they, consequently, drew the whole Force of *Theodore* (which might be otherwise employed against *Antiochus*) uppon themselves, whereby theire Country was now made the miserable Seat of Warr, and the *Syrian* King was engaged in Honour as well as Interest, to support them powerfully in maintaining a Quarrell, which they chiefly undertook uppon his Account. It is, however, to be supposed that the Respect of *Amasis* made the *Cyprian* Agents forbear grateing too much uppon *Coridon's* Conduct since the Engagement on the *Lapithus;* for, if all his Proceedings from that Day

France. Jas. II.
Ireland.
England.
Rome.
Protestant.
Ls. XIV. Ireland.
Jas. II. Prince of Orange. William III.
Louis XIV.
French.
Jas. II. Irish.
Tirconnell.
Boyne.

non esset universam insulam e *Theodori* manibus eripere, aut saltem ibi ita occupatum tenere, ut nullo memorabili auxilio fœderatorum Principum arma in *Syriam* juvare posset, nihilque *Amasi* utilius nihil gloriosius esse, quam successus suos in *Cypro* ita urgere, ut *Ciliciam* cum instructo exercitu invadendo par esset, et victoriæ jure antiquos *Delphorum* ritus instauraret, regiæque majestati prospiceret, ne imposterùm exposita pateret infidæ *Martinesiorum* turbæ, quorum nova hæc religio pietati imputabat regium fastigium subvertere; *Antiochus* autem monendus erat, *Cypros* suppetiarum, quas ille promiserat, spe subnixos bellum pro *Amasi* adversus *Pataræum* Principem suscepisse, adeoque omnes *Theodori* copias (quæ alias in *Syros* ducerentur) in se vertisse, quo facto patriam jam miserandam belli aream fecissent; atque ita non utile illi solum, sed decorum etiam esse, eam causam pro virili fulcire, quam *Cyprii* illius ergo amplexi fuissent. At opinari fas est Legatos regiæ dignitati consulentes remissius, quæ *Coridon* post prælium ad *Lapithum* amnem deliquerat, exagitasse; nam si in singula illius facta per id tempus penitùs introspiceretur, non solùm *Antiocho* rerum veritas patesceret (quem adhuc in

Louis XIV. James II. were ravalled into, it would not only disabuse *Antiochus* (who was hitherto kept in the Dark), but it would perhaps convict poor *Amasis* of some Ingratitude towards his best Alley; they were, therefore, unwilling to expose the Weakness of theire King, who was esily imposed uppon by his Favourites, for compassing their own private Ends, to act against his true Intrest; and the Misfortune was, that past Miscarriages seldom made him more wary for the Future. It is probable, however, that *Antiochus* (notwithstanding all these Precautions used by *Amasis* and *Coridon*) was noe Stranger to the Design of giveing up *Cyprus* to *Theodore*, nor to the Reasons they alledged for it, least the old *Cyprians*, with the *Syrian* Assistance, should recover the Country, and keep it to themselves. But, to avoid giveing *Amasis* any Occasion of Jealousie, (an Imperfection incident to all weak Princes,) he seemed to credit *Coridon's* Relation, confirmed by the King, and uppon that Account would not give the *Cyprian* Agents that powerfull Succour which they called for,

Louis XIV. Jas. II. Tirconnell. Ireland. William III. Irish. French. James II. Tirconnell. Irish.

sua ignorantia continuaverant) sed infelicem etiam *Amasim* insigni ingrati animi vitio transacta in lucem prodita planè maculassent, reumque ejus criminis peragerent, quo nihil turpiùs in socium et optime de se meritum Regem perpetrare posset. Unde durum illis, et inhumanius fortasse, quam par erat, visum est nimiam sane, nec inculpatam sui Regis seu facilitatem, seu quem alium infirmi morbum animi publicæ Exterorum censuræ, ac mortalium omnium ludibrio exponere; ille enim innatâ credulitate Aulicorum artibus, privata commoda utilitatis publicæ specie venantium, et inveterata in *Cyprios* odia sub falsis circumspectæ nominibus prudentiæ exequentium, in quascumque vellent partes, nullo negotio trahebatur: quod autem in rebus miserrimum est, nullis præterritis erroribus ad resipiscendum de cetero cogi poterat. Credibile tamen *Antiochum* (quidquid in contrarium ab *Amasi* et *Coridone* cautum fuerat) non ignorasse penitus propositum illis fuisse *Cyprum Theodoro* tradere: intellexisse etiam causam ne videlicet vetusta *Cypriorum* natio, *Syrorum* auxilio, avitas possessiones vi et armis denuo partas, repetita libertate, et excusso *Cilicum* jugo de novo usurparent. At ne suspicacem *Amasis* perstringeret animum (cui malo debilitatis notæ Principes plerumque obnoxii sunt) *Coridonis*, cui adstipulabatur *Amasis*, fidei acquiescere visus est, adeoque *Cypriis* legatis annuere noluit ea auxilia, quæ et illi postulaverant, et ipse necessaria esse

and he believed to be necessary; and that these might not be altogether discouraged, he assured them that whatever *Phyrrus*, a Captain of great Conduct and Experience (whom he recommended to *Amasis* to command his *Cyprian* Army), after arriveing there, and informing himself uppon the Place, should judge necessary for carrying on the Work, *Antiochus* would not faile dispatching it into *Cyprus*.

St. Ruth. James II. Irish. Louis XIV. Ireland.

65. Whilst Matters were in this Agitation in the *Syrian* Court, that Part of *Cyprus* which owned the Authority of *Amasis* was most lamentably governed between *Tyridates*, *Lysander*, and the new Senat. The entire Province of *Paphia*, and those Territoryes in *Amathusia* which bordered on the City of *Paphos*, and were naturally fortifyed by deep Rivers and inaccessible Mountains, did not yet stoop to *Patera's* Yoke. The Men and Cattle of the other Provinces, come for shelter into this Part of *Cyprus*, being in great Numbers (specially those of *Lapithia*), were burthensome to the Inhabitants wherever they came; but it was Nothing to the Disorders daily committed by the Army; for all the Forces of *Cyprus*, now driven into *Paphia*, and other Places of Fastness, lived at Discretion, without Order or Discipline. *Tyridates* minded his youthfull

French. Ireland. Jas. II. Berwick. Sarsfield. Connaught. Munster. Limerick. Orange. Ireland. Ulster. Ireland. Connaught. Berwick.

non ambigebat. Ne vero funditus desperarent, et repulsâ offensos dimitteret pollicitus est, quidquid *Pyrrhus*, vetus militiæ Dux et rerum successu atque experientiâ clarus, quem *Amasi* in usum *Cyprii* belli, manu utpote strenuum, et egregium copiarum Ductorem impense commendaverat, posteaquam eo adventasset, et regni statum præsens inspexisset, ad res ibi conficiendas requiri judicasset, se confestim navibus in *Cyprum* missurum deportaturumque.

65. Dum hæc in aula *Syriaca* agitantur ea *Cypri* pars quam *Amasiani* adhuc obtinebant insidebantque miserandum in modum *Tyridatem* inter *Lysandrum* novumque Senatum lacerebatur. Tota *Paphia*, eaque terrarum spatia in *Amathusiâ*, quæ *Papho* urbi contermina sunt, aut quæ natura altissimis amnibus, aut inaccessis montium verticibus muniverat, nondum *Pataræo* se jugo submiserant: aliarum provinciarum incolæ (sed præcipue *Lapithii*) qui suis sedibus moti cum armentorum gregibus, pecoribusque illuc, tanquam ad arcem et publicum asylum confugerant, quocunque se verterant Accolis graves erant: at hæc mala præ quotidianis militum injuriis vix sentiebantur; omnes enim *Cypriorum* copiæ intra *Paphiæ* limites coactæ, et per munitiones sparsæ,

Pleasures more than the Conduct of his Troops; the Commissioners left for civill Affaires pretended to have noe Power to regulate the Soldiery, and *Lysander* (who, noe Doubt, meant well) gave out so many clashing Orders, which related as well to the civill (wherein he had noe Authority) as to the military Government, that it did not a little contribute to increase the Confusion. But the most intollerable Oppression of all was, the unlimitted Power assumed by the Storekeepers and theire under Officers (who were ordinarily the worst Men they could find), to seize uppon the Corn, Cattle, Butter, Leather, Tallow, Wool, Linnen, and indeed every Commodity, Goods and Utensills, that could be named in a Man's House or Land, without any Priveledge to the Noble, or even to the sacred *Flamins*, and little of this brought into the King's Stores (as was pretended), but converted by these Harpyes to theire own Use. These Catterpillars, comeing out daily in Swarms to search in all Places, both above and under Ground, were still garded by a Party of Soldiers, and that commonly by *Lysander's* Orders; for he was soe easy that he would

Sarsfield.

Bishops.

Sarsfield.

nullo metu aut disciplinâ, ac pro arbitrio suo omnia agere; *Tyridates* voluptatibus juvenili levitate indulgere; armorum curam aspernari; qui civilium rerum administrationi præpositi erant, abnuere ullam in se ad cohibendam militarem licentiam, authoritatem esse; et *Lysander* ipse (nec id certe in ullius fraudem, sed ingenitâ quadam naturæ lenitate) tot dissona, et sibi adversantia edicta promulgare, tam ad civilia negotia (quorum illi nulla omnino potestas aut cura) quam ad rem militarem pertinentia, ut non parum ad augendos turbarum causas contulerit. At miseriarum omnium longe gravissima erat Præfectorum annonæ immensa potestas, eorumque, quorum ad hæc ministerio utebantur (et hos plurimum ex ipsa hominum fæce eligebant) ad congregandum avehendumque frumentum, pecora, butyrum, coria, sebum, lanam, linum, quidquid denique supellectilis, aut domesticarum rusticarumque rerum sive intra domorum septa, sive in agris inveniri poterat, nullo omnino nobilium, ac ne sacrorum quidem *Flaminum* habito respectu. Et horum pars longe minima in regia (licet id prætenderent) importabatur horrea, sed ab his rapacium Harpyarum gregibus in privatos usus convertebantur; hirundines istæ latrociniis exercitæ, densisque indies agminibus grassantes, et nihil usquàm tutum, nihil occultum sacrilegâ sedulitate relinquentes, militum præsidio, et

not deny signing to any Paper that was laid before him. This was held the greatest Grievance of the Nation under this Government, dureing which noe Man could be secure of any Thing, and Nothing makes theire Lives more uneasye to People than to live in a Country where they cannot pretend a Property to any Thing of theire own. This was not only the present Case of the *Cyprians* dureing the short Government of *Tyridates* and the Councill, but it was soe all along in *Coridon's* Reign, even before *Amasis* quitted the Country, for he had only the Name of a King, and *Coridon* the Power. The Abundance of Copper Money, which was coyned by the King, was generally believed to be, in a great Measure, the Occasion of the *Cyprians'* Ruin, and the Disorders of their Government produced so many Inconveniencies in the Country, that it deserves to be discovered by a perticular Relation from its originall Sourse.

Irish. Sarsfield. Tirconnell. James II. Tirconnell. Irish.

66. When *Amasis* arrived in *Cyprus*, which was about the Middle of the first Month of the second Year of the Warr, he found the Country

Jas. II. Ireland. March, O. S., 1689.

hoc *Lysandri* semper ferè concessu, in bona fortunasque omnium armabantur; tam facili enim ingenio erat, ut, quidquid postularetur, annueret temerè subscriberetque. Non aliud magis intolerandum genti malum videbatur, dum hæc imperia duraverant: his namque Rempub. administrantibus nulli quidquam rerum suarum aut proprium aut certum: nec est quo humanum genus angi magis, vexarique possit, quam in ea regione vitam agere, ubi haud ulli bonorum suorum secura possessio contingat. Non solum autem *Cyprios* eæ, quas memoravimus, calamitates infestaverant, dum *Tiridates* cum electis regni Proceribus brevi dominatu rerum potiebatur, sed iisdem ærumnis toto *Coridonis* regno premebantur, etiam dum *Amasis* in insula adhuc hæreret; illi quippe regium tantum nomen supererat, vis potestatis penes *Coridonem* erat. Ingens præterea æreorum nummorum copia, quam Rex procudi jusserat, multum communibus *Cypriæ* gentis malis contulisse omnium judicio credebatur, et grandi publicarum perturbationum accessu regni statum cumulasse: tot autem turbarum causas per totam *Cyprum* nova hæc cudendi æris consilia exhibuere, ut operæ pretium sit rem altius et ab ipso originis fonte accuratiore narrationis contextu aperire.

66. Cum *Amasis* secundo belli anno, circa mediam primi mensis tempesta-

English. very bare of Gold and Silver, the *Cilicians* (who had all the Wealth of the Kingdom in theire Hands) haveing transported theire Effects into
England. Js. II. *Cilicia;* and *Amasis* was not very fond of spending in Hast the Stock
Louis XIV. of Money which *Antiochus* freely granted for the Support of the Warr in
Ireland. *Cyprus*, least it might oblidge him to call for more; for he did not love to be too farr engaged to any forreign Prince, foreseeing that the Reimbursement of such vast Sumes would exhaust his Treasure when he came to the Possession of his Kingdom, which he soon expected, by the voluntary Submission of his deluded Subjects, when the Film that hindred them now to behold theire Folly had been clearely taken off. He was,
Scotchman. therefore, advised by a *Pamphilian* Privadoe to make use of this Copper
Ireland. Coyne, to serve his present Turn in *Cyprus*, and Matters being once settled there, he might recall it again, and recompense the Loosers; in the Meanwhile, it would enable him to imploy a good Part of his Gold to
Scotland. keep in Heart his Friends in *Pamphilia*, and gain others in *Cilicia*, which, as he alleadged, was of greater Consequence to be looked after, than the
Ireland. Affaires of *Cyprus*. And tho' *Demetrius*, the *Syrian* Embassador, and the
D'Avaux.
French.

tem, in *Cyprum* navigasset, eam regionem auro argentoque vacuam comperit; cum *Cilices*, qui omnes regni opes congesserant, cunctam opulentiam, fortunasque suas in patriam transvexissent: nec *Amasi* pronum erat eas pecunias refundere, quas *Antiochus* ad continuendum in *Cypro* bellum liberè concesserat, ne expensis prioribus novas suppetias implorare cogeretur, neque enim exterorum Principum ære alieno premi prudentis esse arbitrabatur, gnarus tot denuò pecuniarum solutione exhaustum iri thesauros suos, cum avitum in solium revectus esset, quod mox futurum non dubitabat spontaneâ Subditorum, quibus vanis pollicitationibus et simulandi artibus illusum erat, obedientiâ, cum semel, discussis tenebris, quæ oculos eorum fatali quodam stultitiæ velo obductos inumbraverant, in lucem emersissent. Consilio igitur usus est cujusdam e Purpuratis *Pamphilii*, familiaris sui, ut recuso ære imminentibus *Cypri* necessitatibus subveniret, et sedatis tandem tumultibus, haud difficile fore emissam in vulgus summam in fiscum retrahere, et Creditorum damna sensim resarcire; intereà posse ipsum auro, quod superesset, partium studia in *Pamphilia* fovere, ac recentes in *Cilicia* factiones excitare, idque gravioris esse momenti, atque impensiore ipsum curâ exequi debere, quam præsentia *Cyprii* negotia. Et quan-

Nobles of *Cyprus*, assured *Amasis*, if he laid out that Money he brought out of *Syria*, it would come back again, by Circulation, into his Treasury (the States Generall of the Kingdom haveing freely granted a Subsidy of 200 Talents already), yet the *Pamphilian* Advice prevailed. A considerable Part of the Gold was sent into that Country, (the Rest being reserved by *Amasis* for a dead Lift,) and the Copper Coyn was resolved uppon, the Mint goeing on with the Work, in the 6th Month of the second Yeare. Uppon the first Appearing of it abroad, the *Martanesians* in *Salamis* shewed a Reluctancy to receive it, but they were soon forced into a Complyance. It passed pretty well in the Beginning; the People, who were hitherto scant of Money, being glad to have any Coyn currant among 'em, to advance Tradeing, which was dead in the Country. But, when it came to be coyned in such Abundance, that the Merchants, who could not use it in foreign Countrys, raised the Price of theire outlandish Ware to an unreasonable Rate, and the Country People, following the good Example, began to raise the Price of theire Commodities also, the *Syrian* Troops, who were paid in Silver, seemed

Ireland. Jas. II.
France.
Scotch.
James II.
August, O. S., 1689. Protestants. Dublin.
French.

quam *Demetrius*, *Syri* Regis Legatus, primoresque *Cypriorum* Procerum *Amasim* monuissent, si pecunias e *Syria* allatas expendisset, eas postliminiò in fiscum reversuras, cum præsertim regni ordines ducenta ipsi talenta in subsidium jam obtulissent. Sed his rationibus tantorum virorum authoritate nequicquam propositis, *Pamphilii* monitis fides habita: haud temnendum auri pondus in eam regionem mittitur. *Amasis*, quod reliquum erat, in privatos usus servavit: tum cudendo ære impigrè incumbitur: huic operi insudari cæptum est secundi anni mense sexto. Cum primum in vulgus hi nummi prodiissent, *Martanesii*, qui *Salamine* remanserant, respuere et aspernari videbantur, at mox ut acceptarent, vi et ingratiis effectum est. Sub initia haud difficulter in pretio erant, non invitâ plebe, quibus pecuniarum hactenus inopiâ oppressis gratum erat, ut qualicumque nummo commercia, quæ jam ubique cessaverant, promoverentur. Cum verò jam tantâ copiâ in omnes regni partes hæc moneta spargeretur, ut Mercatores, quibus inter exteros usui esse non poterat, satietas caperet, et exoticarum mercium pretia in immensum augerent; tum etiam Incolæ eorum exemplo ac vestigiis insistentes, suas quoque res carius venderent, et *Syræ* cohortes, quibus argento stipendia solvebantur, abnuere visi

to reject it; then, and not before, it began to decline. But that which undervalued it most, was the little Esteem the great Ones about Court shewed for it; *Coridon's* Lady comonly giveing Double the Quantity of Brass, for soe much Silver. This made the inferior Sort to vilify the Coyne; especially after the Defeat of *Amasis* on the River of *Lapithus*, it became so despicable among the *Cyprians*, that the Comodity which might be purchased for one Peice of Silver would cost 20 in Brass; and yet *Coridon*, and those who governed under him, extorted from the Country People theire Goods at the King's Rate, when he paid in Silver. But the Oppression that the poor *Cyprian* Merchants lay under, in the Cityes of *Paphos* and *Cythera*, (for the *Coridonians* had noe more to manage,) was most insufferable. A Factor, who had his Goods ready to be brought on Board a Vessell hired to that Purpose, must have the Affliction to behold his Warehouse broke open, and all that intended Freight (which he acquired with soe great Pains and Expence) snatched from him in a Moment, for which he had the Value given him in Copper, according to the King's Rate, (or, perhaps, a Ticket for it,) which would not yield him the Price of a Shoe-buckle in any foreign Country.

Tirconnell.

Jas. II. Boyne.

Irish.

Tirconnell.

Irish.

Limerick. Galway.

sunt; tum demum viliùs haberi cæptaverant. At penitus eviluerunt, postquam ea Optimates, quique aulam sectabantur, despexere: cum ipsa præsertim *Coridonis* uxor pro uno argenteo duos æreos refunderet. Horum exemplo plebeiæ manus æra in nullo pretio habuere: maximè autem post *Amasianum* exercitum super *Lapitho* amne fusum fugatumque adeò *Cyprios* inter contemptui erat, ut quæ uno argenteo emerentur merces, viginti minimum æreis starent. *Coridon* nihilominus, quique sub eo dominatum exercebant, Incolarum bona eodem, quo argento soliti erant, valore extorquebant. At injuriæ, quibus *Cyprii* mercatores onerabantur in urbibus *Papho*, *Cythœrâque*, quas solas *Coridonii* tunc obtinebant, prorsus intolerabiles erant. Negociatores, quibus conductæ naves in portu stabant, mercesque ad exportandum paratæ, non sine ingenti animorum vexatione intuebantur tabernas violenter effringi, et fortunas omnes, quos tanto labore tantâque curâ coacervaverant, momento temporis diripi expilarique, pro quibus aut fortè illis chirographo satisfiebat, aut numerabantur æra prout auro aut argento talia priùs venibant, quibus ne vilissima quidem rerum alias inter nationes comparare possent. Et quan-

And, tho' this Plunder was daily comitted under Pretence of supplying the King's Stores, yet the Misfortune was, the Nephews and Nieces, the Friends and Favourites of *Coridon*, gott the greater Part of the Spoil. Tirconnell. The Towne of *Cythera* can bear Wittness that this was commonly done Galway. by his own Orders, when he was to take Shipping there for *Syria*. If France. an outlandish Vessell came in by Chance (for few would come in designedly into a Land where noe other Coyne was used but Copper), the whole Cargoe was imediately seized, and the Owners must stay untill theire Ship were loaded again with the country Provisions or Commodityes, which were to be plundered from the Natyves; and this unhappy Management made all the neighbouring Nations to shun that Part of *Cyprus*, which was reputed an infamous Den of Robbers, and a Recep- Ireland. tacle of Pyrates. It was the common Opinion, that this pitifull Project of the Copper Coyne was purposely advised by some who designed the totall Ruin of *Cyprus;* for it might be easily foreseen, that it would Ireland. quickly destroy all Comerce, wherein chiefly consists the Wealth of a Country surrounded by the Sea.

quam hæc latrocinia indies patrarentur, eo nomine, ut in regia horrea deportarentur, quod tamen indignissimum erat, nepotes et neptes, familiares et asseclæ *Coridonis* publicis spoliis ditebantur. Testis erit *Cythera*, quoties hæc ipsius imperio factitata viderit, dum ibi morabatur, ut, in *Syriam* trajecturus, navem conscenderet. Si quando peregrina navis ad hoc littus fortuitò appelleret (quis enim in eam regionem ultro navigasset, ubi solo ære, quod nullius alibi pretii erat, omnia emercabantur) cunctis protinùs facultatibus bonisque rapaces injiciebantur manus, et Dominis expectandum erat, donec navem denuò onerassent iis mercibus, quæ invitis Incolis extorquebantur: et hâc quotidianâ violentiâ, turbulentoque et incondito rerum statu effectum est, ut vicinæ quaquaversum gentes eam *Cypri* partem adire perhorrescerent, tanquam infamem quandam Latronum specum, Piratarumque receptaculum. Commune omnium judicium erat, æris hoc excudendi consilium eò spectasse, ut universæ *Cypri* exitium inde sequeretur: facilis enim conjectura erat, eâ ratione tolli omnia prorsus commercia, quibus maximè innituntur opes regionis, quæ a mari undique alluitur.

November, O. S., 1690. Sarsfield.

67. About the Beginning of the 9th Month, *Lysander* happily discovered a dangerous Correspondence and private Treaty between some of the *Cyprian* Senat and the Enemy. These were to cross the *Lycus*, and the Conspirators were to order it soe, that the Cityes of *Paphos* and *Cythera* should be delivered to them. Uppon this Discovery, *Lysander* posted to *Paphos*, to give *Tyridates* an Account of the Treachery. He shewed him a List, come to him out of *Salamis*, of the Traytors' Names; and tho' *Tyridates* owned the Receipt of such an other List from *Amasis*, which came to him out of *Tarsus*, he could not, however, be perswaded to secure the Conspirators (because they were all *Coridon's* Friends), and it was by much adoe that he was prevailed uppon to dismiss *Riverus* from his Office of Secretary, and to take the Government of *Cythera* from his Brother-in-law, a good Commander, raised, by Meritt, from a private Soldier to the Office of a Tribune: he was generally held an honest Man, true to his Country, and zelous to the *Delphican* Worship, and noe other Motive to remove or displace him, but that he was allyed to *Riverus*, who was really esteemed by a great Many of his Compatriots.

Irish. Shannon.

Limerick. Galway. Sarsfield.

Limerick. Berwick. Dublin.

Berwick. Js. II.

London.

Tirconnell.

Lord Riverston.

Galway.

Col. Alexander Mac Donnell.

Roman Catholic.

Riverston.

67. Ineunte nono mense *Lysander* haud irrito successu periculosa consilia, et clandestinas negotiationes quosdam inter *Cyprios* Senatores, et hostium Duces detexerat. Convenerat quippe ut his *Lycum* amnem transmissuris Conjuratores *Paphum* et *Cythæram* urbes in manus traderent. Conspiratione itaque patefactâ *Lysander*, quantis poterat itineribus *Paphum* adequitavit, ut ordine proditionis seriem *Tiridati* aperiret. Tum libellum ad se missum *Salamine* porrigit, in quo perduellium nomina descripta erant. Quanquam verò *Tiridates* consimilem se libellum ab *Amasi* recepisse non diffiteretur, qui *Tarso* venerat; induci tamen non potuit ut reos aut custodiâ cingeret, aut carcere includeret (omnes nempè *Coridonis* amici nominabantur) et vix à reluctante impetrari poterat, ut *Riverum*, qui regni a secretis erat, loco moveret; aut præfecturam *Cythæræ* urbis sororis ejus marito eriperet, strenuo sanè ac peritissimo Duci, quem spectata bello virtus è gregario milite ut Tribunatum evexerat: nec ille ambiguæ ante fidei habebatur; charitatis quippe in patriam notæ, et religionis *Delphicæ* promptus atque acer propugnator; nec alia causa suspicionem moverat, quam *Riveri* affinitas, quem soli etenim natales

He was, indeed, nobly descended, but his greatest Sufficiency was the Friendship of *Coridon*, who made him Secretary of State and Warr, tho', perhaps, unfitt for the Employment. *Tyridates*, however, to please *Lysander*, and to seem more carefull of the *Cyprian* Intrest, appointed him* Governor of *Cythera*, and of the whole Province of *Paphia*, which contributed much to the Defence of that Province against the Enemy's Incursions. *Lysander* having, accordingly, left a good Deputy, and a sufficient Garrison, in *Cythera*, came to *Arsinoe*, and secured all the Posts thereabouts, which were most exposed to the Enemy. About this Time, severall Emissaryes were employed by *Coridon's* Friends in the Senate, among the Nobles and leading Officers of the Army, to mind them of the eminent Danger they were in, if they did not timely accept of the Conditions offered by the Prince of *Patera ;* that it was Folly to think, if *Antiochus* were able to relieve them, he would be altogether so unmindfull of it (seeing it was his own Intrest) these five Months past, since the Defeat of *Lapithus*. This Argument seemed plausible to severall understanding Men, who knew it to be the true Intrest of *Antiochus* to send such considerable Succours to the *Cyprians* that might encourage them to hold out, and hinder *Theodore* to fall uppon *Syria ;* and it was a con-

Tirconnell. Berwick. Sarsfield. Irish. * Col. Alexander Mac Donnell. Galway. Connaught. Sarsfield. Galway. Athlone. Tirconnell. Orange. Louis XIV. Boyne. Louis XIV. Irish. W. III. France.

commendabant, nam generis splendore eminebat: præcipua tamen illi nobilitas ex *Coridonis* amicitia, qui eum, licet ad id muneris valde ineptum, ab arcanis civilium bellicarumque rerum constituerat. *Tiridates* verò, ut *Lysandro* indulgere videretur, utque impensiorem rerum *Cypri* curam præ se ferret, summum ipsi imperium in urbe *Cythærâ*, et per omnem *Paphiam* defert, quo effectum est, ut illa Provincia maximè ab hostium irruptionibus tuta consisteret. Sub hæc tempora, varii a *Coridonis* amicis subornabantur emissarii, qui in Senatu, ac Optimates inter Primoresque Ducum subinde monebant, etiam atque etiam perpenderent quàm in præcipiti ac lubrico starent loco, ni maturè conditiones pacis a *Pataræo* Principe oblatas amplecterentur; desipientium esse, arbitrari *Antiochum* si auxilia mittere potuisset, adeò immemorem fore (cum sua præsertim id interesset) ut quinto jam mense ab improspero ad *Lapithum* prælio desideret cessaretque: et ratio hæc etiam prudentibus veritati consona videbatur, qui *Antiocho* utile esse non ignorabant, eas copias in *Cyprum* mittere, quibus subnixi et belli adversa ferre, et

vinceing one to all these who were ignorant of the Measures taken, both in *Syria* and *Cyprus*, to keep *Antiochus* from the Knowledge of the true State of Affaires; soe that a great Many began to hearken willingly to the Proposeall, whereof some, out of a sordid Avarice, preferring their private Intrest to that of the Publick, and others out of an inveterate Hatred to the old *Cyprian* Race, least they might be restored (by the Recovery of *Cyprus*) to their ancient Grandeur; and some really beleiveing there was a Necessity for it, resolved to make theire own Conditions, and submitt to *Theodore*. [It was, besides, privately conveyed to *Lysander*, by the industrious sagacity of his trusty spies in *Salamis*, who penetrated every design of the enemy, that even *Tiridates* himself had treated with his uncle, *Taliarchus*, on the same matters, both by secret communications, and the intervention of confidential emissaries.] It is certaine that Something encouraged the Enemy to attack the *Lycus* in the Midst of Winter, when the Earth was all covered over with Snow, which, likely, they would not offer to attempt in that cruell Season, when noe Part of the

France. Ireland. Louis XIV.

Milesian.

Ireland.

William III. Sarsfield. Dublin.

Berwick.

Churchill.

Shannon.

Theodorum Syriâ avertere possent. Nec hoc ulli dubium erat, qui nesciret, quibus artibus in *Syria Cyproque* summâ ope, omnique conatu tentatum laboratumque erat, ne *Antiochus* præsentem rerum statum, quamque non difficile promptis paratisque ad omnia seu ferenda seu agenda subvenire rescisceret; ita ut multi jam ad amplectanda, quæ proponebantur, proniores fierent, quorum nonnulli, lenocinantibus avaritiæ sordibus, privata publicis commoda præferebant, alii inveterato *Galamidarum* odio provocabantur, ne *Cypro* semel *Cilicum* jugo liberata in antiquum illi honorum gloriæque culmen ascenderent: reliqui necessitatem ipsam hoc reverà suadere arbitrati, nec aliud superesse deploratis rebus effugium, ictis fœderibus, se suaque hostium potentiæ ac fortunæ permittere decreverant. *Lysandro* prætereà fidorum hominum, omnia Inimicorum consilia explorantium rimantiumque sagaci industriâ clam *Salamine* renuntiatum est, *Tiridatem* ipsum clandestinis consultationibus et nuntiis ultrò citròque commeantibus super iisdem rebus cum avunculo *Taliarcho* transegisse. At enimverò pro comperto est, ac certissimum, nisi spe aliquâ et promissis allicerentur adversæ partis Duces, numquam commissuros ut *Lyci* amnis transitum tentarent, tum alieno et importuno tempore, adulta jam hyeme, cœlo aspero et sæviente, rigentibus glacie viis, terrâque altissimis

River was foordable (haveing been repulsed the Sumer before, theire Army then victorious, and every Foord passable), if they did not expect some Friends on *Paphia* Side the Shore to hand them over. They made a Shew, as if they designed to force a Passage over at *Taretum*, and another at *Manapolis*, 100 Furlongs higher, yet were prevented in both Places, by the Vigilancy of *Lysander*, who ordered those Posts to be well manned, and the Country to appear in Arms for the Defence of the Line. The Truth is, the Season was too rigid to continue long in the Field; and the indefatigable Paines of *Lysander* discouraged theire Party (if any they had in *Paphia*) to declare for them. These Disappointments made them resolve to retire, with the Loss of some Men, and a great many Horses, without gaining any other Advantage by their vain Attempt, but the Plunder of a few Islands on the River, to compensate, in some Manner, the Damage they sustained by that unseasonable Expedition. The Enemy noe sooner retreated, than *Lycurgus*, a Member of the long Robe, of great Knowledge in the Law, and one of *Coridon's*

Connaught. Lanesboro. Jamestown. Sarsfield. Sarsfield. Connaught. Denis Daly. Tirconnell.

cöopertâ nivibus; nec militem tot simul periculis atque incommodis objectarent tam iniquâ præsertim anni tempestate, cum nullibi vadis alveus permeabilis esset (quod superiore æstate exequi nequiverant victoriâ elati, et fluvio multis in locis vadoso) nisi paratos in adversa *Paphiæ* ripa, qui adnatantibus amicas porrigerent manus certi expectassent. Admotis primùm *Tereto* oppido copiis, speciem præbuerant aditum sibi vi et armis aperire conantium: quod idem rursùm ad *Manapolim* centum inde stadia distantem aggressi sunt, pervigili tamen *Lysandri* curâ, qui valido præsidio ea loca firmaverat, et armatam Incolarum manum ad propulsandum hostem finesque tutandos exciverat, frustrato effectu reverti coguntur. Credibile est frigus adeò intractabile non permisisse, ut diutiùs sub pellibus manerent et indefessos *Lysandri* labores, conscios (si qui in iis partibus erant) exterruisseità, ut tum se prodere, et apertius agere nec auderent, nec possent: atque ita expectatione deceptâ receptui tandem cecinerunt, non sine Virorum aliquâ, et equorum magnâ jacturâ, nihil ex vano cæpto lucri reportantes præter exiguam quarundam prædam insularum, quæ per patentiorum jam amplioremque fluminis alveum sparsæ jacebant, eo velùt solatio tam intempestivæ expeditionis damna ac pudorem resarcientes. Ex hoc etiam liquet non injussos venisse,

Berwick.

January, O. S., 169⁹⁄₁. Galway.

chief Confidants, was confined by *Tyridates*, and on the 10th Day of the 11th Month was sent Prisoner into the Citadell of *Cythera*, being suspected to keep privat Correspondence with the comon Enemy: 'tis True he appeared too much for the new Sect. But his Deliverer was near at Hand; for, within a few Days after his Confinement, he had the good Fortune to hear of *Coridon's* landing at *Paphos*, and he was noe sooner arrived, than he made Use of his Prerogative to enlarge *Lycurgus*, and restore him, without any further Tryall, to his former Station and Dignity. *Riverus* was also restored to his Place in the Senate; as for that of Secretary, he only officiated for a While, in the Absence of *Cleomenes*, a Man of the Robe too, a Person of Ability and Parts, generally believed an honest Man.

Tirconnell. Limerick. Daly.

Riverston.

Sir Richard Nagle.

68. As those who were weary of the Warr, and willing enough to bring theire Necks once againe under the *Cilician* Yoke, were overjoyed at the happy Returne of *Coridon;* soe, of the other Side, Nothing could be more ungratefull to the braver *Cyprians* (who were resolved not to outlive the Loss of their Liberty) than the Arrivall of a Man who made

English.

Tirconnell.

Irish.

[* Lycurgus?] cum vix pedem ex hostico retulissent *Cilices*, *Lyogenes** e Jurisprudentium numero, et qui *Coridoni* in paucissimis erat (quippe quem præcipue nominaverat, sine cujus præsentiâ ac voluntate novi Senatûs decreta antiquari fas non erat) a *Tyridate* comprehensus est, et mox *Cytheriacam* in arcem custodiendus mittitur, quòd privata consilia cum hoste miscuisset. Sed aderat, ut scelerum particeps authorque, ita libertatis ademptæ vindex; nam paucos intra dies quàm in carcerem conjectus est, bonis ipsius avibus *Coridonem Paphii* exscensionem fecisse defertur. Nec spem ille fefellit: nam ubi primùm appulit, pro imperio *Lyogenem** vinculis eximit, nec ullâ juris formâ aut legibus absolutum, in priorem locum ac dignitatem restituit. *Riverus* quoque in Senatum admissus est; secretiores litteras tantùm ad tempus scriptitaverat, absente scilicet *Cleomene*, Juris-consulto quidem, sed quem omnes majoris integritatis doctrinæque virum æstimabant.

[* Lycurgum?]

68. Ut ii, quos belli tædebat, quique *Cilicum* jugo cervices denuò submittere non abnuebant, incolumem *Coridonem* e *Syria* remeasse lætabantur; ita aliâ ex parte nihil minùs gratum accidere poterat *Cypriis* illis, quibus fixum erat amissæ libertate non superesse, quàm illius Viri adventus, qui in

it his Business all along to deprive them of the greatest Blessings they could rationally hope for uppon Earth; for they believed that the Suppression of the ancient Worship, and the perpetuall Bondage of the Country, must have been the fatall Consequences of their Submission, which *Coridon* designed, ever since the Defeat of *Lapithus;* and tho', perhaps, he did not really intend soe much Mischief to his native Country and the Religion of his Ancestors, it was, however, the generall Opinion that it could not possibly be avoided, if the Nation was once compelled to acknowledge the *Martanesian* Government of *Cilicia.* 'Tis true that he came better prepared to manage a Treaty than to continue the Warr; for the chief *Cyprian* Gown-men, who fled into *Syria* after the Battle of *Lapithus*, were now returned with the Patron into *Cyprus;* but he brought with him noe Soldiers, and very few Arms, little Provision, and noe Money. It was confidently said, that he did not bring in all above a Fortnight's Provision for the Garrison of *Paphos* and *Cythera*, and perhaps he thought that to be Time enough to perfect Conditions, which he had Reason to believe were already concluded; and it is not unlikely

Tirconnell. Boyne.

Protestant. England.

Irish lawyers. France. Boyne. Ireland.

Limerick. Galway.

id unum jam indè a principio incubuerat, ut eos optatissimæ, quam in terris quidem et inter mortales sperare poterant, felicitatis bonis exueret, spoliaretque: deditionis enim quam *Coridon* ab ipso belli primordio omni conatu maturare destinaverat, finem fore non ambigebant antiqui Deorum cultûs inevitabile naufragium, et perpetuum miserabilis patriæ servitutem. Et quanquàm fortassis ille tantum aut natali solo, aut avitæ religioni non intendisset mali, communis tamen opinio omnium erat ea incommoda nullâ humanâ ope evitari posse, si gens fraude ac coacta *Martanesium Cilicum* imperium semel agnovisset. Et sanè eo paratu advenerat, ut ineundæ paci, quàm protrahendo bello instructior esset, precipui enim jurisprudentum, qui post infaustum super *Lapithum* pugnam in *Syriam* profugerant; inutilis planè turba, jam Dominum ac Patronum in *Cyprum* remeantem longo atque imbelli agmine cingebant: at nihil militum, telorum parùm, haud magnos commeatus, et pecuniam omninò nullam advexerat. Quindecim non ampliùs dierum cibaria, vix Præsidiariis qui in urbibus *Papho* et *Cythærâ* agitabant, suffectura, secum attulisse dicebatur. Et illud fortè temporis spatium satis esse putaverat ad ineunda cum hoste fœdera, nisi et jam perfecta erant, ut non immeritò con-

Irish. but that he wisely considered, if he brought more, the stubborn *Cyprians*
France. might hold out till they were powerfully releived out of *Syria*, and that
would spoile the great Project, and dash it to Pieces. He thought also
to nick the Time when his Friends, whom he left behind, were to order
Connaught. it soe that he should find the Enemy before him in *Paphia*, and the People
in such a Consternation, that they would readily accept any Conditions
he should think fitt to make for them; yet it may be charitably sup-
English. posed if he did not question but the *Cilicians* would exactly perform the
Capitulation: and if they had done soe, it was the first Time they ob-
Irish. served any Conditions stipulated with the *Cyprians*, and those who were
sensible of this Truth could not endure to hear of a Treaty.

Tirconnell. 68. When *Coridon* left the *Syrian* Court, there was noe talk of Agents
French. Ireland. Brest. out of *Cyprus*, nor Expectation of any such Thing; but ariving at *Lyssus*,
St. Malo. ready to sett Sail from thence, he understood that they landed at *Mallus*,
and were streight gone to Court. He did not doubt but they were pur-

jectare potuit ex inopi et desolato statu, in quo Insulam discedens reliquerat, eorumque industriâ, authoritate, et numero, quibus eas partes demandaverat: nec a vero aberrat, seriò illum perpendisse, si uberiorem annonæ copiam asportasset, pervicaces *Cyprios* ad ultimum tentaturos, donec sperata *Syrorum* auxilia supervenissent; quo facto, quæ ipse tantis laboribus jamdudùm struxerat consilia, in extremo actu, ac velùt in portu corruissent penitùs et in irritum cecidissent: terere etiam tempus moras nectendo destinaverat, ut spatium esset consciis, quos eâ mente in Insula reliquerat, rem eò paulatim deducendi, ut reversus hostem *Paphiæ* fines ingressum reperiret, Accolasque tanto terrore consternatos, ut qualescunque pacis conditiones non recusarent: at fidem non superat autumasse eum, *Cilicas* dictas fœderum leges sanctè observaturos fuisse: quanquam si id tum præstitissent, absque exemplo foret; cum a primo in *Cyprum* ingressu nullas unquam cum Indigenis conditiones ratas habuissent: qui hæc igitur seu novissimis experimentis, seu superiorum temporum memoriâ noverant, omnem pacis mentionem, ne fando quidem aut auditu, pati poterant.

69. Cum ab aula *Syriaca* profectus fuisset *Coridon*, nulla tum ibi Legatorum erat mentio, ac ne tales quidem e *Cypro* expectabantur: dum autem *Lyssi* esset, navem conscensurus, e regia urbe allatum est eos *Mallum* appulisse, et

posely come to impeach his Conduct; whereuppon he dispatched a Courier to *Amasis*, letting him know that it concerned him, both in Honour and Intrest, to suppress this solemn Embassy, and punish the Agents for theire Presumption. And he noe sooner landed in *Cyprus*, than he gave streight Orders that all Passengers comeing out of *Syria* should be examined, and narrowly searched for Letters, which (if any they had) were to be imediately brought to *Cleomenes*, who, after Peruseall, was to order them to be kept, or given to the Persons they were addressed unto, as he should think fitt. It was also ordered, under severe Penaltyes, that noe Man whatsoever should presume to goe out of the Kingdom, without *Coridon's* Licence, and delivering all the Letters he carryed abroad, to be first perused by the Secretary, and then stopped, or sent away, as he thought most convenient. As for the Letters comeing from the *Syrian* Court into *Cyprus*, by the ordinary Way of Couriers, when they were arrived at *Lyssus* (the sea-port Town of *Syria*, which corresponded with the Island of *Cyprus*), they were brought to the prime civill Magis-

James II. Ireland. France. Sir R. Nagle. Tirconnell. French. Ireland. Brest. France. Ireland.

absque mora in aulam expeditis itineribus contendere: nec anceps animi erat illos ad criminandum ipsius in administrandis rebus seu imperitiam socordiamque, seu perfidiam venisse. Tabellionem itaque ad *Amasim* confestim adornat, admonens non honestum et utile, sed necessarium etiam illi esse, solemnis hujus legationis effectum impedire; Legatorumque arrogantiam haud indebitâ pœnâ restringere. Ipse etiam ne ex sua parte officio deesset cum primùm *Cyprum* attigit, districtè mandavit, ut omnes, qui ex *Syria* transvecti essent, sedulò examinarentur, et diligentissima inquisitio fieret, ne quid secum litterarum adferrent; quæ si repertæ fuissent, extemplò ad *Cleomenem* deferri placuit, atque ut illi videretur, ac res ipsa exigeret, aut supprimeret perlectas, aut iis, ad quos mittebantur, traderet. Edicto prætereà cautum est, idque gravissimis in transgressores pœnis constitutis, ne quis cujuscunque gradûs aut dignitatis regni finibus excedere auderet, nisi impetratâ prius *Coridonis* veniâ, et oblatis, quas ferebant, litteris, ut lectas, is qui a Secretis erat, prout convenire judicasset, aut mitti aut retineri curaret. Codicilli verò, qui ab aula *Syriaca* in *Cyprum* per publicos Nuntios ordinariè dabantur, cum *Lyssum* appulerant (maratimum id emporium unde e *Syria* in *Cyprum* Insulam commodissima navigatio est) ad summum ibi Magistratum

Tirconnell. trate there (whom *Coridon* gained beforehand), and by him transmit-
Tirconnell. ted in one Bundell, and under Cover, to *Coridon*, who, by this Method,
France. stoped all Manner of free Correspondence between the Kingdoms of *Syria*
Ireland. and *Cyprus;* soe that those of one Countrey could have noe Notions of
what was transacted in the Other, but such as he was pleased to give
them. And it is not to be questioned but he made the right Use of
this great Advantage, to lett his Friends at Court know that these pre-
tended Agents were Men of noe Intrest in their Country, and were em-
Sarsfield. ployed only by *Lysander*, and some few inconsiderable Persons of his
Berwick. Faction; that *Tyridates*, and the major Part of those who, to avoid a
Tirconnell. greater Inconvenience, signed by Credentialls, have, since *Coridon's*
Arrivall (when the Restraint they lay under was taken off) retracted
theire former Signatures. And it is not improbable but some such Instru-
ment was drawn, and many Hands putt to it, perhaps of some who never
Tirconnell. saw the Thing; for it was known that *Coridon* never stumbled at such
Shams to gain his Point. He recalled the Copper Coyne, tho' he brought
with him noe Silver to pay the Soldiers, who lived at Discretion uppon

deferebantur (quem *Coridon* muneribus sibi obnoxium ante fecerat) ab eoque in unum fasciculum conjecti, ad *Coridonem* mittebantur: hoc modo liberum omne commercium *Syriæ* inter *Cyprique* regna præclusit, nec quidquàm certi ultrò citròque adferebatur, nesciebaturque quid apud alterutram gentem gereretur, nisi quoàd *Coridoni* placitum erat. Nulli dubium esse potest quin hac opportunitate usus, amicos in aula monuerit, eos, qui se Legatos ferant, homines esse seditiosos, sed nullius apud suos dignitatis aut nominis, quosque *Lysander* cum paucis, iisque infimis ejusdem factionis Viris delegasset. *Tiridatem* verò cum parte longe maxima eorum, qui authenticas istas literas ad evitanda gravioris momenti incommoda, subscribendo consignassent, post *Coridonis* adventum sublatâ, quæ tunc urgebat, necessitate, quod coacti fecerant, retractasse. Nec inficiàs eam tale aliquid forsàn commentum fuisse, additis multorum subscriptionibus, qui nihilominùs, quæ agebantur, penitùs ignorare poterant; *Coridoni* enim solemne erat falsa ac vera juxta habere, et per fas ac nefas grassari quo destinata perficeret. Tum æreos nummos suppressit, licet nihil argenti secum ad stipendia militi persolvenda adduxisset: qui militum per Provinciam sparsi erant, suo se arbitrio ex Incolarum bonis

the Country: such as were quartered abroad and those in Garrisons were supplyed out of the Stores, but Country and Stores were now near exhausted, to which he was noe Stranger.

70. Notwithstanding all *Coridon's* Precautions, he could not obstruct *Lysander's* receiveing a Letter from the Agents; for a *Syrian* Commander landing at *Cythera* in the last Month of the third Yeare, and finding *Lysander* there, he delivered him a Letter from the Agents, and rid Post the same Day to *Paphos*, to give *Coridon* the Dispatch he brought him from *Amasis*. In the Letter from the Agents, all *Coridon's* Proceedings at Court were lively represented, and, among the Rest, that notable Saying of his, that a *Cyprian* Army can live uppon Bread and Water. The same Letter gave great Hopes of a speedy and powerfull Supply of all Necessaryes, to carry on the Warr, as it was fully represented by them to the King of *Syria;* and that *Phirrus*, a Captain of great Esteem there, would come over to command the *Cyprian* Army, without any Dependance uppon the Vice Roy. The Contents of this Letter (whereoff Coppyes were industriously distributed among the Army and Gentry,) did not a

Tirconnell. Sarsfield. French. Galway. February, O. S., 169⁰⁄₁. Sarsfield. Limerick. Tirconnell. Jas. II. Tirconnell. Irish. France. St. Ruth. Irish.

sustentabant; qui verò per præsidia dispertiti erant, regiis ex horreis alebantur, at, quod *Coridoni* gnarum, jam omnia fere cibaria tam in oppidis quam in agris absumpta erant.

70. Quanquàm sedulò videbatur *Coridon* omnem ultrò citròque commeandi transitum obstruxisse, non tamen Legatorum ad *Lysandram* litteras impedire aut intercipere valuit; quas nobilis *Syrus*, exeunte jam tertio anno *Cytheram* advectus, eidem ibi reperto tradidit: nec demoratus eodem die *Paphum* summa celeritate adequitavit, ut missas ab *Amasi* litteras tempestivè *Coridoni* porrigeret. Legatorum codicillis, quidquid a *Coridone* in illa aula transactum erat, ad vivùm exprimebantur; et inter alia insigne illud ipsius dictum, "posse *Cyprium* militem pane et aquâ sustentari." Non ambiguam prætereà spem ostentabant suppetiarum, quantum ad presentis belli usus necessarium foret, a *Syrorum* Rege, cui ipsi omnia ex fide patefecissent, tempori mittendarum. Addebant *Pyrrhum* militari gloriâ inter suos clarum mox adfuturum, *Cyprii* exercitûs absolutâ cum potestate Ducem. Hæc ita vulgata (et exemplaria de industria Nobiles inter Militesque certatim distribuebantur) ingenti animorum gaudio *Cyprios* omnes in commune affecerunt. At *Cori-*

Irish. little rejoyce the Generality of the *Cyprians*; but the *Coridonists* were soe much netled at it, that they endeavoured to make People believe it was forged by some of *Lysander's* Friends to asperse *Coridon;* whereas it was well known that the *Syriac* Officer who brought it, landing in *Cythera* at Noon-day, and all the People flocking to the Governor's to learn the News, *Lysander* noe sooner received the Letter, than he gott it publickly read in a great Assembly of Nobles and Officers, to the unspeakable Joy and Satisfaction of the whole Auditory; soe that the Attempt to make it pass for a Sham was vain and ridiculous. *Coridon*, of the other Side, seemed to be well pleased with the Dispatches come to himself, which assured him (as he averred) that *Phyrrus* was to comand under him, as *Rosines* did formerly, and that the Surrintendance of all Affaires, both Civill and Military, was still in his Hands. Before the Receipt of that Pacquet, he was observed to be much dejected; he courted *Lysander*'s Friendship with all the Earnestness imaginable, protesting a reall and cordiall Amity of his Side; but now

Sarsfield. Tirconnell. French. Galway. Sarsfield. Tirconnell. St. Ruth. De Rozen. Sarsfield.

donios ea nova audita ita exulceraverant, pupugerantque, ut variis artibus populo suadere conarentur, rumores illos a *Lysandro* ipsiusque Satellitibus confictos, quo famam nomenque *Coridonis* ignaros inter lacerarent, et innocentiam fœdis perfidiæ maculis aspersam traducerent. Hæc summâ per circulos et conventus ingerebantur impudentiâ, cum tamen omnibus ferè compertum esset, nobilem illum *Syrum* in multorum oculis mediâ jam die *Cythæram* appulsum, et universo populo ex innatâ rerum novarum aviditate, cum primùm peregrina navis apparuit, ad Præfectum urbis confluente, *Lysandrum* acceptos codicillos circumstantium uni extemplò tradidisse, ut publicè coram Proceribus, bellique Ducibus non sinè inenarrabili accurrentis multitudinis lætitiâ perlegerentur. Non igitur mirum, si ludibrio habiti sunt, qui commentitiam illam et adulteratam epistolam asserebant. Aliâ ex parte *Coridoni*, ut vultu saltem præferebat, non injucunda erant hæc postrema nuntia, quibus certiorem se fieri deprædicabat, *Pyrrhum* jam, ut olim *Rosines*, a suo nutu et imperio pendere, atque adeò in se uno summum civilium bellicarumque rerum arbitrium adhuc inesse. Utcunque res se habuit, certè ante adventum earum litterarum plurimùm animo decidisse videbatur: *Lysandri* amicitiam omni conatu ambibat, captabatque benevolentiam, et hoc candidè et sine

he looked big again, after his accustomed Manner; for he was naturally proud and arrogant, high and insolent. He came from *Paphos* to *Cythera*, where the Garrison received him with all the Decorum that was due to the King's Lieutenant; and he was realy Welcom to most of the Citizens, because he was the great Patron of the New Interest Men, and that Towne had more of them than all the Rest of *Cyprus*. He was, accordingly, regalled by the Chief Magistrates, and Nothing was seen during his Abode there (even in that holy Time, layd aside by the sacred *Flamins* to fast and pray), but Balls and Banquets, Bonefires and publick Rejoyceings, as if the *Cilicians* were quite driven out of *Cyprus*, and a glorious Peace re-established in the Nation. It is remarkable that *Coridon* and his Friends lived at this Rate, when the Soldiers of the Army wanted Bread, the comon Sort of People were ready to starve, and indeed the whole Nation reduced under the greatest Hardships that Mortalls could suffer.

Limerick. Galway. Ireland. Bishops. English. Ireland. Tirconnell.

fuco, ut credi volebat: at nunc iterum attolli et intumescere, ut sui moris erat: ingenio enim ac naturâ ita comparatus erat, ut ad minimam secundioris auram fortunæ superbiret, arrogantiâ prorsus intolerabili inflatus, atque insolesceret. *Papho Cythæram* profectus, ibi magnificè, et ut regium Præfectum decuit, a Præsidiariis Militibus exceptus est: at non in speciem, nec confecto Civium sanè, gaudio consalutatus, ut qui eorum, qui agros alienos a novis et injustis possessoribus cöemerant, patrocinium suscepisse non immeritò credebatur; cujus generis hominum major in ea sola civitate, quam in reliqua omni *Cypro* copia erat. A summo igitur Magistratu magno luxu et splendidissimo apparatu recipitur: dumque ibi commoratus est nihil aliud videre erat (iis etiam diebus, quos sacri Flamines jejunio et publicis supplicationibus religiosè dedicaverant) quàm convivia, tripudia, festos ignes, aliaque solemnia exultantium signa, tanquam hostem jam fusum fugatumque *Cypri* finibus exegissent, et haud indecorâ pace, compositis rebus, mansuræ gentis securitati felicitatique consuluissent. Animadvertendum autem est *Coridonem* cum Amicorum præcipuis ita genio indulsisse iis temporibus, quibus militem annonæ caritas premebat, plebs inediâ conficiebatur, et tota Natio eò angustiarum redacta est, ut quidquid mortalibus durissimum excogitari potest, omni ex parte toleraret.

St. Ruth. Irish.

Tirconnellites.

Jas. II. Tirconnell. Irish.

Louis XIV.

French.

May, O. S., 1691. St. Ruth. Chevr. de Tessé. M. d'Usson. Limerick.

French. Tirconnell.

71. Never was the Arrivall of Man more passionately longed for in this World than that of *Phyrrus* by the Generality of the *Cyprians;* but he staid soe long, that the most confident began to stagger. In this generall Affliction, and the greatest Consternation imaginable, it was wonderfull to behold the Countenance of the *Coridonists*, who seemed to kindle Fires of Joy in their Hearts, when the whole Nation was almost reduced to the last Dispair. For they did not doubt, but that now their long wished for Project would be happily compassed, without Blemish to *Amasis*, or any Blame to *Coridon;* for Hunger would, at last, constrain the obstinate *Cyprians* to hearken to the Treaty soe often proposed; and the Loss of the Country would be justly imputed to the Neglect of *Antiochus* to send timely Relief to starveing People. But, when all Men were dispairing in good Earnest, the *Syrian* Fleet appeared uppon the Coasts; and on the 9th Day of the 3rd Month, *Phyrrus*, accompanied with *Terasus* and *Dusones*, two Lieutenant Generalls, and two of the Agents, arrived at *Paphos.*

72. Uppon the first Appearance of the *Syrian* Fleet, *Coridon* was

71. Non aliàs ferventioribus votis ullius unquàm Viri adventus ab aliquâ toto terrarum orbe gente suspirabatur, quàm *Pyrrhum*, *Cyprii* publicâ expectatione et impatientiâ expetebant: tam diutianas verò moras traxit, ut etiam qui maximè confidebant, pænè desperarent. Has inter communes calamitates, et ingentem omnium consternationem, stupendum erat *Coridoniorum* vultus intueri è quorum oculis concepta animis gaudia scintillabant, cum interim de universæ ferè gentis incolumitate conclamatum esset. Non enim ambigebant, quin structa dudùm et meditata consilia optatorum fœderum ad exitum tandem pertingerent absque ullo aut *Amasis* opprobrio, aut contumeliâ *Coridonis:* famem quippè adacturam pertinaces *Cyprios*, ut oblatâs toties pacis conditiones ultrò amplecterentur; et perditarum rerum culpam penès *Syros* fore, qui deficientis populi necessitatibus maturè non subvenissent. At cum jam in publicum nihil omninò spei superesset, *Syrorum* classis insperatò littoribus applicuit, et nono tertii mensis die *Pyrrhus* cum *Terasso* et *Dusone*, quibus summa secundum ipsum armorum potestas, et duobus ex Legatis, *Paphum* intravit.

72. Ut primùm *Syra* classis, nescias magis expetita his, quàm formidata

observed to be much out of Countenance; but, finding by the King's Letters, and by private Intelligence from his Friends at Court, that the Commission of *Phyrrus* did not impower him to command the Army independant of the Vice Roy; that he brought noe Money, and noe more Arms than *Coridon* himself called for, tho' farr greater Quantity of Provisions, he began to take Heart againe, resolveing to appear in Person at the Head of the Army. And, to enable his Troops to take the Field out of Hand, he issues an Order for the leveying of ten Talents in Silver, to be laid out to buy Flesh Meat for the Soldiers; *Phyrrus* haveing brought a vast Quantity of Corne and Meal, to supply them with Bread. This Money was to be raised in the Province of *Paphia*, and those other Districts which acknowledged the Authority of *Amasis*, tho' it was not unknown to *Coridon*, that the one-half of that Money could not be had in all that Part of the Kingdom of *Cyprus*, now that the Brass Coyn was recalled; but that the Country might furnish the Army with Beeves enough (to buy which the Leavy was pretended), without giveing such a publick Evidence to the World that *Phyrrus*

St. Ruth. Tirconnell. St. Ruth. Connaught. James II. Tirconnell. Ireland. St. Ruth.

illis, ex alto conspecta est, *Coridonem* vehementer commotum, abjectum, ac pænè exanimatum vidisses: at cum ex litteris regiis, et privato Amicorum in aula monitu comperisset, *Pyrrho* nihil ulteriùs concessum, quam ut ita armatis præesset, ut tamen ipsius nutus et mandata observaret; nihil eum pecuniarum attulisse; nec telorum ampliùs quàm quæ *Coridon* ipse postulaverat, reviviscere iterùm, erigi, atque insurgere cæpit; et prodire in aciem, exercitumque ipse ducere destinavit, utque copias in expeditionem paratas ageret, edicto jubet decem argenti talenta maturè ab Incolis corrogari exigique, quibus armenta böum alendo militi cöemerentur: *Pyrrhus* quippè quantum opus erat, triticum et farinam magnâ copiâ advexerat: tantum autem pecuniarum per *Paphiam* Provinciam, terrasque quæ *Amasiano* imperio tùm subjectæ erant colligi oportebat; quanquam probè nosset *Coridon*, totam eam *Cypri* regionem dimidiam istius summæ partem solvendo non esse; armentis vero et pecoribus ita abundare (quibus emendis hæc pecunia destinebatur) ut facilè, quod impræsentiarum sufficeret, posset supplere; nec opus omninò fuisse ut tam publico testimonio orbi innotesceret, *Pyrrhum* nullis e *Syria* nummis instructum venisse. Qui prudentiâ inter *Cyprios* eminebant extem-

France. Irish. Tirconnell. Louis XIV. Will. III. Js. II. St. Ruth. St. Ruth. Shannon. Limerick. Athlone. Tirconnell. Limerick. Galway.

brought noe Money out of *Syria*. The well-affected *Cyprians* were not ignorant of *Coridon's* Design by this Project, which could be noe other but to make the Nation sensible, that great *Antiochus*, after soe many assureances of Royall Succour, sent them now a Captain without Money, which all Mankind knows to be the true Sinews of War. He further expected, and he had no less than Reason, that it would altogether discourage the Forreigners in *Theodore's* Army to desert to that of *Amasis*, where noe Pay was to be had; and those Ends which he proposed by the boasted Levey being once obtained (for the Nation was now satisfyed, and the Enemy understood it well, that *Phyrrus* brought noe Money), he declined calling for what he knew could not be had, and accepted the 10,000 Beaves, which the Country freely offered. But the greatest Obstacle that could be given to *Phyrrus*, to goe on with his Design, was the Want of Boats to carry his Provisions uppon the River of *Lycus*, from *Paphos* to *Arsinoe*, where the Army was to rendesvous. These Boats should have been provided the Winter and Spring before, when *Coridon* was revelling away the Time, between *Paphos* and *Cy-*

plò deprehenderant *Coridonis* artes, id unum agentis, ut ea demùm natio persentisceret magnum illum *Antiochum* post tot regii subsidii pollicitaciones, nudum tandèm, atque inopem pecuniarum Ductorem misisse; cum tamen constanti mortalium omnium judicio nummi sint veri nervi roburque bellorum, absque quibus militares animi marcent et elanguescunt. Sperabat præterea, nec immeritò sanè, exteros, qui sub *Theodoro* mercede conducti merebant, et ad deficiendum inclinatiores habebantur, tardius jam ad *Amasianas* partes, ubi nulla militum stipendia, transituros. Cum autem exitum, quem in edicenda pecunia desideraverat, jam obtinuisset (nec enim *Cyprii* modò ignorabant, sed et inter hostes emanaverat *Pyrrhum* nullâ pecuniâ onustum advenisse) mutato veluti consilio, urgere noluit ulteriùs ad expendenda, quæ satis sciverat in tanta rerum penuria inveniri non posse, et decem millia böum ab Incolis ultrò oblata acceptavit. Tardabatur interim *Pyrrhus* impediebaturque, navium maximè defectu, ad importandos *Papho Arsinoen* usque adverso *Lyco* commeatus, ubi omnibus copiis ad conveniendum dies dicta erat. Opportunè comparari poterant hæc navigia hyeme, atque, quo præcesserat, vere, cum *Coridon*, *Paphum* inter et *Cythæram* indecoro luxu tempus tereret;

thera; and this wilfull Neglect occasioned the Loss of *Cyprus;* for, having now but six Boats in all, what they carryed in one Load was consumed by the Garrison of *Arsinoe*, and the Troops were gathered about it, before the second Load could come againe. This Disappointment gave noe small Affliction to *Phyrrus*, who rested not Night or Day, but galloped between *Paphos*, *Arsinoe*, and *Taretum*, ordring the Country Horses and the spare Horses of the Cavalrie to be employed about carrying the Provisions; and yet, notwithstanding all his Pains, it was the 20th Day of the 4th Month, and the Two and Fortieth after his Landing in *Cyprus*, before he could conveniently bring a considerable Body of Men together. This Delay of the *Cyprian* Army gave a further Opportunity to *Ororis*, Generall of *Theodore's* Forces in *Cyprus*, to gather his Troops, who were dispersed in the Provinces of *Lapithia*, *Salaminia*, and *Amathusia*, and begin the Campaign with the Attack of *Morium*, which he took without Opposition on the 8th Day of the 4th Month, the Governor and Garrison being made Prisoners of Warr. This Fort, in the Province of *Salaminia*, ten Miles distant from *Arsinoe*, and as many from *Taretum*, was lately built by *Lysander's* Orders to

Ireland. Athlone. St. Ruth. Limerick. Athlone. Lanesboro. June, O. S., 1691. Ireland. Irish. De Ginkell. W. III. Ireland. Ulster. Leinster. Munster. Ballymore. Leinster. Athlone. Lanesboro. Sarsfield.

atque ex hac occasione turpiter neglectâ exitium *Cypri* secutum est; nam cum sex tantùm superessent onerariæ naves, quidquid invexerant, priùs absumebatur ab iis Præsidiariis, qui *Arsinoem* insidebant, aliisque, quæ eò advolabant turmis, quàm cum repetitis oneribus denuò poterant: hæc incommoda gravem *Pyrrho* animi anxietatem peperëre, qui dies noctesque inquies *Paphum* inter, *Arsinoem*, et *Ferretum* obequitabat, mandabatque, ut quidquid jumentorum in unum contrahi posset in comportandis commeatibus occuparentur. At quanquàm nec curis nec laboribus pepercisset suis, vicessimus tamen quarti mensis illuxit dies, et quadragesimus secundus posteaquàm in *Cyprium* littus appulerat, antequàm specimen aliquod legitimi exercitus in unum locum conflari posset. Segni hac *Cypriarum* copiarum morâ usus est *Ororis*, *Theodoritarum* per *Cyprum* Ductor, in conciendis cohortibus, quæ hactenùs per *Lapithiam*, *Salaminiam*, et *Amathusiam* Provincias sparsæ passim hybernabant: et in omen subsequentis belli *Morum* aggreditur, quod indefensum cepit quarti mensis octavo die: Præfectus arcis cum reliquis Præsidiariis jure belli in custodiam traduntur. Propugnaculum illud inter *Sala-*

Irish. cover both Places, and to afford the *Cyprians* a Conveniency for make-
Leinster. De ing Incursions from thence into *Salaminia*. *Ororis* arriveing the 19th
Ginkell. Athlone. Leinster. Day at *Arsinoe*, and haveing battered with his Rams and other Engines
St. Ruth. the Wall of the Towne, on *Salaminia* Side the River, he took it by
Ballinasloe. Assault on the 20th, whereof the News came Overnight to *Phyrrus*,
Athlone. who lay at *Cretium*, 12 Miles from *Arsinoe*, whither he marched next Day, with 1500 Horse and Foot, pitching his Camp within 20 Furlongs to the Place.

Tirconnell. 73. It was much wondered by some that *Coridon*, who was not ignorant how ungratefull his Presence must have been to the greater Part of the Army, should presume to appear in the Camp; and of the other Side, it was noe less admired by a great Many (who were not
France. fully acquainted with the Transactions in *Syria*), how *Phyrrus* could
St. Ruth. St. Ruth. Tir- endure it. But the Truth is, *Phyrrus* did not imagine that *Coridon*
connell. (who was to content himself solely with the Management of Civill
James II. Affaires) would intermeddle with the Military Government, *Amasis*

miniæ Provinciæ fines, quod decem millia passuum *Arsinoe*, et totidem *Ferreto* distat, nuper *Lysandri* jussu extructum, novisque munitum fossis atque aggeribus erat, ut *Cypriis* pateret aditus ad *Salaminiam* liberis infestandam excursionibus. *Ororis* undevicessimo die ad *Arsinoem* copias admovit. Oppidum, quod trans amnem ad *Salaminiæ* ripam steterat, quassatis ariete aliisque tormentorum generibus muris, vicessima die, corona cæpit. Perlatis ad *Pyrrhum* nocte in sequente nuntiis, qui tunc *Cresii* stativa habebat, ad duodecimum ab *Arsinöe* milliare, proximo die, cum quindecim equitum peditumque millibus profectus, exercitu ad oppidum admoto, intra viginti stadia castrametatus est.

73. Multos in admirationem rapuit, quòd *Coridon*, qui non ignoraret quàm ingratus esset parti militum longè maximæ, castra tamen intrare, inter infensorum contubernia versari, furentibus sese offerre, et truces aspectus pati auderet. Ex adverso autem non minorem stuporem movit iis, qui quid in *Syria* actum fuisset penitùs non introspexerant, quo vultu, quibus oculis eum *Pyrrhus* contra se, ac regiam auctoritatem talia molientem intueri posset. At nulla, credo, illi incessit suspicio, illum, cui civilium tantùm rerum cura incumbebat, militiæ et armorum moderamini se intermixturum; cum præser-

haveing assured him that he would write to *Coridon* to that Purpose, Tirconnell.
tho' it was not fitt (as he said) to incert any Thing in the Commission
then given to *Phyrrus*, that might seem to affront the King in the St. Ruth.
Person of his Vice Roy. But either *Coridon* received noe such Orders Tirconnell.
from *Amasis*, or, if he did, he concealed it; for he and his Creatures James II.
confidently averred that *Phyrrus* was to command the Army under the St. Ruth.
Vice Roy; and to demonstrate the same to all People, as also to confirm his Faction among the Soldiers (who otherwise would be altogether
disheartened by *Lysander's* more numerous Party), it was resolved, in Sarsfield.
a private Consult of his own Friends, that he should come to head the
Army in Person. By these unexpected Proceedings, *Phyrrus* found to St. Ruth.
his Regrett, (tho' somewhat of the latest,) that he was more credulous than
wary in his Transactions with *Amasis*. But his ardent Zeal for the true James II.
Worship of the Immortall Gods, together with the Regard he had for the
Intrest of the King, his Master, and the Commiseration imprinted in his
generous Soul for the afflicted *Cyprians*, made him lay aside all other Irish.

tim *Amasis* sanctè pollicitus fuisset se in eam sententiam ad *Coridonem* mandata daturum, quanquàm non decuit (ut prætendebat) quidquam patentibus *Pyrrhi* litteris inserere, quod in detrimentum majestatis, et regiam ignominiam, cujus vicariam ille potestatem tum gerebat, redundare posset. At vel nihil ejusmodi *Coridon* ab *Amasi* acceperat, vel acceptum suppressit; ipse enim, et omnis cum eo clientum atque asseclarum turba palàm affirmabant, precarium *Pyrrho* et regio Gubernatori subjectum imperium esse: utque hæc vera esse universo appareret populo, et factionis suæ homines, quorum paucitas alioquìn a numerosioribus *Lysandri* partibus despiceretur, in exercitu confirmaret, inter delectos Amicorum, qui clam in idipsum convenerant, uno assensu conclusum est, ut ipse castris succederet, ac legiones præsens ductaret. Hac rerum insperatâ et citra expectationem omnium mutatione, persensit tandem *Pyrrhus* non sine gravi animi molestiâ atque anxietate, quanquam aliquanto seriùs quàm par erat, majori se credulitate quàm prudentiâ cum *Amasi* negotia transegisse. At ardor ille inextinctus, quo in Deorum immortalium cultum haud ficto mentis impetu ferebatur, et sincera voluntas, qua Regis sui utilitatibus indefessâ curâ invigilabat, ad hæc etiam misericordia generosæ illi animæ altissimis infixa radicibus, qua afflictum deploratumque

Considerations, and suppress the Resentments he might justly conceive for particular Affronts; preferring the Publick Good, and the attaining those happy Ends he proposed to himself, before any particular Advantage of his own; with an unalterable Resolution to endure Anything rather than abandon the glorious Cause he took in Hand. But *Lysander* and his Friends, who were not a little incensed uppon the wonderfull Confidence of *Coridon* to appear in the Army, joyned in a Remonstrance, protesting against him; which all the Tribunes, to a very few, confirmed with their Signatures, tho' *Coridon* was not idle of his Side, employing Emissaryes abroad to make a Party for himself.

Sarsfield.

Tirconnell.

Tirconnell.

Athlone. Henry II. England. Ireland. Connaught. Shannon. Leinster. Connaught. July, O. S., 1690. Lt.-Gen. Douglass.

74. The Castle of *Arsinoe* [erected by the son of *Eryces* II., the first of the Kings of *Cilicia*, who invaded *Cyprus*] is seated in the Province of *Paphia*, and near the Kingdom's Centre, on the right Hand of the River of *Lycus*. The Towne on *Salaminia* Side was better built than that in *Paphia*, but the Garrison burned it in the 5th Month of the 3rd Year, when *Lycippus* came to attack the Place. Both Townes doe communicate by

Cypriorum statum irrequieto doloris æstu intuebatur, effecere, ut, pulsis rejectisque omnibus aliis consiliis, et justo privatarum injuriarum sensu vel deposito, vel suppresso, bonum publicum, et prosperum, quem sperabat cæptorum exitum suo aut honori aut commodo præferret; cum immoto atque immutabili proposito omnia patienter tolerandi potiùs, quàm gloriosæ, quam susceperat, causæ patrocinium desereret. At *Lysander*, quique *Lysandro* arctiori fidei vinculo adhærebant, magnis irarum motibus accensi, *Coridonis* audaciam obstupescebant per omnes sese exercitus ostentantis; ac mox unanimi consensu armorum illi imperium abrogavëre, universis legionum Tribunis, si quam paucissimos exceperis, publico huic instrumento subscribentibus: nec tamen *Coridon* aliâ ex parte otiosus erat, subinde emittens in vulgus novos seditionum Incentores, qui factionem suam precando, alliciendo, pro mittendo augerent, corroborarentque.

74. Arx illa *Arsinoes* ab *Erycis* secundi filio condita (qui primus *Ciliciæ* Regum *Cyprum* invasit) in *Paphia* Provincia sita est, in ipso ferè regni centro, ad dextram *Lyci* fluminis ripam: oppidum ad *Salaminium* amnis latus recentibus ac sumptuosioribus ædificiis attollebatur: antiquius, et ipsâ vetustate incultius, quod in *Paphiis* finibus extructum erat: illud Præsidiarii, cum

the conveniency of a stone Bridge near the Castle, on the south Side of which the River is foordable for 2 or 3 Furlongs, and a Trench was lately drawn there, on *Paphia* Side the River, to hinder any Attempt that Way, but it was not fully compleated when *Ororis* possessed himself of the *Salaminian* Towne and Bank, where he raised severall Batteryes, and planting his Rams and other terrible Engines of the new Invention, he furiously battered the Castle and the Trench along the River Side, never ceasing Night and Day, till he reduced the *Paphian* Towne to Ashes, and levelled the Castle and Trench with the Ground. *Phyrrus* releived the Place constantly from the Camp with 3 or 4 Legions, commanded by a Generall Officer, the Cavalry being ordered every Day to bring in Fagotts to make up the Breaches. Because the severall Attempts made by the *Cilician* Army to force a Passage over the Bridge and Foord were alwaies rendred ineffectuall by the gallant Resistance of the Legions daily sent from the Camp to defend the Place, *Phyrrus* and his *Syrian* Captains believed, that the Design of *Ororis* to pass the River there would prove vain, if not impossible: and this overmuch

Connaught. De Ginkell. Dublin. Connaught. St. Ruth. English. St. Ruth. French. De Ginkell.

tueri non possent incendio exhauserant tertio belli anno, mense quinto, cum *Lycippus* admotis castris obsidionem moliretur, oppidum utrumque lapideo magni operis ponte jungebatur. Qua in austrum excurrit fluvius ad duo vel tria stadia vadosus est: *Cyprii* ex adverso non temnendam aggeris molem excitaverant, ad impediendum transitum, nève ulla inde irruptio fieret. Imperfectis adhuc operibus, *Ororis*, *Salaminiam* oppidi partem, et ripam occupavit; et excitatis varia per loca propugnaculis, fossisque ductis, ariete aliisque recens excogitatis tormentorum aggeribus tum arx, tum, quod flumini prætensum erat, vallum, vasto impetu feriri quassarique cæptum est; nec diu noctuve cessabatur, donec *Paphium* oppidum vi machinarum in cineres versum est, arcemque et vallum solo æquarent. *Pyrrhus* tres quatuorve legiones subindè mittebat, quibus unus semper è præcipuis Ducibus præerat, jussis equitibus, ut fasces reficiendis murorum ruinis inferrent. At verò quoniam conatus *Cilicum* aditum sibi trans flumen molientium crebrò jam in irritum ceciderant, legionibus, quæ ex castris certatim educebantur in defensionem loci, fortiter et infracto animo obsistentibus, *Pyrrho* et *Syris* Ductoribus haud ambigua incessit fiducia *Ororis* consilium de transmittendo per vim amne

Confidence made him fatally delay the timely Demolishing of the Rampart on *Paphia* Side the Towne, whereby those of the Camp might march in a Body to *Arsinoe*, to support the Troops gardeing the Passage. But when he perceived that *Ororis* was obstinately fixed uppon the Design, he ordered, at last, that the Rampart should be pulled down; and this Order, given on the 29th Day, in the Evening, being unfortunately neglected that Night by *Dusones* (who had it in Charge), was the wofull Occasion of that unexpected Misfortune which happened next Day; for *Ororis* having, on the 30th Day of the 4th Month, detached 8000 Men of the best Troopes in his Army to attack the Foord, they passed the River and entred the Towne, without any Opposition, surprizeing the *Cyprian* Legions who garded the Passage, by the Neglect or Treachery of *Maxilles*, who commanded that Day in *Arsinoe;* and they noe sooner entred the Place than, possessing themselves of the Rampart which surrounded the *Paphian* Towne, they took up the Drawbridge, which hindred any Releif to come to *Arsinoe* out of the *Cyprian* Camp. Here fell renowned *Osiris*, one of the chief Noblemen of *Lapithia*, and a stout Tribune. That the Place was be-

Connaught. Athlone. De Ginkell. D'Usson. De Ginkell. June, O. S., 1691. Irish. Col. Maxwell. Athlone. Connaught. Athlone. Irish. Col. Art. Maguire. Ulster.

frustrà fore; eamque viam humanis conatibus non arduam solum, sed ineluctabilem esse. Nimiâ hac securitate, velùt impellentibus in deterius fatis, neglexëre aggerem, quâ *Paphiam* spectabat, maturè subruere, eoque latam aperire viam, quâ, instructâ acie, ad subveniendum Defensoribus vexilla legionum procurrerent. Cum autem *Ororim* pertinaciter operi instare cernerent, jussere tandem eam muri partem subverti. Sub vesperam mandatum hoc edidit *Pyrrhus* vicessimo nono die, quod infelici socordiâ a *Dusone*, cui id negotii datum, in eam noctem prætermissum, inopinatæ illius calamitatis, quæ sequenti die evenerat, feralis causa fuit: *Ororis* enim ad tricessimum quartum mensis diem octo militum millia ex omni exercitu delegerat, qui in alveum subitò immissi vadum impetu corripuëre: et mox trajecto amne, oppidum vix ullo resistente intrarunt, *Cypriis* legionibus, quæ in statione erant, improvisis, seu negligentià seu potiùs perfidiâ *Maxillis*, cui eâ die summum inter *Arsinöenses* imperium contigerat: confestim ut loco potiti sunt, vallum quod *Paphium* oppidi latus præcludit, armatis complevere, ac versatili ponte sublato omnis subsidii spes *Cypriis* è castris abscissa est. Hisce autem evi-

trayed by *Maxilles* may be easily conjectured by these convinceing Circumstances. First, one of his Legion haveing swom over the *Lycus* that Afternoon, noe sooner came to *Ororis*, and delivered him a private Message, than the Party was imediately detached out to attack the River. Secondly, when the Soldiers called to *Maxilles* for Arrows, he would give them None; but asked them, "Whether they would shoot against the Birds of the Aire?" Thirdly, he ordered the Men to lye downe and take their Rest, saying there would be noe Action till Night; soe that when the Enemy entred, the Soldiers, for the most Part, were asleep, and few or none in their Posts. Fourthly, when the first Man of the Enemy mounted the Breach, he boldly asked him, "Doe you know me?"—whereuppon he gott Quarter, and all the Rest putt to the Sword; this it seems, being the Signal to distinguish the Betrayer from others; and it is supposed that *Ororis* commanded those who were uppon the Attack, to use the Officer well, who should putt that Question. This *Maxilles* was a *Pamphilian* by Birth, and, as he pretended, a *Delphican:* he was of mean Extraction, and one

Col. Maxwell.
Shannon.
De Ginkell.
Col. Maxwell.
De Ginkell.
Col. Maxwell.
Scotchman.
Roman Catholic.

dentissimis signis ac rationibus conjectare licet *Maxillem* haud falsæ proditionis reum extitisse: primum visùs est Transfuga è Legionariis ejus, qui *Lycum*, inclinato jam die, nando superaverat, qui statim ac quæ in mandatis habuerat, ad *Ororim* detulit, abjectâ omni morâ cum expedita parataque manu amnem transmittere adortus est. Deindè cum miles sagittas postulasset, ut in omnem eventum promptus esset, a *Maxille* responsum accepit, se nullas daturum; et increpans superaddidit, äeremne, an avium corpora transverberare vellent? Jussit prætereà quieti se componerent, curarentque corpora, hostem, dictitans, nihil ad noctem esse moturum: atque adeò miles sub hostium adventum somno gravis jacebat, nec ulli, aut omninò pauci armati in stationibus erant. Ac denique obviam irruentibus ultrò profectus, nihilque territus, primùm qui per muri ruinas ascenderant intrepidus rogat, "*Nostin me?*" quo audito salvus et incolumis servatur, cum reliquos omnes promiscuis cædibus ac vulneribus hostilis furor absumeret. Et hoc, credo, signo convenerat, Proditorem ab aliis secernere; nec absimile est *Ororim* Oppugnatoribus imperasse, ut qui inter Duces ita interrogasset, illæsus esset. *Maxilles* iste natione *Pamphilius* erat, et (ut præ se ferebat) religione *Delphicus*. Infimæ

Tirconnell. of *Coridon's* Creatures; and it is unlikely he durst venture playing such
Ireland. Sarsfield. a Prank in *Cyprus* without his Countenance. *Lysander* accused him, a few Days before, in the Generall's Presence; and it was not prudently done, after giveing him such a publick Affront, to intrust him with the
Tirconnell. Command of a Post of that Importance; but it seems *Coridon* would
St. Ruth. have it soe, and *Phyrrus* did not think fitt to disoblidge the Vice Roy.

De Ginkell. 75. This wonderfull Success of *Ororis*, to force a Passage over the
Shannon. Athlone. Irish. *Lycus*, even at *Arsinoe*, and within Sight of the *Cyprian* Camp, astonished all Men, especially those who were not acquainted with the
Ireland. Intreigue. It bread a generall Consternation over all *Cyprus*, that a
Connaught. Gate should be opened into *Paphia*, which was the last Refuge of the Nation: it made the thinking Men give all for lost. But none was
St. Ruth. more sensibly afflicted than brave *Phyrrus*, who owned that, tho' he ordered the Rampart to be demolished, he was, however, to blame, to intrust it to Another, saying he should see it done Himself. If we judge
Tirconnell. by outward Demonstrations, *Coridon* seemed as much concerned as any

sortis homo, et a *Coridone* in eum gradum evectus, vix credibile est, ut quidquàm tale in regno *Cypri* auderet, inscio eo, et adverso. Acriter *Lysander* paucos ante dies coram Præfecto copiarum illi exprobaverat nescio quid, quod in aulâ *Syriacâ* in *Cypriorum* opprobrium effuturisse dicebatur: nec prudentium erat tam publicâ ac recenti offensâ abalienato tanti momenti locum committere. At ita *Coridoni* placitum erat, nec *Pyrrho* visum est convenire ut regio Gubernatori rem tantillam obnixè adnitenti resisteret.

75. Tam admirandus *Ororis* successus, qui *Lycum* amnem, profundo alveo et undarum violentiâ difficillimum, momento idque ad *Arsinöem* munimentis prævalidam, et sub oculis *Cyprii* exercitûs, omnes ingenti stupore affecit, præsertim qui, quæ suberant, fraudes proditionemque ignorabant: tota *Cyprus* publicâ consternatione exterrita est; patefactam esse jam in *Paphiam* viam, quæ hactenùs genti tutissimum effugium præbuit: at qui altiùs penetrabant, lapsa omnia ac deperdita cernebant: nemo tamen graviori id animi sensu tulit, quam *Pyrrhus* ipse, qui inficiàs non ibat, quanquàm subrui aggerem imperasset, infecti nihilominùs operis penès se culpam esse, qui id alienæ curæ commisisset, debuisse affirmans hæc se mandata perfici. Si juxta exteriora indicia censere fas est, *Coridon* æquè publicis infortuniis,

other, and he had no less than Reason; for the Loss of it must be chiefly attributed, first to his Neglect to make a timely Provision of Botes and Horses to carry thither the Bread from *Paphos*, which hindred *Phyrrus* from being with the *Cyprian* Army at *Salamis*, before the *Cilicians* could gather to a Head; for he arrived in *Cyprus* about the beginning of the 3rd Month, and the 4th began before *Ororis* took the Field. Secondly, if *Coridon* had not countenanced and supported *Maxilles*, 'tis likely this Disaster had not happened soe soon. But now that the Job was done, he made the right Use of that plausible Pretext, then seasonably offered (of the Officers declareing against him), to quitt the Camp, and returne to *Paphos;* and before he went off he gained a principall Point, to get *Dusones* (one of the Lieutenants come along with *Phyrrus* out of *Syria*, but not such a Friend to him, as to *Coridon*,) to be sent to *Cythera*, to command there in Chief; for he could not endure to approve of the Resolution formerly taken, to send *Leogones* thither.

Limerick. St. Ruth. Irish. Dublin. English. Ireland. May, June, O. S., 1691. De Ginkell. Tirconnell. Col. Maxwell.

Limerick. D'Usson. St. Ruth. France. Tirconnell. Galway.

76. This *Leogones* was the presumptive Heir to the 2nd Prince of *Lapithia*, who, in Queen *Eleusina's* Time, quitting *Cyprus*, retired into

Brigadier O'Donnell. O'Donnell. Ulster. Elizabeth. Ireland.

atque ullus alius, affligi perturbarique videbatur: nec immeritò sanè, cum ea jactura illi potissimùm imputari debeat; quippè qui primùm onerarias naves ac jumenta præstò non habuit, quibus commeatus *Papho* exportarentur, quo effectum est ne *Pyrrhus* cum instructo exercitu *Salamina* contenderet, priusquàm sparsæ *Cilicum* cohortes in unum coaluissent: nam ineunte tertio mense in *Cypro* appulit, nec nisi inchoato jam quarto *Ororis* copias contraxit. Ad hæc nisi *Coridon Maxillem* clam instigasset, animassetque, credibile est nihil tale impræsentiarùm aut illum ausurum, aut omninò eventurum fuisse. At modò perfecto quod destinaverat, specioso illo pretextu opportune tunc se offerente usus est, (militibus scilicèt in eum accensis) ut relictis castris *Paphum* remearet. Ante tamen quàm proficisceretur, quod maximè in votis habuit, evicit ut *Dusones*, alter e Ducibus qui cum *Pyrrho* e *Syria* venerat, in *Coridonem* tamen propensior habebatur, ad *Cytheræ* urbis præfecturam mitteretur; nec ullis persuasionibus induci potuit, ut, quod olim decretum erat, de *Leogone* eo deputando consilia approbaret.

76. *Leogones* ille avito jure et gentilitiæ stirpis serie hæres erat secundi *Lapithiorum* Principis, qui regnante *Eleusinâ*, relictâ *Cypro* in *Ægyptum* pro-

Spain. *Egypt*, where, dying without any Issue, his Brother succeeded; who also dyed, leaveing onely one Son, who was taken away in the Flower
O'Donnell. of his Age; so that this young *Leogones*, being next of Kin, went into
Spain. *Egypt*, where he was received by the King, and established in the Dignity and Employment formerly held there by his Kinsman; and,
Spanish. after serveing severall Yeares in the *Egyptian* War against *Syria*, when
France. Will. III. Js. II. he understood of *Theodore's* Invasion, and the Retreat of *Amasis* into
Ireland. Spanish. *Cyprus*, he earnestly sollicited the *Egyptian* Court, for a Permission to quitt that Service, in order to serve his King and Country; but being
Irish. not able to obtaine it, by Reason that the *Cyprians* and their King
Ls. XIV. Spain. were then strictly leagued with *Antiochus*, he left *Egypt* without staying for a Lycence, which he well knew would not be granted, and ar-
Kinsale. Jas. II. rived at *Marium*, much about the Time that *Amasis* came thither, after
Boyne. the Engagement on the *Lapithus*. The King recommending him to
Tirconnell. *Coridon*, he gave him the Comand of the new Leavyes raised by the
Ulster. Inhabitants of the Province of *Lapithia*, who were then retired into
Connaught. *Paphia*, but afforded him neither Arms or Maintenance; and observ-

fugus ibi sine liberis diem obiit (unico filio excepto, qui in ipso ætatis flore immaturo fato raptus est), hic longo tempore circumacto tener adhuc annis, fatis domi prementibus, et *Galamii* generis odio, *Ægyptum*, Majorum suorum asylum, se contulit; ubi ab eo, qui tum rerum in eâ gente potiebatur, benignè comiterque est exceptus, et in eundem honorum ac dignitatis gradum admissus, quibus olim Cognatum ejus honestaverat. Cumque jam aliquot annos *Ægyptio* adversùs *Syros* bello non ingloriam navasset operam, et susceptam a *Theodoro* expeditionem fando accepisset, exactumque regno *Amasim*, et trepidam ejus in *Cyprum* fugam, Magnatum in illa aula præcipuos vehementer sollicitavit precibus, liceret tandem ad suos reverti, ut nec profugo Regi, nec oppressæ religioni, nec periclitanti patriæ deesset. At cum incassùm vota cecidissent, desperatâ remeandi licentiâ, quòd tunc *Cyprii* cum suo Rege mutuis cum *Antiocho* fœderibus sociarentur, quòd exequi nequiverat palam; clam se subduxit; jamque *Marium* advectus erat sub idem ferè tempus, quo *Amasis* eodem se receperat secundum adversam ad *Lapithum* pugnam, *Coridoni* a Rege commendatus novis delectibus præficitur, qui tunc ex *Lapithiæ* Accolis *Paphiam* insidentibus conscribebantur. At nec commeatus, nec arma,

ing soon after that *Leogones* grew popular among the old *Cyprians*, and especially with the Natives of *Lapithia*, (who superstitiously believed him the Person meant by an old Oracle, who was to deliver *Cyprus* from the *Cilician* Yoke,) he took from him some of the new Legions, whom he incorporated in the Standing Army; leaveing him and the rest without any Manner of Subsistence, but what they were forced to extort from the Country. He also encouraged the Nobles of *Lapithia*, and even the Tribunes of his own Brigade, to oppose him, in order to suppress his aspiring Mind, and render him contemptible to the People; but his chiefest Ayme was to breed Jelousies between him and *Gordones*, descended from the first Prince of *Lapithia;* for he apprehended (and perhaps he had Reason) that if the Forces of *Lapithia*, all composed of old *Cyprians*, were united together, they might easily obstruct his Design to reduce *Cyprus* under the Jurisdiction of *Theodore*, in Order to preserve there the *Cilician* Intrest, which is held soe sacred by those of *Cilicia*, and even by some Natives of *Cyprus*, de-

O'Donnell. Irish. Ulster. Ireland. English. Ulster. Brigadier Gordon O'Neill. Ulster. Irish. Ireland. Will. III. English. England. Ireland.

nec stipendia militibus concessa. Cum verò paucos intra dies haud æquo animo *Leogonem* veterum *Cypriorum* favore et studiis celebrari, attollique cerneret, *Lapithiorum* potissimùm superstitiosè credentium eum esse, qui, ut ab antiquo oraculo editum ferebatur, *Cyprum* aliquando a durissimo *Cilicum* jugo liberaturus esset; quasdam è tumultuariis illis novisque legionibus ei subduxit, quas Veteranos inter dispertitus est: reliquis qui cum ipso remanserant, nihil ad vitæ necessaria relictum, quàm ut Incolas raptu ac deprædationibus indiès miserè vexarent. Proceres etiam *Lapithiorum*, legionumque quas ductabat Tribunos incendere privatim hortarique non destitit, nequid illi deferrent, aut dicto obedientes essent, ut divisis inter se factionibus, tum ingentes Viri spiritus reprimeret, tum etiàm popularium illum suorum contemptui ludibrioque exponeret: at in eo maximè desudabat, ut mutuis ipsum discordiis committerent cum *Gordone*, quem a primo *Lapithiæ* Principe oriundum haùd ambigua fama erat: verebatur enim (nec immeritò fortasse) ne coalescentes *Lapithiorum* copiæ, omnes e *Galamio* genere, consilia illa interverterent, quibus jam olim ipse decreverat *Cyprum* sub *Theodori* ditionem mittere, ut collabefactum *Cilicum* jus ibidem sustentaret, quod ita sanctum habetur et inviolabile non *Cilicibus* modò, sed nonnullis etiam *Cypriis*, qui

Tirconnell. O'Donnell. Jamestown. Shannon. De Ginkell. Athlone. Galway. Tirconnell. Irish. Ireland. Connaught.

riveing their Extraction from thence (whereof *Coridon* was one), that they prefer it before the true Worship of the Immortall Gods. *Leogones* was at that Time posted, with his new raised Men, at *Manapolis*, to defend the River of *Lycus* on that Side, and when *Ororis* forced over a Passage at *Arsinoe*, he had Orders sent him in all Hast, to march streight to *Cythera;* but, to satisfy *Coridon* and those of his Party, (who loudly declared that to intrust a Person of his Credit among the ancient *Cyprians*, with a Place of that Consequence, was, in effect, to abrogate the Royall Authority in *Cyprus*,) the first Orders were countermanded, and he was bid to disperse his Men into severall Posts, for the Defence of the western Parts of *Paphia*.

Tirconnell. Limerick. France. Sarsfield. St. Ruth. Sarsfield. Irish.

77. *Coridon*, haveing gained this Point, noe sooner arrived at *Paphos* than he despatched his Secretary into *Syria*, with heavy Complaints against *Lysander*, and the factious Tribunes of the Army, criminating *Phyrrus* himself, as if he were leagued with *Lysander* and the old *Cyprians*, to the vast Prejudice (and, perhaps, totall Overthrow) of the King's Intrest in that Kingdom, if not opportunely prevented. In the

inde originem trahunt (quorum e numero *Coridon* erat) ut sacris ritibus ac Deorum immortalium cultu posthabito, summis illud opibus ac corporibus defensum eant. *Leogones* eâ tempestate cum inermi illa atque imparata manu præsidium *Manapoli* agebat, ut hostium ab illa parte irruptiones et *Lyci* amnis transitum interrumperet: cumque *Ororis* ad *Arsinöem* viam armis aperuisset, jussus est expedito itinere *Cythæram* contendere; at ut *Coridoni* reliquisque ejusdem factionis hominibus fieret satis, non obscuro jam clamore vociferantibus excuti legum imperia, *Cyprum*-que Regi, eripi, si tam insignis momenti locus tantæ inter *Galamios* auctoritatis Viro concrederetur, revocata sunt confestim priora mandata, imperatumque illi, ut suos ad tuendas occidentales *Paphiæ* oras in varia sparsim præsidia distraheret.

77. Vix *Paphum* contigerat *Coridon* cum fidum hominem et secretorum ferè omnium participem in *Syriam* maturatâ profectione delegat, gravissimis in *Lysandrum* et seditiosos (sic ille appellabat) legionum Tribunos querelis criminibusque onustum; nec ipsi *Pyrrho* parcebatur, tanquam qui arctissimam cum *Lysandro* et veteribus *Cypriis* societatem inivisset, quâ animorum conjunctione proculdubiò eventurum erat, ut Principis in eo regno jura aut per-

Meantime, *Phyrrus*, who retired to *Cretium*, called a great Councill of his Captains to consult how to dispose of the Army, now that *Arsinoe* was lost, and the Passage open to the Enemy to advance into *Paphia*? Some were of Opinion to stay, and maintain the Ground wherein they were encamped; for, haveing the advantage of the River of *Slycus*, which, riseing in a Mountaine towards the Centre of *Paphia*, falls into the *Lycus*, some 60 Furlongs below *Cretium*, they might hinder *Ororis* from passing that River, which was the shortest Way he could take to *Cythera*. *Phyrrus* appeared to be much inclined to this Opinion, being too sensible of the Affront he received at *Arsinoe*, and longing for an Opportunity to wash away that Stain, by some notable Action. But *Lysander* and most of the Captaines gravely represented, that the Army of *Ororis* was more numerous and much better disciplined, being composed, for the most Part, of veteran Troops whom *Theodore* drew to his Service, not only out of *Armenia*, *Lydia*, *Capadocia*, and *Lycia*, but also a considerable Party of *Martanesians* out of *Syria*, bread up in Arms, and

St. Ruth. Ballinasloe. Athlone. Connaught. Suck. Connaught. Shannon. Ballinasloe. De Ginkell. Galway. St. Ruth. Athlone. Sarsfield. De Ginkell. William III. Germany. Denmark. Sweden. Netherlands. Protestants. France.

iclitarentur multùm, aut fortassis etiam funditùs everterentur, nisi prospero atque opportuno remedio subventum foret. Interea *Pyrrhus* qui jam se cum exterritis nupero infortunio copiis *Cresium* receperat, advocato frequenti Procerum Ducumque concilio seriò disceptare cæpit, quo jam arma circumferre expediret, amissâ *Arsinöe*, transituque hostibus in interiora *Paphiæ* aperto? Nonnullis consultum videbatur eò loci adventantem hostem opperiri, quemque tunc castris occupabant campum tueri, cum a fronte *Flycus* amnis pro munimento sese opponeret, qui è montibus in medio *Paphiæ* regionis spatio surgentibus evolutus, sexaginta circiter stadiis *Cresium* infra in *Lycum* se exonerat: haud difficile esse *Ororim* eo transitu prohibere, quæ tamen compendiosissima *Cythærum* acceleranti via erat. *Pyrrho* nequaquàm displicebat ista, licet periculosa et ancipitia suadentium opinio, quippe qui receptæ ad *Arsinöem* cladis et ignominiæ impatiens, omnibus imminebat occasionibus, ut insigni aliquo facinore labem illam ac maculam elueret. Dissertabat in adversum *Lysander*, cum primoribus Ducum, gravi oratione proponentes, *Ororis* exercitum numero ac militari disciplina suos longè antecellere, quippè quorum magna pars veterani erant, tum sui tum alieni sanguinis prodigi, quos *Theodorus* pecuniâ conductos accersiverat non ex *Armenia* solùm, *Lydia*, *Cappadocia*, atque

Irish. inured to Warr; that to hazard a Battle against them with the *Cyprian* Army, inferiour in Number and Discipline, ill clad, and not well fed, Athlone. haveing noe Pay, and much discouraged for the Loss of *Arsinoe*, was to endanger the whole Kingdom. That it was more adviseable to man the Galway. Limerick. Shannon. Cityes of *Cythera* and *Paphos* with most of the Infantry, and, crossing the *Lycus* with the Rest, and with all the Cavalry, to march into the Munster, Leinster. De Ginkell. Galway. Province of *Amathusia* and *Salaminia;* and if *Ororis* would beseidge *Cythera*, it was likely that Place, being well man'd, would keep him Irish. long in Play, whereby the *Cyprians* might have Time enough, after the Dublin. Takeing and Plunder of *Salamis* (a rich City without any Strength) to Galway. De Ginkell. Shannon. return to the Relief of *Cythera;* and if *Ororis* would quitt that Design, and follow them, they might easily repass the *Lycus*, by the Convenience of *Paphos*, and soe preserve the Province of *Paphia* from being Limerick. Connaught. overrun for that Season; and when the Succours, which they daily France. expected out of *Syria*, were arrived, they might take further Measures. This being the generall Opinion, and, in all Probability, the most ra-

Lycia, sed egregiam etiam *Martanesiorum* ex *Syria* manum, armis sub auspicio magni *Antiochi* innutritos, et inter bellorum strepitus ac discrimina obduratos. Non aliud esse, rem in unius prælii eventum conjicere, et cum *Cypriis* copiis multitudine atque experientia imparibus, frigore et inediâ confectis, sine stipendiis, et amissâ nuper *Arsinöe* consternatis fortunæ aleam tentare, quàm regnum universum in apertum discrimen mittere. Consultiùs esse peditum valido præsidio *Cythærum Paphum*-que urbes occupare, et trajecto demùm *Lyco* cum reliquo exercitu omnique equitatu *Amathusios Salaminios*-que campos expeditis cum cohortibus infestisque turmis latè persultare: tum si *Ororis* obsidione *Cythæram* cinxisset dubium non esse quin oppidum munitionibus tutum, et robore Virorum pollens, tamdiu oppugnantium impetum ferret, donec *Cyprii Salamine* non tam firmâ, quam opulentâ urbe, in ditionem ac potestatem redactâ potirentur, prædâque onusti, ac victoriâ alacriores, ad liberandam ab hoste *Cythæram* postliminiò reverterentur. Quod si *Ororis Salaminensium* periculo revocatus cæptis absisteret, et eorum terga sequeretur, pronum illis fore converso agmine flumen *Lycum* ad *Paphum* transmittere, eamque Provinciam ab hostili incursu pro saltem tempestate defendere; cumque adventassent è *Syria* quæ indiès sperabantur subsidia, tum illis tempestivum fore ad

tionall, *Phyrrus* could not well oppose it; however, he stayed for some Dayes encamped there, observeing the Enemyes' Motions, rideing continually to take Cognizance of the Ground thereabouts; and, comeing to *Acra*, some sixty Furlongs from the Place where he then encamped, he liked the Scituation soe well that he removed his Army thither, pitching his Camp on the Hill of *Acra;* and judging that Post to be very advantageous, he resolved (contrary to the former Determination) to stay there and fight *Ororis.*

St. Ruth. Aughrim. Aughrim. De Ginkell.

78. *Acra* was then a ruined Town, and the Castle was not much better, scituated in a Bottom, on the North Side of the Hill where the *Cyprian* Army encamped. The direct Way from *Cretium* was close by the Castle, but there was another Way about, on the South-east Side of the Hill. The Rest of the Ground, fronting the Camp, was a Marsh, passable only for Foot. The Army of *Ororis* appeared in Sight of *Acra*, on the 12th Day of the 5th Month. The *Cyprian* Army, composed of about 10,000 Foot, 2000 Men at Arms, and as many light Horse, were soon drawn up by *Phyrrus* in two Lynes, the Cavalry on both Wings flanking the

Aughrim. Irish. Ballinasloe. De Ginkell. Aughrim. July, O. S., 1691. Irish. St. Ruth.

fortiora consilia deflectere. Cum in hanc omnes sententiam fere ivissent, et ratio ipsa favere videretur, *Pyrrho* haud facile fuit in adversum tendere. Aliquot tamen dies stativa ibi habuit, in omnes hostium motus pervigil, perpetuòque obequitans ut locorum circumjacentium situm oculis perlustraret, cumque fortè *Acram* delatus esset ad sexagesimum a castris stadium, adeò hujus soli opportunitate delectatus est, ut copias eò confestim transferret, castraque in ipso *Acræ* colle metaretur: et tantum in illo loco momenti posuerat, ut, contra quam ante destinaverat, perstare ibi, et *Orori* pugnandi copiam facere constitueret.

78. Sub id tempus *Acra* ruinas tantùm et exesos vetustate ædificiorum anfractus ostentabat: eadam ferè arci fortuna, quæ in convalle, colli ad septentrionem sita est, quà tum *Cypriæ* copiæ tetenderant: *Cresio* sub ipsos castri muros recta ducebat via: altera, sed prolixior, et multâ ambage ab austro collem circuibat: a fronte castrorum palustre solum, et profundâ uligine, nisi pediti, impervium. *Ororis* exercitus ad duodecimum quinti mensis diem latè in conspectum se dedit: *Cyprias* copias, quæ decem peditum, duobus equitum, et totidem levis armaturæ millibus constabat, duobus ordinibus divisas con-

Chev. de Tessé. Foot; and haveing placed *Terasus* on the right Wing of the Horse, and
Sarsfield. *Lysander* on the left, and given their severall Posts to the Rest of the chief Commanders, he obliged himself to noe certaine Place, but rid constantly from one Side to another, to give the necessary Orders, where
De Ginkell. he saw Occasion. *Ororis* being come up at so near a Distance, that his Rams and other battering Engins might doe Execution, he ordered them to be discharged, and haveing a vast Number of them, he made
Irish. them play incessantly uppon the *Cyprian* Army, hopeing by that Meanes to force them from the Hill, which was of great Advantage.
Irish. St. Ruth. But the *Cyprians*, encouraged by the Presence and Conduct of *Phyrrus*,
English. kept their Ground, and beat the *Cilicians*, as often as they advanced to-
Irish. wards them. The Fight continued from Noon till Sunsett, the *Cyprian*
St. Ruth. Foot haveing still the better of the Enemy; and *Phyrrus*, observeing the Advantage of his Side, and that the Enemy's Foot were much disordered, he was resolved, by advancing with the Cavalrie, to make the Victory compleat, when an unlucky Shott from one of the terrible new Engines, hitting him in the Head, made an End of his Life, and took

festim *Pyrrhus* in aciem eduxit, equitatu utrimque pediti circumfuso. *Terassum* in lævo, *Lysandrum* in dextro cornu locat, reliquis Ducibus sparsim per mediam pugnam sua cuique munia partitus: ipse nulli certo aut loco obstrictus aut muneri hinc inde volitabat, ut ubi res postulare videretur, præsens quæ agenda essent, mandaret. Cum *Ororis* jam intra illud spatium staret, ut pharicarum jactus cæteraque tormenta adversam usque aciem pertingere possent, magno impetu in hostem detonari jussit: cumque ingenti numero bellica secum instrumenta duxisset, in quibus maximè confidebat, crebris missilibus imperavit *Cyprios* incessi, ut eo terrore obstinatos loco tam opportuno dimoveret. At *Cyprii*, indefessâ Ducis curâ constantiâque obfirmati, in eodem stetëre vestigio, et *Cilicas*, quoties gradum promovere ausi sunt, summâ vi retrò impulerunt. A media die ad occasum solis pugnatum est: penès *Cyprium* peditem victoria ubique fuit: cumque *Pyrrhus* suos pedestri pugna superiores videret, et hostium peditem solutis confusisque ordinibus palare territarique, equestri turbine nutantes jam premere, et haud dubiâ victoriâ urgere statuit, cum ecce, telo è balista torto, transfossus caput, tot bellis superstitem animam efflavit; eodemque ictu et ille vitam, et miles animos perdidit. Conspicatus

away the Courage of his Army. For *Ororis*, observeing that the *Cyprians* were in some Disorder, gave a notable Conjecture that the Generall was either killed or wounded, whereuppon he comanded his Army to advance. The *Cyprian* Cavalrie being discouraged by the Death of *Phyrrus*, and none of the Generall Officers comeing to head them in that Place, they gave back and quitted the Field. The Foot, who were engaged with the Enemy, and knowing Nothing of the Generall's Death or the Retreat of their Cavalry, continued Fighting till they were surrounded with the whole *Cilician* Army, soe that most of them were cutt off, and noe Quarter given but to a very few; the Rest, by the Favour of the Night then approaching, (for *Phyrrus* was killed about Sunsett,) made their Escape. In this Battle, *Ulisses*, Lord of *Cythera*, a most hopefull Youth, Son to the first Peer of *Paphia*, *Magueris* and *Morum*, the chief Men of two illustrious Families in *Lapithia* and *Salaminia*, *Fortunatus*,* Grandchild of *Totilas*,† and *Conaldus*, all stout Tribunes, with many more brave Heros, gloriously fell with the Arms in Hand, fighting to the last Breath, for the ancient Faith and Liberty of *Cyprus*. *Gordones* was mortally wounded, and left for dead in the Field, but being happily known by some *Pamphilian* Officers of his Relation (for his Mother was Daughter to one of the chiefe Peers of *Pamphilia*), he was carefully attended by them, untill the Gods were pleased to restore him to Life and Health, and being, by the Treaty of *Paphos*, released from his Imprisonment, he followed *Amasis* into *Syria*.

De Ginkell. Irish. Irish. St. Ruth. English. St. Ruth. Lord Galway. Earl of Clanrickarde. Col. Maguire. Colonel Charles Moore. Ulster. Leinster. * Brigadier Henry O'Neill? † Sir Phelim O'Neill? Col. Maurice Connell. Ireland. Gordon O'Neill. Scotch. Scotland. Limerick. Js. II. France. Aughrim.

79. This was the Issue of that famous Engagement of *Acra*, soe glorious to *Ororis*, and soe fatall to *Phyrrus* and the *Cyprians*, who lost

De Ginkell. St. Ruth. Irish.

enim tumultuantes *Cyprios Ororis*, Ducem aut peremptum aut saucium facilè conjecit; unde suos, ut fluctuantibus instarent, hortatus est. Equitatus *Cyprius Pyrrhi* nece perterritus, cum nullius imperio regeretur, terga extemplò vertit, et ruit inconditâ fugâ. Pedites, quos pugnandi ardor impediverat, ne aut mortem Ducis, aut recedentem equitem persentiscerent, tamdiu in conflictu perstiterunt, donec ab universo *Cilicum* exercitu circumventi, magnâ ex parte aut occisi, aut capti sunt. Reliquos, ingruentes jam tenebræ, (*Pyrrhus* enim sub occasum solis interfectus est) ab hostili furore contexerunt.

79. Hæc illa est memorabilis ad *Acram* pugna, tot fortium Virorum clade

there the Flower of their Army and Nation. The sensible Regrett of this publick Disaster, and the dreadful Prospect of the unavoidable Consequences of such a Defeat, filled all *Cyprus* with Grief and Dispaire; and tho' every Man's particular Loss seemed to exhaust their whole Stock of Teares, yet None was more generally lamented than brave *Phyrrus;* for it was the Opinion of all People, if he had lived but an Hour longer, the *Cyprians* would be victorious that Day; and in case he were worsted, had he outlived the Defeat, noe Man would dispair, but he would soon retrieve it. Never was General better beloved by any Army, and noe Captain was ever more fond of his Soldiers, than he. It is admirable how such a strong Sympathie could be produced in soe little a Time; for that was but the one and twentieth Day since he first headed the Army. But his innate Courage, the Affability of his Nature, and, above all, his ardent Zeal for the *Delphican* Cause, gained him of a sudden the Hearts of all *Cyprus;* and of the other Side, he was no less affectionately inclined towards the Nation; admireing the Constancy of their Resolution to maintaine a Warr uppon soe unequal Terms, seeing

Ireland.

St. Ruth.

Irish.

Roman Catholic.

Ireland.

nobilitata, gloriosa *Orori*, *Pyrrho* fatalis, *Cypriis*-que, quibus omne robur exercitûs, flos omnis nobilitatis, eo prælio concidit. Tam publicæ calamitatis sensus, et formidabilis eventuum ex tam immani mortalium strage necessariò sequentium cogitatio totam, qua patet, *Cyprum* miserando luctu, et communi omnium desperatione complevit. Et quanquàm sua cuique damna, privatique ac domestici dolores, quidquid lacrymarum supererat, absumpsisse viderentur, *Pyrrhus* tamen præ omnibus, veris universæ gentis fletibus complorabatur: omnium enim animis ea invaluit opinio, si ad unam amplius horam superfuisset, *Cyprios* ea die certam repertaturos victoriam: quod si prælio victus recessisset superstes, nemini spes labasset, quin brevi ignominiam demeret, et virtute dedecus elueret. Numquàm aut Dux exercitui, aut exercitus Duci, charior fuit. Stupendum sanè quâ occultâ vi reciprocus ille effectus tam exiguo tempore cöaluerit: ad unum enim tunc et vicessimum tantùm diem armorum regimen exercuerat; sed egregia Viri virtus, facilis et omnibus patens accessus, ac præ cæteris ingens in *Delphicam* religionem propensio inclinatioque omnium *Cypriorum* animos ita derepentè sibi devinxerant: nec ei minùs alterâ ex parte gentis amorem conciliaverat admiratio quædam stuporque per-

such a formiable Power against them, without receiveing any considerable Ayds out of *Syria*. Soe that with *Phyrrus* dyed all the Hope and good Fortune of *Cyprus;* for from that Hour they never thrived, or attempted Anything that was great and glorious. France. St. Ruth. Ireland.

80. After this notable Victory at *Acra*, *Ororis* only wanted the Reduceing of *Paphos* and *Cythera*, to compleat the Conquest of the whole Kingdom. *Cythera* is the Head City of *Paphia*, not much above a Daye's Journey from *Acra*. It is built uppon a Neck of Land between the Sea and the River *Cytha*, which comes out of a great Lake riseing from high Mountains in the West of *Paphia*, 24 Miles from *Cythera*, and separating that Part of the Country from the Rest of the Province; for there is noe Passage thither but by Boats over the Lake, or by the Conveniency of a stone Bridge at *Cythera;* soe that the Town, haveing the Sea on the South, the River *Cytha* and the Lake on the West and North, lyes exposed to an Attack only on the East Side, where *Ororis* encamped on the 19th Day of the 5th Month; and that Night he gained an Outwork uppon the Hill, very near the Walls, by the Treachery of an Officer Aughrim. De Ginkell. Limerick. Galway. Connaught. Aughrim. Galway River. Connaught. Galway. Galway. River Galway. De Ginkell. July, O. S., 1691.

pendenti quàm non æquis Viribus, quamque pertinacibus animis belli vices constanter ferre destinassent, cum præsertim a tam formidoloso domi premerentur hoste, nec a *Syris* ullius momenti auxilia mitterentur. Cum *Pyrrho* itaque tum spes, tum felicitas *Cypri* corruit: eo mortuo retrò omnia cessëre, nec posteà aut grande aliquid, aut arduum moliri contigit.

80. Post memorandum illud ad *Acram* prælium *Orori* nihil deerat ut totâ insulâ potiretur, nisi *Cythæram Paphum*-que in potestatem redigere. *Paphiæ* caput ac metropolis *Cythæra* est, ab *Acra* vix ultrà unius diei iter remota. Condita est in angusto terræ spatio, quod hinc in mare excurrit, inde fluvio *Cythâ* alluitur, qui ex immenso lacu effunditur: oritur is ex editissimis *Paphiæ* montibus ad occidentalem plagam, et inde ad triginta millia passuum longitudine protenditur; eam regionem a reliqua provincia disterminat; nec enim alia est via, quam ut per stagnum navibus vehi, aut amnem lapideo ad *Cythæram* ponte transmittere. Oppidum itaque quod ad austrum immenso clauditur mari, flumine *Cythâ* lacuque ad occidentem et septentrionem munitur, ad ortum solùm obsidentibus patet; ubi *Ororis* undevicesimo quinti mensis die castra metatus est, eâdemque nocte propugnaculum adhuc imperfectum colli non

Galway. who deserted from thence to the Enemy. *Cythera* was not well man'd at that Time, by Reason that the Result once taken to divide most of Limerick. the Foot between that Place and *Paphos* was altred, and since the Connaught. Battle, none gott thither but a few *Paphian* Soldiers who escaped from Aughrim. *Acra*, to the Number of 6 or 700 Men, most of them well armed. O'Donnell. After the Defeat of the Army, *Leogones* was ordered to march streight Galway. to *Cythera* with what Men he could gather together, his Brigade (to Tirconnell. please *Coridon*) being formerly dispersed between severall Posts, and at a great Distance; but he was prevented by the Enemy, who, next Galway. Day after their Arrivall before *Cythera*, crossed the River in Boats, and planting theire Bridge without any Opposition, they passed over a Part Conemara. of the Army into the Western *Paphia*, beseidging the Town on that Side, O'Donnell. and thereby hindring *Leogones* from entring into it that Way, as he designed; for he could not pretend to doe it in any other Way, haveing Galway. noe Conveniency to releive it by Sea. The Town of *Cythera* did not only want Men for its Defence, but it was also destitute of warlick Engines, which are requisit in a beseidged Place; yet the greatest Want

ita procul mænibus impositum occupavit. Ea tempestate *Cythera* modico præsidio tenebatur, mutato jam olim consilio, quo convenerat validissimam pedestrium copiarum partem hoc inter oppidum *Paphum*-que dispertiri: secundum pugnam verò *Acrensem* pauci solùm *Paphiorum* militum, qui ex strage evaserant ad sexcentos aut summùm septingentos, eosque animis fractos ac semiermes, eò se contulerant. Post receptam cladem *Leogoni* imperatum est *Cythæram* rectà contendere cum copiis, quas in re tam subitâ contrahere posset: militem enim cui præerat (sic *Coridini* placitum) in varia præsidia, eaque longè dissita, jam ante sparserat, at festinanti viam hostilis diligentia præripuit. Insequenti enim die, quam ad urbem accesserant, fluvium paratis ad hoc scaphis trajecëre, et ponte, nullo obsistente, utramque ripam junxerant, parte copiarum in *Paphiam* occidentalem transmissâ, urbem ab eo latere circumsepiunt, *Leogonem*-que, qui eà suos inferre destinaverat, præoccupato aditu excludunt: nec alibi spes transitûs, cum penuria navium mari obsessis succurrere non posset. *Cythæra* non Propugnatoribus solùm nuda erat, sed tormentis etiam bellicis carebat, quæ circumsessis urbibus præ aliis sunt necessaria; sed maximè omnium indigebant constanti ad sese defendendum proposito, earun-

of all was Resolution and Union; for if the Townsmen were united and resolute, they were numerous enough, with the Assistance of the Garison, to defend the Town, whereby they might give the *Cyprian* Army Time to recruit and putt themselves in a Posture to releive that City; and in case they had failed of that Design, the *Cytherists*, however, could not miss getting as good Conditions the last Day as they gott at first, and much more to their Credit. But they were divided into Factions, and the most prevalent at that Time was the new-intrested Men, who longed for a Change of Government to reestablish the *Attilan* Settlement, confirmed by *Pythagoras*, but reversed by *Amasis*. They concealed their Arms, and would not lend them to the Soldiers who wanted them; much less would they make Use of any themselves, to defend their Country. One of the civill Officers (the Sonn of a *Cilician*, professing the *Martanesian* Doctrine) made his Escape to the Camp of *Ororis*, by the Contrivance (as it was then believed) of the first Civill Magistrate, who was secured uppon it, and likely would suffer, had the Enemy

Irish. Galwegians. Cromwellian. Chas. II. Js. II. Englishman. Protestant. De Ginkell.

demque voluntatem conjunctione; si namque inter se Oppidani consensissent, si ferro patriam tueri sedisset, multitudine satis armisque pollebant, quibus muros tamdiù saltem defenderent, donec *Cyprius* exercitus improspero consternatus prælio respirare paululum ac recolligi posset, ac tum refectis demum viribus urbi commodùm subveniret: quod si assequi nequivissent, certum erat *Cythæriacos* non iniquiores pacis leges ad ultimum impetrare potuisse, quàm tunc obtinuissent. Et certè hoc illo sive ad fidem, sive ad Posterorum memoriam longè gloriosius foret. At variis scissi erant factionibus, et validissimæ tum partes ex eorum numero censebantur, qui agros jam olim propriis possessoribus injustè extortos occupaverant, atque adeò rerum mutationi imminebant, ut leges ab *Attila* Tyranno latæ, a *Pythagora* admissæ, ab *Amasi* eversæ, denuò sancirentur. Omne igitur telorum genus occultaverant, nec inermi ea nudoque militi ad usum præbebant, nec ab ipsis ad focos et aras defensandas sumebantur. Inter hæc quidem e civilium rerum Administris, *Cilice* patre natus, et religione *Martanesius*, arreptâ occasione, in *Ororis* castra profugit, clam adnitente (ut tum vulgò credebatur) qui summo inter cives Magistratu eminebat, qui idcircò custodiâ circumdatus est, et meritas luisset pœnas, nisi præmaturus hostium ad urbem invadendam accessus obsti-

De Ginkell. not come soe suddenly to attack the Town. This Spye gave *Ororis* an exact Account of all Things; how the Work on the Hill was not fully finished, the Town ill manned and ill furnished with other Necessaryes; the Citizens being, for the most Part, weary of the present Government, William III. and longing to be under the Comand and Jurisdiction of Prince *Theodore;* adding, that if the Place was once surrounded, before the Arrivall O'Donnell. of *Leogones,* who was sent for in all Hast, they could not hold out long, without the Assistance of the Townes Men, who (as he assured) would De Ginkell. give none. Uppon this Information, which *Ororis* received at *Acra,* Aughrim. Galway. D'Usson. Tirconnell. three Daies after the Battle, he advanced streight to *Cythera. Dusones,* who commanded inchief, was a great Friend of *Coridon's,* and the Governor was his Nephew, which occasioned a Report among the People, that they did not much dislike the Townsmen's Inclination to treat with De Ginkell. *Ororis;* and it is likely that those who were for a Treaty and Submis- William III. sion to *Theodore,* were the more encouraged to propose it, because they knew very well that their acting after that Manner would be counte- Tirconnell. nanced by *Coridon,* and, perhaps, noe Way displeasing to *Amasis* him- James II. James II. self; and it seems they had some Ground to think soe, for *Amasis* writt

tisset. Explorator iste omnia, ut erant, *Orori* aperuit; opera, quæ in colle moliebantur, adhuc imperfecta esse; præsidium nec numero, nec armis, aliisve necessariis firmum; tædere plurimùm cives status et imperii præsentis; optare vehementer omnes *Theodori* Principis potestati subjici; præcipuos ordinum illius regimen ultrò amplexuros. Addebat ad hæc si urbe circumsessâ aditum *Leogoni* præstruxissent, quem ad opem quam celerrimè ferendam missis nuntiis sedulò invitaverant, Præsidiarios diuturnæ obsidioni non suffecturos, præsertim ab Oppidanis deserendos, quos nulla certè auxilia Propugnatoribus laturos affirmabat. Hac perfugæ oratione, qui sub tertium a prælio diem *Acram* ad eum pervenerat, lætus *Ororis* omnes copias rectà *Cythæram* ducit. *Dusones* armatorum Præfectus ex *Coridonis* familiaribus, et urbis Gubernator, Nepos erat; unde variis in vulgus rumoribus differebatur Oppidanis ad icenda cum *Orori* fœdera inclinatis, clam ambos favisse. Nec absimile veri est illos qui pacem suadebant, et deditionem *Theodoro* faciendam urgebant, ad talia agitando eò audentiores fuisse, quo non ignorabant ita faciendo demereri se *Coridonem,* nec ipsi etiam *Amasi* ingratam fortassis operam navaturos: haud ambiguum est quo die *Cili-*

afterwards to *Dusones*, giveing him Thanks for his Moderation at *Paphos*, and his early Surrender of the Place, before the Garison or Inhabitants should be reduced to any Hardships. It is certain that the same Day the *Cilicians* passed the River (which was the next Day after they appeared before the Towne), those of *Cythera* beat a Parly and began to capitulate. The Treaty held for six Daies, tho' the Articles for the Surrender of *Cythera* were included the 2nd Day; but they expected *Coridon's* Result uppon the Propositions made by *Ororis* for a generall Capitulation, which was brought to *Paphos* by the Governor's Brother-in-law, who (as some People averred), after delivering his Message there, endeavoured to perswade his Friends in the Army to accept of the advantageous Offers made by *Ororis*, which lost him the Friendship of *Lysander*, and the Esteem of those who resolved to continue the War, and hearken to noe Conditions. By the Capitulation of *Cythera*, all Persons submitting to *Theodore* were to enjoy their Estates, as formerly, in the Reign of King *Pythagoras* the 2nd. The Officers and Soldiers were at Liberty to march to *Paphos*, or joyn *Theodore's* Army, or return to

D'Usson. Limerick. English. Galway. Galway. Tirconnell. De Ginkell. Limerick. De Ginkell. Sarsfield. Galway. William III. Charles II. Limerick. William III.

ces amnem transgressi sunt (quod postero quam appulerant die effectum est) *Cythæriacos* colloquium petivisse, et tractare de conditionibus cœpisse: in sextum quidèm post diem consultatio tenuit, quanquàm secundo ipso die in dedendæ *Cythæræ* leges consensissent. Sed *Coridonis* expectabatur responsum super iis, quæ de publicis totius regni fœderibus ab *Orori* proposita erant, quæque *Paphum* ab ejus, qui urbi præerat, Uxoris Fratre delata erant, atque ille (qui tum rumor invaluerat), peractis mandatis, connisus est Amicis in exercitu etiam atque etiam suadere, ut oblatas ab *Orori* conditiones amplecterentur; quo facto *Lysandri* gratiâ atque amicitiâ excidit, cæpitque deteriùs ac suspiciosiùs audire *Cyprios* inter, quibus fixum ac statutum erat bellum pertinaciter prosequi, nec ullam omninò tam fædæ ac periculosæ pacis mentionem admittere. Pactis ad *Cythæram* convenerat, ut omnes, qui *Theodoro* se permitterent, occupatis sub *Pythagora* agris sine fraude potirentur: Ducibus pariter militibusque potestas facta, ut seu *Paphum* liberè petere, seu inter *Theodoritas* militiæ adscribi, seu domos quisque suas reverti, liberum esset. Ad sextum et vicesimum quinti mensis diem, ac quintum decimum post *Acrense* prælium, Præsidiariis *Cythærâ* excedentibus, *Cilices* in urbem admissi sunt. Ducum

July, O. S., 1691. their own Homes. On the 26th Day of the 5th Month, and 15 Daies
Galway. English. after the Battle, the Garrison marched out of *Cythera*, and the *Cilicians* entred the Town. Some of the Officers and a few Soldiers joyned with the Enemy, others retired Home, but the greatest Number went with
D'Usson. Limerick. Tirconnell. *Dusones* and the Governor to *Paphos*, where they gave *Coridon* an Account of their Proceedings, who easily approved thereof.

Galway. 81. The Loss of *Cythera*, without any Resistance, was seconded with
O'Donnell. the Desertion of *Leogones;* who, being forced to make a large Circuit about the Lake, and to march thro' Mountains almost impassable, was
Galway. noe sooner come within 10 Miles of *Cythera*, than he found that the Towne was not only beseidged on that Side, but that the Treaty of Surrender was already concluded, which putt him to noe small Per-
English. plexity. It seems he had a Friend in the *Cilician* Camp, by whose
Ginkell. Procurement *Ororis* writt him a Letter, importing his Willingness to serve a Person of his Honour and Worth, who behaved himself soe well
Spanish. in the *Egyptian* Service; that he was not ignorant of the Ill-treatment
Ireland. he received since his comeing into *Cyprus;* and that now he had an

nonnulli, sed perpauci militum nomina hostibus dederunt: alii ad suos se receperunt: pars verò maxima *Paphum* profecti sunt: ducebat euntes *Dusones* et traditæ urbis Gubernator, qui, cum quid, ac quibus rationibus actum esset, accurata oratione exposuissent, idque prolixiùs et confidentiùs apud consiliorum participem et non aversas aures perorassent, nullo negotio *Coridonis* assensum et approbationem obtinuerunt.

81. Amissæ absque certamine *Cytheræ* proximum fuit descivisse *Leogonem:* is coactus longis viarum anfractibus, et per ardua ac pænè inaccessa montium juga circuire, statim atque intra decimum milliare ad urbem *Cythæram* penetravit, non oppidum solùm ea etiam ex parte obsidione premi comperit, sed in fœdera et pacis leges descensum esse: his auditis, in summam perturbatæ anxietatem mentis devenit; cum scilicèt procedentem hostis, regredientem locorum asperitas exceptura erat. Fortè illi in *Cilicum* castris amicus erat, cujus importunis precibus dedit tandem *Ororis*, ut litteras ad eum daret voluntatis atque æstimationis suæ in tantæ dignitatis meritorumque Virum testes, non latêre ipsum quàm egregiam *Ægyptiorum* olim Regi operam ille præstitisset: quam indigna, quamque humanæ patientiæ

Opportunity offered, to be revenged of his Enemyes, and advance his own Fortune. This Letter being communicated by *Leogones* to the Tribunes and others, the chief Officers of his Party, who were generally ill-arm'd and worse disciplined, it was resolved among them to continue that Treaty untill they gott out of the Neighbourhood of *Cythera*, and then they might take what future Measures they should think most convenient for their own Advantage. It happened that *Leogones* had a *Cilician* Gentleman in his Service, who came with him out of *Egypt*, and this *Cilician* had a Brother, who was a Tribune and in good Esteem in *Theodore's* Army. He was sent to the *Cilician* Camp uppon Pretence of visiting his Brother, but realy to keep the Treaty on Foot. *Leogones* in the Mean-while retireing with his Forces out of the mountainous Country; and finding by Letters out of *Paphos* that the Loss of *Cythera* was attributed to his Delay to come timely thither, and being too mindfull of the Affronts he received from *Coridon*, and his present Wants rendring him desperate, he entertained the Treaty in good

O'Donnell. Galway. O'Donnell. English. Spain. Englishman. Will. III. English. O'Donnell. Limerick. Galway. Tirconnell.

non toleranda a primo in *Cyprum* ingressu pertulisset: offerri jam occasionem quâ tum inimicos ultum eat, tum melioribus ac mitioribus fatis litare possit. His a *Leogone* recitatis litteris coram Tribunis, aliisque ordinum Ductoribus ac universâ militarium Virorum coronâ, qui nudi ferè atque inermes erant, et experientiæ ac disciplinæ militaris expertes, unanimi omnium voce conclusum est, ut eam de pace consultationem tamdiu traherent, donec ex vicinis *Cythæræ* locis sensim retrocederent: cum illa avia montium claustra ac confragosa rupium egressi fuissent, in promptu fore quid honestati maximè atque utilitati conveniat, maturioribus consiliis statuere. Quidam e *Cilicia* nobilis Vir *Leogoni* ex *Ægypto* clam se subtrahenti fortè adhæserat comes, et huic inter *Theodoritas* frater erat, non infimæ notæ Tribunus: mittitur ille in *Cilicum* castra eâ specie ut fratrem inviseret, re tamen verâ ut de fœderibus agitaret. Intereà *Leogones* sterilibus scopulis salebrisque locorum superatis cum copiis in campestria descendit: tum per litteras *Papho* missas intellexit sibi uni amissam *Cythæram* imputari, qui eò tempestivè non advolasset: ad hæc receptarum a *Coridone* injuriarum memoria stimulabat: urgebat prætereà et in desperationem agebat præsentis necessitatis intuitus, et rerum

earnest. But, before it was perfectly concluded, he went to the Relief of *Cerbia*, a seaport Towne between *Paphia* and *Lapithia*, which being blocked up by the Enemy, and reduced to some Hardships for want of Provisions, they capitulated to surrender the Place within 15 Daies, if they were not releived by that Time; and *Leogones* comeing in the Mean-while with his Party, (who resolved to releive them, whatever they might doe,) and the Governor and Garison declareing that they were releived, and consequently discharged of their former Engagement, the Enemy were forced to retire back again into *Lapithia*. But *Leogones*, by his triming Behaviour in this Transaction, haveing given Cause enough to suspect his Fidelity, and apprehending a Design of his own Men to secure his Person, retired by Night out of *Cerbia;* and, notwithstanding all the Demonstrations to the contrary, made to him by a speciall Friend, *Philotas*, (whom he accidentally mett on the Road, and for whom he seemed to have a great Esteem,) he hastily concluded

Sligo. Connaught. Ulster.

O'Donnell.

Sir Teague O'Regan.

Ulster.

O'Donnell.

Sligo.

Col. C. O'Kelly.

omnium inopia: his simul causis instigatus præcipitare consilia, ac seriò jam circa pacis conditiones negotiari cæpit. Priùs tamen quam in pacta consentiret, ad solvendam obsidione *Cerbiam* (maratimum id oppidum est *Paphiam* inter et *Lapithiam*) proficisitur. Hæc cum ab hoste undique circumcincta arctiùs premeretur, et caritate inseper annonæ ad graves angustias redacta esset, deditionem intra decimum quintum diem Præsidiarii pollicentur, nisi intrâ id temporis illis subventum fuisset. Commodùm sub eosdem dies aderat *Leogones*, qui magnis itineribus cum defessis ac fame laborantibus cohortibus acceleraverat, ut arcem oppidumque periculo eriperet. Erectis ad illius præsentiam Præfecto et Præsidiariis, ac pacto auxilio se intra præfixum spatium adjutos asserentibus, et proinde promissis exsolutos, hostes retrò in *Lapithiam* recedere coacti sunt. *Leogones* verò qui tergiversando, et haud sincerè in novissimis rebus procedendo, satis manifesta corruptæ fidei suspicantibus exhibuit signa, veritusque, arguente conscientiâ, ne arctiori custodiâ cingeretur, tenebrarum ac noctis opportunitate usus, *Cerbiâ* excessit: et quanquam in contrarium notæ fidei Amicus, quem fortuitò in ipso itinere obvium habuit, cuique nonnihil deferre videbatur, magnâ contentione disseruisset eodem nihilominùs die in fœdera consensit; atque ita vilis Dei,

the Treaty that very Day, and, thereby revolting from his naturall Prince, he unhappily joyned with the sworn Enemyes of his Country.

82. The forceing of a Passage over the River of *Lycus* at *Arsinoe*, the Victory at *Acra*, and the takeing of *Cythera* without a Stroke, (which, in the last War before held out for 19 Months,) as they made the Name of *Ororis* worthily glorious among his own Party, so did *Coridon's* seasonable, tho' coactive Retreat, render him as great and as fortunate in the Opinion of his own Friends, who did not spare to extoll above Measure his Wisdom, his Conduct, and, above all, his good Fortune, to have retired before such accumulated Misfortunes happened to his Country. After the Battle, he immediately dispatched an Emissary to *Amasis*, representing that all was lost, and that it was impossible to retrieve *Cyprus* by any other Meanes, at present, but by an early Submission to *Theodore*. *Dusones*, who longed to be back in *Syria*, and was a great Confidant of *Coridon's*, suspected by some not to be very zealous in the Cause; for (as People said) he was but a late

Shannon. Athlone. Aughrim. Galway. De Ginkell. Tirconnell. James II. Ireland. W. III. D'Usson. France. Tirconnell.

Regis, Patriæ Transfuga, inveteratis et acerrimis *Cypriæ* gentis hostibus sese adjunxit.

82. Ad *Arsinöem Lycum* amnem seu dolo, seu armorum vi superasse; celebrem illam ad *Acram* victoriam obtinuisse; *Cythæram*, quæ superiori bello in decimum mensem obsidionem tulit, sine cædibus ac sanguine cepisse, sicut *Ororis* nomen gloriâ inter suos famâque decoraverat; ita *Coridonis* opportuna quanquam et coacta fuga non minori aut prudentiæ aut felicitatis opinione assentantium vocibus attollebatur: hi ultra omnem humani ingenii modum perspicax illud judicii acumen, singularem in rebus agendis animi maturitatem, et super hæc fortunam omnia illius cæpta suo favore secundantem demirabantur, qui tempestivo illo receptu tot cöacervatas patriæ calamitates prævertisset. Secundùm receptam ad *Acram* cladem, fidum hominem et similibus ministeriis sæpè expertum ad *Amasim* deproperat, qui nihil spei relictum nuntiet, nec aliam ostendi salutis viam quàm si *Theodoro* maturâ deditione tota *Cyprus* permittatur. *Dusones*, qui diuturnam e *Syriâ* absentiam impatienter ferebat, ac *Coridonis* consiliorum non ignarus erat, quique multorum suspicione stringebatur, tanquam non sincero affectu aut studio *Cypriorum* partes a principio fovisset (quippe *Martanesiis* nuper ambitu vel metu desertis,

Protestant. Rome. French. Tirconnell. De Ginkell. France.

Convert from the *Martanesian* Sect to the Worship of *Delphos*, writt much to the same Effect to the *Syrian* Court. *Coridon*, in the Meanwhile, continueing a private Treaty with *Ororis*, (which he expected to conclude uppon the Returne of his Courier out of *Syria*,) kept his Party in Heart, who longed for an End of the Warr, and reposed all their Hope and Trust in his Management. But he failed their Expectation ; for, haveing on the 11th Day of the 6th Month dined with *Dusones*, with whom he was very merry and jocant, [being] retired in the Afternoon to his Chamber, where he suddenly fell into a terrible Fitt of an Appoplexie, which took away his Speech and Feeling, he dyed on the 14th Day. His Death was much lamented by his Friends, and noe less by the *Cilicians*, who cryed him up for an honest Man, and a Lover of Peace. They gave out that he was poysoned by *Lysander* and the *Syrian* Commanders.

August, O. S., 1691. D'Usson. English. Sarsfield. French.

83. He was the 8th Son of a private Gentleman, who made his Fortune by practizing the Law. About the 18th Year of his Age, he followed the War in the Reign of *Pythagoras* the First, and in some

Charles I.

Delphicos ritus amplexus ferebatur) non absona his in aulam *Syriacam* perscripsit. Interea *Coridon* privata cum *Orori* consilia miscere non destitit, quæ, reverso e *Syria* Nuntio, exequi speraverat. Suos spe atque fiduciâ implebat, qui haud tardum hujus belli exitum omnibus votis optabant, et integram conficiendæ pacis expectationem in unius *Coridonis* mente atque sapientia collocabant ; concepta nihilominùs animis vota inopinâ morte deseruit, et documento fuit sanè grandi quam improvidum sit humanis nimiùm consiliis fidere. Nam cum ad undecimum sexti mensis diem apud *Dusonem* epulis adfuisset, ubi hilaritati ac jocis ultrà assuetum indulsit, atque a prandio domum reversus, subito membrorum torpore correptus, sensuque ac sermonis usu amisso, ad quartum decimum diem animam efflavit. Ingenti amicorum luctu mors ejus excepta est, nec impari ferè *Cilicum* mœstitiâ, qui Virum eum probum, prudentem, et pacificum deprædicabant, et veneno a *Lysandro* et *Syris* Ductoribus parato sublatum vulgaverant.

83. Filiorum octavus erat Patri, privato homini, et nullis primùm titulis insigni, sed quem mox peritia legum in equestris ordinis dignitatem evexit. Circa sextum decimum ætatis annum, regnante *Pythagorâ* primo, et flagrante

Yeares after he was made Standard-bearer to his own Nephew, an eminent Commander of the *Cyprian* Army. When *Attilas* conquered *Cyprus*, he went with the Rest to *Egypt*, from thence into *Lycia*, where, by the Meanes of his Brother (a religious Man, and afterwards *Flamen* of *Salamis*), he was presented to *Amasis*, who received him into his Service, and made him one of his Bedchamber. When the Royall Family was restored, he lived with his Master at Court, and by his Favour and his own Industry he acquired a considerable Estate in *Cyprus*. As soon as *Amasis* came to succeed his Brother, *Pythagoras*, in the Throne, he made him a Peer of *Cyprus*, and Lieutenant-Generall of the Army there, which was, at that Time, composed of *Martanesians;* but *Coridon* shifted them by Degrees, placing *Cyprian* Officers and Soldiers in theire Room, whereby he became the Darling of the Nation. In a little Time after, he was made Vice Roy of *Cyprus*, and then he began to change his Principles, being observed to be less kind to his Countrymen ; for, when he gott all the Power into his own Hands, noe Man undervalued them more. This Change was partly attributed to the Avarice of his

Irish. Cromwell.
Ireland. Spain. Netherlands.
R. C. Archbishop of Dublin.
James, Duke of York.
Ireland.
Jas. II. Chas. II.
Ireland.
Protestants.
Tirconnell.
Irish.
Ireland.

civilibus bellis patriâ, prima militiæ rudimenta posuit, et post aliquot annorum decursum signifer factus Nepoti suo, qui tum in *Cyprio* exercitu Regi ac patriæ egregiam operam navabat. Cum jam Tyrannus *Attilas* totam *Cyprum* ditione pressisset, inter alios in *Ægyptum*, et inde in *Lyciam* profugit, ubi a Fratre (qui religioni vitam initiaverat, ac deinde in *Salaminium* Archiflaminem electus est) *Amasi* sistitur, quem in famulitium receptum inter interioris cubiculi Satellites admisit. Successu temporis restauratâ in pristinum decus regiâ familiâ, Hero in aula adhæsit, ubi tum illius indulgentiâ, tum propriâ industriâ satis opulenta per *Cyprum* prædia comparavit. Postquam verò *Amasis*, mortuo *Pythagorâ*, fraternum regnum adeptus est, inter Optimates *Cypri* eum cooptavit, copiarumque præfecturam ei commisit, in quibus tunc soli militabant *Martanesii*, iisque *Coridon* paulatim subductis exauctoratisque milites ac Ductores *Delphicos* sufficiebat; unde genti in amoribus ac deliciis esse cœpit. Haud ita multos post dies in *Cyprum* cum summo imperio remittitur, et tunc mutato, quem hactenùs callidè simulaverat, affectu, multa aversi erga populares animi indicia prodidit; nemo enim majori eos fastidio despexit, postquam supremum rerum arbitrium consecutus est. Tam subitæ

English. Wife, a *Cilician* by Birth, and also to the Advice of those whom he chiefly consulted in the Management of publick Affaires, and who were
William III. unhappily concerned in the New Intrest. After *Theodore's* Invasion,
Jas. II. Ireland. when *Amasis* came to *Cyprus*, he made him Captain-Generall of the
Irish. *Cyprians*, and advanced him to the highest Dignityes that a Subject could be capable off, giveing him a vast Estate, fitt for a Prince. After
Boyne. the Battle of *Lapithus*, he longed for Nothing more than the laying
English. down of Arms, which he held necessary for preserveing the *Cilician*
Ireland. Intrest in *Cyprus*, and uppon that Account he was noe Friend to the
Irish. ancient *Cyprians*. He was a Man of stately Presence, bold and resolute, of greater Courage than Conduct, naturally proud and passionate, of moderate Parts, but of an unbounded Ambition. In his private Friendships he was observed to be inconstant, (and some did not spare to accuse him,) even to them by whose Assistance he gained his Point, when he once obtained his own Ends.

Will. III. Tirconnell. 84. The Design of submitting to *Theodore* did not dye with *Coridon;* it was eagerly pursued after his Death; for the Gownmen he
France. brought out of *Syria* with him succeeded in the Government, by a par-
James II. ticular Commission from *Amasis*, and it was generally believed they
Tirconnell. were to follow *Coridon's* Method. His Friends and Creatures, who

mutationis atque inconstantiæ culpam nonnulli in immoderatam Uxoris *Cilicis* avaritiam cupiditatemque partim rejiciebant, partim tribuebant consiliis quorundam Jurisconsultorum, quorum operâ et ministerio in Repub: administrandâ plurimùm utebatur, quique parùm felicitèr novis agrorum possessionibus in patriæ perniciem implicabantur. Vir erat specie corporis haud vulgari, audax, acer, animo elatus, in iram pronus, dotibus haud immodicus, ambitione insatiabilis, in privatis amicitiis instabilis, cum semel votorum compos erat, ingratus etiam in eos, quibus adjutoribus potestatem nactus fuit.

84. At *Cypri Theodoro* in manus tradendæ consilia cum *Coridone* unà non sunt extincta; post illius excessum acerrimè in eo sudatum est. Juris enim prudentes, qui eum e *Syria* remeantem comitati sunt, obtentis in idipsum præviis *Amasis* litteris, ei in rerum administratione successerunt, et, ut communiter credebatur, ejus vestigiis pressim insistere in arcanis mandatis habuëre. Amici illius Asseclæque, qui partes satis validas per castra urbem-

were numerous in the Camp and City, did importunately press for a Conclusion of the Treaty begun by *Coridon*, and with the Order and Approbation (as they gave out) of *Amasis*. The *Syrian* Lieutenant-Generall, *Dusones*, longed to be in his own Country, and his Colleague, *Terassus*, (tho' brave in his Person, and honest in his Principles,) acted Nothing but by the Approbation of *Dusones*, who was the first Lieutenant-Generall of the Army; *Scilla* and *Gildas* were true *Coridonists;* so that *Dorillas*, a *Pamphilian* by Birth, but zelous enough for the Worship of *Delphos*, and [who] seemed then to be noe less concerned for the *Cyprian* Intrest, was the only Generall Officer *Lysander* had to rely uppon. Tis believed that these writt more comfortably into *Syria*, than was suggested by the Vice-Roy, and that they engaged to hold out to the last Extremity, in Hope of a powerfull Releif from thence, of Men, Money, and all other Necessaryes to prosecute the Warr; which, if timely sent, had certainly preserved *Cyprus*, and hindred such a powerfull Reinforcement to joyn the Confederate Army against *Syria*. *Ororis*, on the other Side, applyed all his Thoughts to compleat the Conquest of *Cyprus;* and perhaps he was not altogether without Hope,

Tirconnell.
Jas. II. French.
D'Usson.
Chev. de Tessé.
D'Usson.
Lieut.-Gen. Dominick Sheldon.
Lord Galmoy.
Tirconnellists.
Major-General John Wauchop.
Scotchman.
Rome.
Irish. Sarsfield.
France.
Ireland.
France.
De Ginkell.
Ireland.

que sparsi explebant, pacis conditiones à *Coridone*, non adversante *Amasi*, inceptas vehementer jam et apertiùs urgebant. *Dusones*, *Syrus* Ductor, patriæ desiderio macerebatur: *Terassus* collega, quanquàm animo impiger, et affectu incorruptus, nihil tamen in utramlibet partem movebat: *Scilla* et *Gildas* inter *Coridonios* non immeritò numerabantur: atque adeò *Dorilas*, natione *Pamphilus*, sed *Delphici* cultûs, et *Cypriorum* causæ propugnator acerrimus, unus erat e Primoribus exercitûs, in cujus sinum *Lysander* curas suas tutò effundere poterat. At credibile est omnes lætiora in *Syriam* scripsisse, quam quæ *Coridon* per Nuntium ante suggesserat; promisisse etiam durissima pati, et ad extremum omnia ferre, modò indè suppetiarum ulla spes affulsisset, et miles, annona aliaque ad trahendum bellum necessaria mitterentur; hæc si tempestivè præstita fuissent tum non ambigua *Cypri* salus et libertas sequeretur, tum etiàm non tam valido virium accessu, ac victricium legionum supplemento Fœderatorum copiæ in *Syriam* augerentur. Dum inter has factiones *Cyprii* distrahuntur, alterâ ex parte *Ororis*, cui, sublato *Coridone*, rerum pace componendarum desperatio ferè incesserat, in id unum obnixus erat, quibus

Tirconnellists. but that the Assistance of the *Coridonists* might render it more easie; for he was noe Stranger to the severall Factions and Dispositions of Irish. the *Cyprian* Army, which, being pretty well recruited by that Time, Munster. haveing destroyed all the Furage on *Amathusia* Side the Towne, uppon De Ginkell. *Ororis*' Approach retired with their Forces into the City, where they kept most of the Infantry, posting the Rest on the Foords of the River Shannon. Connaught. of *Lycus*, and the Cavalrie on *Paphia* Side, at soe neer a Distance, that they might be daily furnished with Provisions from the Towne, whereof De Ginkell. there was a vast Quantity still left. The Intention of *Ororis* was to Limerick. batter and destroy the Houses of *Paphos*, and make the whole City a heap of Rubish; and also by his Neighbourhood to countenance the Tirconnellists. *Coridonists*, and perhaps inable them to act Something that might compell the Rest of their headstrong Countrymen to lay down Arms; and it seems he was not mistaken in his Measures.

Limerick. August, O.S., 1691. William III. 85. He appeared before *Paphos* on the 25th Day of the 6th Month, and pitching his Camp on the same Ground where *Theodore* pitched

artibus parta jam decora, *Cypro* penitùs subactâ, cumularet; sed nec spe fortassis in totum exciderat *Coridoniorum* ope faciliorem victoriam fore: nec enim ignorabat quibus dissidiis et quàm diversis partium studiis *Cypriæ* copiæ dividebantur. Cum victore igitur exercitu *Paphum* aggreditur, tentandis affectibus potiùs quàm urbis tum potiundæ spe; arduum namque illud opus, et fortasse etiam insuperabile judicabat. *Cyprii* enim Ductores, qui jam haud temnendum militum numerum contraxerant, exhaustis, quà jacet *Amathusia*, pabulationibus, sub adventum *Ororis* cum universo exercitu in oppidum se recepëre, ubi validissimis peditum in præsidio dispositis, reliquos ad custodienda vada, quibus *Lycus* amnis permeabilis est, dispertiti sunt: equites trans fluvium ad *Paphium* latus castrametari jubentur, eâ propinquitate, ut commeatus, quorum ingens tum etiam copia, indiès in stativa exportare possent. *Orori* mens erat omnia *Paphi* ædificia solo æquare, muros diruere, atque ipsam suis ruderibus urbem sepelire: ad hæc suâ viciniâ animos *Coridoniis* addere volebat, et excitare ad moliendum aliquid tentandumque, quo contumacibus *Cypriis* amplectendæ pacis necessitas injiceretur.

85. Sub quintum ac vicessimum sexti mensis diem *Cilicum* exercitus in *Paphiensium* conspectum se dedit, et castrametatus est eodem in loco, in quo

his Camp the Yeare before, he placed his Rams and other battering Engins, which furiously played, Night and Day, without Intermission, reduceing that famous City almost to Ashes, without any other memorable Action; untill, in the Night between the 15th and 16th Day of the 7th Month, he made a Bridge of Boats over the *Lycus*, which being furnished by Break of Day, he then passed over with a considerable Body of Horse and Foot, on *Paphia* Side the River, without any Opposition; which soe alarmed *Scilla* (who commanded the Cavalrie at that Time) that he imediately (without staying for Orders) retired to a Mountain a good Distance from *Paphos*, and marched with such Precipitation and Disorder, that if 100 of the Enemye's Horse had charged him in the Reare, they would, in all Likelihood, defeat his whole Party, tho' he had neer uppon 4000 Men at Arms and light Horse; for the Man (if he was faithfull) wanted either Courage or Conduct, and the Party were altogether discouraged to be under his Command. But, *Ororis* did not advance far, and, shewing himself onely on that Side the Bridge, he returned back the same Day into his Camp; and yet

September, O. S., 1691. Shannon. Connaught. Sheldon. Limerick. De Ginkell.

superiore anno *Theodorus* tetenderat. Tum *Ororis* admotis arietibus balistisque atque aliis expugnandarum urbium machinamentis, quæ ingeniosa in sui perniciem mortalium industria aut invenerat olim, aut novissimè excogitaverat, *Paphum* celebre illud et tot vetustatis monumentis illustre emporium in cineres pænè redegit, nullâ aliâ memorabili re perfectâ, ad eam usque noctem, quæ quintum decimum ac sextum decimum septimi mensis diem intercesserat, cum imposito navibus ponte *Lycum* junxit, quo absoluto, sub ortum solis cum haud spernenda equitum peditumque manu nullo reluctante in adversam ripam trajecit. Hoc tam insperato successu *Scilla*, qui tunc equitatui præerat, adeò exterritus est, ut statim atque injussu montes, qui *Papho* longè assurgebant, effuso cursu peteret, tantâque festinatione ac tumultu incederet, ut si ab exiguo tantùm hostium numero in extremum trepidantium agmen impetus fieret, quanquàm quatuor propemodùm equitum ac levis armaturæ millia secum traheret, totam illam manum proculdubiò funderent fugarentque: certè (si abfuit perfidia) timiditatis et imperitiæ maculam effugere non potuit, nec post hæc militi sub ejus auspiciis aut animus supererat aut fiducia. *Ororis* eo die non multùm processit, et, ostensis solùm in alia ripa copiis, in

Sheldon. Shannon. Galway. Sligo. Limerick. Sheldon. Englishman. Rome. Ireland. Tirconnell. James II. James II. Sarsfield. Sheldon. Tirconnell. Connaught. Will. III. Limerick. Sarsfield.

Scilla never rested till he came, about Midnight, 15 Miles from the *Lycus*, and encamped in a fallow Field, where there was not a Bitt of Grass to be had, as if he had designed to harass the Horses by Day, and starve them by Night; and it was not doubted, if the City of *Cythera*, and other Townes garison'd by the Enemy, had not layen in his Way, he would never stop till he came to *Cerbia*, which was 100 Miles from *Paphos*. This *Scilla* was a *Cilician* by Birth, of the Worship of *Delphos;* he was brought into *Cyprus* by *Coridon*, in the first Yeare of the Reign of *Amasis*, and by him made a Captain of a Company of Men at Arms. He advanced him afterwards to be his under Tribune, to command his Legion in his own Absence; and by his uncontroulable Power with *Amasis*, he procured for him a Commission to be one of the General Officers, tho' still a Sub-Tribune; and gott his Commission dated before that of *Lysander*, whom he designed to suppress. This *Scilla* was the Man who, by *Coridon's* private Orders, marched the Horse into *Paphia*, when Prince *Theodore* raised his Seidge from *Paphos*, which hindred *Lysander's* Design at that Time to pursue the Enemy.

castra sub vesperam reversus est. *Scilla* nihilominùs haud substitit donec sub mediam noctem ad quintum decimum a *Lyco* milliare pervenit, et castris inter novalia positis, ubi nulla pabuli copia erat, id agere visus est, ut jumenta equosque diurnis itineribus fessos nocturnâ insuper inediâ conficeret: nec dubium erat nisi *Cythæra* ruentem retardasset, aliaque oppida medio illo itinere hostium Præsidiis occupata, tam præcipitem fugam *Cerbiam* usque ad centesimum a *Papho* milliare, continuaturum fuisse. *Scilla* iste natione *Cilix* erat, religione *Delphicus*, sub ipsa *Amasiani* regni initia *Coridonem* in *Cyprum* secutus, ab ipso turmæ equitum præfectus est, et mox suæ eum legionis instituit Legatum cum integra potestate dum ipse abessit. Prætereà juxta immensam illam cum *Amasi* potentiam, licèt *Scilla* tum quòque Legatum ageret, regias in ejus favorem litteras obtinuit, quibus præcipuis Ducum auctoritate adæquabatur, idque effectum est, ut temporis privilegio præstaret *Lysandro*, quem omnibus artibus subvertere decrevit. Hic idem *Scilla* privatis *Coridonis* jussis obtemperans equitatum in *Paphiam* divertit, quâ tempestate superiore anno *Theodorus* Princeps obsidionem *Paphi* solverat, eoque evenit ne *Lysander*, ut decreverat, hostes insequi, et recedentium terga car-

What Project he might now have by such a disorderly Retreat was not known to many, and perhaps he himself could not tell. Before Day he had Orders from *Dusones* and *Terassus* to return to *Paphos*, which he observed, and arrived there in the Afternoon: they were encamped in a strong Ground, where, haveing the City on the right Hand, and strong Pass on the left, and noe Horse could come to attack them any other Way. In this Ground they continued but 3 Daies, when they were fatally commanded to march into the Country for Conveniency of Furrage; whereas they had sufficient Quantity of Oats within *Paphos* to feed all their Horses for two Months to come, and the Enemy could not keep the Field for Half that Time. Before they marched from thence, *Clytus*, who commanded at the Pass, where the Enemy made their Bridge, and passed over the *Lycus*, was examined before a Councill of Warr, where it was proved that the Officers who went the Round that Night gave him Notice at severall Times that the Enemy were working on the Bridge; but he alwaies told them there was noe such Thing; soe that the light Horse who were posted

D'Usson. Chev. de Tessé. Limerick.

Limerick.

Brigadier Robert Clifford. Shannon.

pere posset. Quo verò seu terrore, seu fato, seu consilio denique indecorâ jam fugâ se abripuerit, nec multis notum, nec ipse forsàn interrogatus facilè expedire possit. Antequam illuxisset, mandatum a *Dusone* et *Terasso* accepit, ut *Paphum* extemplo regredereter: dicto obediens fuit, eoque aliquot post meridiem horis perventum est: loco satis munito castrametantur: dexterum latus urbs tegebat, ad lævum difficilis et angusta ducebat via, nec alius equitatui ad invadendas stationes aditus: vix eò loci consederant, cum nescio quo infortunio jubentur ulteriora petere, ut liberiùs pabulandi copia esset: cum interim tantùm intra urbem avenæ superesset, ut equis in alterum bimestre alendis abundè sufficeret, nec hostis dimidiam illius temporis partem sub pellibus durare potuisset. Nondum inde profecti erant, cum *Clytus*, qui ad vadum illud præsidium agentibus præerat, quod ponte continuaverat hostis, quoque *Lycum* transmiserat, ad militare tribunal sistitur, et quæstione habitâ patuit vigilum Præfectos sæpe illum monuisse, hostem ad ripam operibus instare, et id subindè indicantibus reposuisse vana illos adferre, ac proindè importunè seduli esse desisterent. Quo factum est, ut levis armaturæ equites, qui non

near, to sustain the Infantry garding that Pass, had noe Time to bring Home their Horses next Morning, or to save any Part of their Luggage; the Alarm being come soe hott and soe sudden, that it was well they saved themselves, and came off with their Lives. *Clytus* protested himself innocent as to any Treachery, tho' he could not deny but he was guilty of an unpardonable Neglect. This *Clytus* was a *Cyprian* by Birth (his Grandfather being of a noble Family in *Cilicia*, and came into *Cyprus* in Queen *Eleusina's* Daies); he professed the Doctrine of *Delphos;* he was vain and very airy, of shallow Parts, and of noe great Conduct; and tho' it cannot be positively averred he was a Traytor, yet it was not prudent in *Lysander* to intrust him with such a Post, for he knew him to be a Creature of *Coridon's*, to be malcontent, and very unfortunate in all his Undertakeings; and *Lysander* was earnestly desired, in the Morning before that fatall Night, by a Gentleman named *Philotas*, for whose Oppinion he alwaies seemed to have a great Value, either to come in Person from *Paphos*, to command at those Passes, or, if he could not come himself, to send *Dorilas* thither;

Clifford.

Clifford.
Irishman.
England.

Ireland. Q. Elizabeth.
Rome.

Sarsfield.

Tirconnell.

Sarsfield.

Col. C. O'Kelly.

Limerick.

Wauchop.

procul indè tetenderant, ut, ubi res postularet, pediti ripam custodienti præsto essent, nec equos sub proximam auroram e longinquis pascuis abducere, nec impedimenta in tutum recipere possent; tamque confusus erat et improvisus ad arma conclamantium trepidantiumque tumultus, ut vix saluti prospicere, ac vivis evadere liceret. *Clytus* ad hæc proditionis nomen abominatus, inficias non ibat id se negligendo flagitium perpetrasse, quod veniam non mereretur. *Clytus* ille natalibus *Cyprius* erat, avo nobili *Cilice*, qui in *Cyprum*, *Eleusinâ* regnante, advenerat; deditus sacris *Delphicis*, ventosus, et inflatus, modicæ indolis, nec magnæ in bellicis artibus experientiæ: et quanquàm certò affirmare non ausim objectæ illum proditionis reum extitisse, at *Lysandrum* imprudenter fecisse constat, qui tanti momenti locum ejus fidei commiserat; non enim fallebat hominem *Coridoni* in paucis fuisse, sibi infensum, atque infelicibus cœptis cognitum: et *Lysandrum* Amicus, cujus prudentiæ fideique multùm tribuebat, eâ luce quæ infaustam illam noctem præcesserat, impensè oravit, ut vel ipse præsens riparum custodes suâ authoritate firmaret, aut id si nequiret, *Dorilam* eò delegaret; transgressurum aliàs hostem, et oppidum utrim-

otherwise that the Enemy would come over and beseidge the Town on both Sides; but there was some Fatallity in the Matter.

86. On the 20th Day, about Noon, the Horse decamped, and stayed that Day within six Miles of *Paphos ;* next Day they marched 10 Miles further, incamping behind a strong Pass; but, to theire Discouragement, they were still comanded by *Scilla*, of whom they had noe great Hope. *Dusones*, *Terassus*, *Lysander*, and *Dorillas*, all staying in *Paphos*, notwithstanding all the Demonstrations made to *Lysander*, (and by the same Party who advertized him before of the Danger of the Enemye's coming over the River, if not prevented,) that it was now necessary for him or *Terassus* to head the Cavalrie, but it was for that Time left trusting to *Scilla*. *Ororis* understanding that the *Cyprian* Horse removed at such a Distance, passed, the 23rd Day, over the River with the greatest Part of his Cavalrie, and a considerable Body of Foot, by the Conveniency of *Clytus's* Bridge, (for so it was called in the *Cilician* Camp,) and having cutt off the *Cyprian* Out-guards, he encamped Half-way between *Paphos* and the *Cyprian* Horse Camp, whereby he hindred all Communication

Limerick. Sheldon. D'Usson. Chev. de Tessé. Sarsfield. Wauchop. Limerick. Sarsfield. Chev. de Tessé. Sheldon. De Ginkell. Irish. Clifford. English. Irish. Limerick. Irish.

que circumcessurum. Sed nescio quid inevitandæ necessitatis urgebat, impediebatque fatali quodam infortunio consiliorum eventus.

86. Ad vicessimum diem medio jam sole equestre agmen incessit, substititque eá nocte intra sextum ab urbe lapidem : insequenti die ad decem ultra milliaria processum est, ibique stativa habuerunt, ubi ponè castra propugnaculum munitionibus validum et æstuario impositum surgebat. At quod maximè militares animos contuderat, *Scillæ* ductu imperioque regebantur, sub cujus auspiciis nihil melioris aleæ sperandum credebant. *Dusones* verò, *Terassus*, *Lysander*, et *Dorilas Paphi* se tenebant, quamvis *Lysandro* multis argumentis ostendisset ille idem Amicus, qui ante de trajiciendi fluminis periculo monuerat, ni maturè obviam iretur, ipsi jam, aut *Terasso* necessarium esse equitatûs curam suscipere : sed nihil in præsens mutatum, et omnia *Scillæ* arbitrio relicta. Cum *Orori* per Exploratores nuntiatum esset, *Cyprium* equitem tam procùl *Papho* tetendisse, ad tertium ac vicesimum diem cum magnâ equitatûs parte et non temnendâ peditum manu per *Clyti* pontem (ita *Cilices* appellabant) amnem trajecit, et *Cypriis* extra urbem stationibus occidione occisis, medio itinere *Paphum* inter et *Scillæ* castra tetendit, quo facto omnem commeandi

Limerick.

between them and the Towne. On the 24th, the Captains within *Paphos* sent out a Trumpet, desireing a Parly with some of the Generall Officers in the *Cilician* Camp; and after a short Conference between them, a Cessation of Arms was agreed unto by both Partyes, for 3 Daies, [and hostages exchanged]; whereof *Scilla* had Notice given him that very Day, and over Night he received half a Dozen safe Conducts, signed by *Ororis:* they came in Blank to *Scilla*, and he filled them up with the Names of the Deputyes, who, next Morning, went to *Paphos*. The Treaty began on the 26th Day, and continued till the 3rd of the 8th Month, and then it was concluded, to the Satisfaction of some, and to the sensible Affliction of others. But that which raised the Admiration of all People, and begat an Astonishment which seemed universall over all *Cyprus*, was the sudden, unexpected, prodigious Change of *Lysander*, who appeared now the most active of all the Commanders to forward the Treaty, and took most Pains to perswade the Tribunes and Centurions to a Complyance; representing that there was but a small Quantity

English.

Sheldon.

De Ginkell. Sheldon. Limerick. October, O. S., 1691.

Ireland. Sarsfield.

viam castra inter urbemque præcidit. Sub quartum ac vicesimum diem obsessorum Duces Caduceatorem mittunt, qui cum *Cilicum* Primoribus colloquium imploraret, et post breves hinc inde sermonum vices, in triduum inducias, datis utrinque obsidibus, paciscuntur; quod ad *Scillam* eâdem ipsâ die perlatum est; appetente jam nocte licentiam ultrò citròque commeandi ab *Orori* subscriptam, nullis adjectis nominibus, recepit; adjecit ipse, ac deputati proximo die sub ortum solis *Paphum* profecti sunt. Sexto ac vicesimo die de pacis conditionibus agitari cœptum est, tenuitque ea consultatio ad tertium octavi mensis diem. Tum demùm fœdus ictum est, non tam in nonnullorum vota, quàm in aliorum immodicos luctus. Sed in commune ingentem mortalium admirationem excitavit, et per universam pænè *Cyprum* immodico omnes stupore suspendit repentina, inexpectata, ac portento similis *Lysandri* mutatio, qui, modo præ aliis vehementissimè ad arma manu projicienda cohortabatur, nihilque intentatum reliquit, quo eosdem Tribunos Centurionesque, quibus toties ante ad constantiam virtutemque exemplo præivit, in ignominiosas pacis, aut (veriùs ut dicam) durissimas servitutis leges inclinaret; pertimescendam, asserens, brevi annonæ caritatem horjam etiam deficientibus; nec supplementi quidquàm aut auxilii e *Syria* sperandum antequàm proximum

of Provisions left, and noe Expectation of any Supply out of *Syria* till next Spring; that if they rejected the Conditions now offered, they were to hope for none when their Provisions were all spent; and that, therefore, the Necessity to capitulate, at present, was absolute and unavoidable. The Authority of *Lysander*, and the Opinion which all the World conceived of his untainted Loyalty and Zeal for his Country, expressed uppon severall Occasions, made them approve what he expressed or proposed, tho' with a great Deal of Reluctancy, and a Regrett equall thereunto. We may clearly behold, in this Particular, the Inconstancy of all worldly Affaires, the Incertainty of our greatest Hopes, and the Folly of relying too much uppon any humane Support. *Lysander*, in whom the *Cyprish* Nation reposed their greatest Confidence, and who (as they all believed) would be the last Man to hearken to a Treaty, was now the most earnest to press it on; a Mistery which requires some further Time to unriddle. It was moved by *Lysander*, and by the first *Flamin* of *Paphia*, that *Philotas*, who was then in the Horse Camp, and in whom the Nation reposed great Confidence, should be sent for, and advised

France.
Sarsfield.
Sarsfield.
Irish.
Sarsfield.
R.C. Archbishop of Tuam.
Connaught.
C. O'Kelly.

appeteret ver: si oblatas impræsentiarùm conditiones non acceptarent, verendum ne, absumpto quod supererat frumento, pervicaciâ offensus et irritatus hostis in nullas omninò consentiret, nisi quas iratus Victor imponeret. Ac proinde necessitatem fœderum eâ tempestate ineundorum absolutam prorsùs esse, atque ineluctabilem. Movit circumstantes hæc gravis et intenta *Lysandri* oratio, sed multò magis dicentis authoritas, et spectata mille experimentis fides, opinioque quam in unum omnes de eo conceperant, et ardor ille animi, quo in publicum patriæ commodum, quoties sese occasio obtulit, ferebatur; adeò ut iis, quæ ab illo proponebantur, renitentibus licèt animis, nec minori doloris sensu afflictis, acquiescerent. In hoc negotio planè videre est, quàm fluxæ sint et incertæ rerum humanarum vices; quàm in ludibrio spes mortalium et vota consistant; quàmque imprudenter agant, qui in vano instabilique hominum auxilio nimiùm confidunt. *Lysander* quem unum in oculis, in ore *Cyprii* ferebant, in quo universæ nationis reposita omnis fiducia erat, quemque ultimum pacis conditiones ausculturum crediderant, jam ad urgendum alios, præcipitandaque consilia primus erat. Mysterium non nisi prolixioris temporis spatio, et alio forsàn Œdipode solvendum! conditionum capita incautius et

with, about manageing the Treaty; but it was answered by some who had a Mind to conclude it uppon any Terms, if he came, there would be noe Agreement; and for that Reason, he was not called uppon, tho' *Lysander* assured the Cheif *Flamin*, that Nothing would be done, but by the Advice of *Philotas*. The Articles of the Capitulation were not soe warily drawn, but Room was left for captious Exceptions; neither was there any Article made for assureing the true Worship, or secureing the *Flamins;* noe Condition had for Prisoners, or the Orphans of those who were slain in the Service of their Prince, and Defence of their Country. The Officers and Soldiers were at Liberty to joyne with *Theodore*, (where they were fairly promised as good Entertainment as the Rest of his Troups,) or to be transported into *Syria*, where they were sure of a Reception suitable to their Meritt.

Sarsfield. Archbishop. C. O'Kelly.

Bishops.

William III.

France.

87. And now, alas! the saddest Day is come, that ever appeared above the Horizon of *Cyprus*. The Sun was darkened, and covered over with a black Cloud, as if unwilling to behold such a wofull Spectacle: there needed noe Rain to bedew the Earth, for the Tears of the disconsolate *Cyprians* did abundantly moisten their native Soile, to which they were, that Day, to bid the last Farewell. Those who resolved to leave it never

Ireland.

Irish.

incircumspectius, quàm pro rerum momento, perscripta ingeniis malitiosorum exercendis, et præposteræ interpretationi locum dedëre: nec illata ulla in fœderibus mentio, quæ aut ad *Delphicæ* Religionis liberum exercitium, aut sacrorum Flaminum securitatem faceret. In nullo belli sorte captis, in nullo liberis eorum provisum est, qui magnarum prodigi animarum, Regi ac Patriæ pulchram decoramque mortem impenderant. Tam Ducibus quam Militibus arbitrio suo licebat seu sub *Theodoro* mereri, ubi paria cum reliquo exercitu stipendia illis promittebatur, sive in *Syriam* navigare, ubi æqua meritis præmia haud dubiè offerebantur.

87. Jamque (proh dolor!) aderat luctuosissima dies, quæ ferali unquàm funestoque lumine *Cyprum* perstrinxerat. Obscurari sol, cœlumque spicissimo nubium velo obduci visum est, ne tam nefando præsens inficeretur spectaculo: non pluviâ non imbribus terram irrigaturis opus erat; miserorum enim lacrymis *Cypriorum* satis susperque inundebatur natale solum, cujus supremo tunc aspectu, non ampliùs visuri, avidiùs fruebantur: quibus fixum erat

hoped to see it again; and those who made the unfortunate Choise to continue therein, could, at the same Time, have Nothing in Prospect but Contempt and Poverty, Chains and Imprisonment, and, in a Word, all the Miserys that a conquered Nation could rationally expect from the Power and Malice of implacable Enemyes. Here might be seen the aged Father (whom Yeares and Infirmityes rendred unfitt to travail,) giveing the last Embraces to his onely Son, Brothers parting in Tears, and the dearest Comerades forcibly devorced by a cruell Destiny, which they could not avoid. But Nothing was more dismall than the sad Separation of Man and Wife; for tho' the Husbands were assured not only of a Conveniency to transport their Wives and Children, but also of a Maintenance to be established for them in *Syria;* yet when the ablest Men were once gott on Shipboard, the Women and Children were left on the Shore, exposed to Hunger and Cold, without any Manner of Provision, and without any Shelter in that rigourous Season, but France.

exilio Patriam mutare, abituris nulla remeandi in posterum spes relicta: qui deterioribus fatis acti a propriis laribus ac penatibus nusquam avelli, ibique languentes exhalere animas, ubi primùm hauserant spiritum, elegerunt, nihil aliud tunc expectare, aut cogitationibus obversari poterat, quàm inopiam, contumelias, ludibria, catenas, fœdos carceris squallores, et, ut verbo complectar, quidquid ærumnarum a truculentissimorum hostium immanitate atque sævitiâ in evictæ bello gentis pœnas atque supplicia excogitari potest: illic videre erat ætate graves ac senio confectos Parentes, quos annorum paritèr morborumque mala ferendis pelagi erroribus, atque itinerum molestiis impares fecerant, ultimis complexibus Natorum colla implicantes: divisos suspiria inter mutua Fratres: fidissimorum Sodalium crudeli atque inevitabili sortis necessitate coacta divortia; nihil tamen eum mœrorem æquabat, quo Conjux a Consorte inexpletùm lacrymans abstrahebatur. Nam quanquàm repetitis crebrò, et jurejurando obsignatis pollicitationibus Viris spes non ambigua esset facta, non navigia solùm, aliaque avehendis Uxoribus ac Liberis necessaria præstò fore, sed et, cum in *Syriam* appulissent, nihil illis ad usus vitæ defuturum; cum tamen Mariti conscenderant, Mulieres Infantesque in prominentibus littorum stantes relinquebantur, inediæ ac frigoribus expositi, nullo commeatu, nullo tecto, solo cœli convexo in immitem ac rigentem äeris

the Canopie of Heaven; and in such a miserable Condition, that it moved Pitty in some of their Enemyes. The lamentable Cryes of this poor forlorn Troup, (when the Fleet that carryed away their Fathers and Husbands was under Sail and gon out of Sight) would begett Compassion in Wolves and Tygers, and even in Creatures that were insensible. Some of them had the whole Length of *Cyprus* to traverse, before they came to their former Habitations, which were then possessed by the Enemy; they had noe Victualls to eat, or Money to buy it, and their plundered Countrymen (among whom they were to travail, and from whom they might expect some Relief) had not wherewithall to feed themselves.

Ireland.

Europe.

88. This wofull Revolution made all the Nations of *Asia*, who were equally concerned and surprized with Grief and Astonishment, to wonder to behold the most warlick of Nations, (by the Testimony of one of their greatest Adversaryes,) a People, heretofore undaunted in Adversity, soe shamefully to lay down their Arms, and soe freely undergoe that servile Yoke, which, by former Experiments, they found insupportable.

asperitatem prætenso: ac deniqùe tantis obruebantur calamitatibus, ut inter infensissimos etiam hostes misericordiam invenirent. Desertæ hujus turbæ lamenta fletusque, cum classis, in qua Parentes et Mariti vehebantur, jam vela fecisset et prospicientium oculis se subtraxisset, belluarum immanissimas Lupos Tigresque, imò muta elementa et res sensu carentes, quadam commiseratione permulcere posse viderentur. Nonnullis emetienda erat universa, qua patet, *Cyprus*, ut in antiquas sedes postliminiò redirent, quæ tamen ab hostibus tunc tenebantur: nulla ad conficiendum tot dierum iter annona; nihil, ad comparandum victum, pecuniarum supererat: Populares, per quos illis transitus, et a quibus extremæ egestatis solatia sperari poterant, à prædabundo Milite bonis exuti, ne suorum quidèm necessitatibus sublevandos pares erant.

88. Hic infirmitatem meam eo usque fatear oportet, ut stupore pariter luctuque attonitus hæream, cum gentium omnium bellicosissimam (idque inter Adversarios infestissimi cujusdam testimonio) populumque inter adversa semper infractum, ac libertatis olim tenacissimum tam turpitèr et ignominiosè arma abjicere, ac durissimæ servitutis jugum ultrò subire videam,

But that the most zelous *Delphicans* of the Universe should happen to conclude a Peace with the sworn Enemy of the true Worship, without Conditions for their sacred *Flamins*, or obtaining Security for theire free Exercise of the divine Ceremonyes, is a Mistery that surpasses the weak Capacity of Man to comprehend. What the Reasons might be for these prodigious Transactions, and what Performance the conquered *Cyprians* (whether liveing in a voluntary Exile abroad, or in a forced Bondage at home,) have hitherto received, after soe many large Promises of both Sides, must be the Work of an other Time, and likely of an other Pen: the publick Calamity of my Countrymen, unfortunate Countrymen in generall, and the lamentable Condition of some particular Friends, added to the Incommodities of old Age, rendring me unable to pursue that Remnant of a wofull History, that requires Ink mixed with the Writer's Teares; and the Fountain of my weak Eyes hath been drained up already, by the too frequent Remembrance of the Slaughter at *Acra*, and the sad Separation at *Paphos*.

Roman Catholics.
Bishops.
Irish.
Aughrim.
Limerick.

cujusquàm non ferendum esset pondus, sæpè experiendo didicerant. Ad hæc Vindices *Delphicæ* religionis acerrimos cum eorundem Sacrorum iniquissimis hostibus tam præceps et inconsultum fœdus perculsisse, ut nec sanctorum Flaminium ratio haberetur, nec exercendæ religionis libertati provisum esset, altiùs est quàm ut ingenio comprehendi aut judicio discerni possit meo. Ex quibus causarum fontibus hæc tam stupenda rerum series emanaverit, quàmque parùm aut nihil eorum domitis *Cypriis*, seu qui in spontaneo exilio procul, seu qui domi in coacto servitio agunt, post tot ampla promissa aut *Syri* præstiterint, aut *Cilices;* alterius temporis, et fortassè etiam Authoris opus erit: communia enim Popularium meorum mala, cum tristi et calamitoso quorundam amicorum ac familiarium statu, additis senectæ incommodis, impediunt ne tam ingratæ lugubrique ultra insistam narrationi, quæ non nisi temperato lacrymarum rivis atramento pro dignitate delineari posset: nec oculi in tot jam fletus sufficiant, quos tùm accepta ad *Acram* clades, tum æterna ad *Paphum* separatio penitùs exhausëre.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

Note 1.

Macariæ Excidium.

"MACARIA," one of the ancient Greek names of Cyprus, according to Pliny, as μακάριος, the "fortunate," or "blessed," and νῆσος, "island," on account, says Moreri, "of its great fertility." It is not unlikely, that the Irish Colonel may have *peculiarly* selected the name so derived, as characteristic, in more senses than one, of his "native island;" or, with reference both to the circumstance of its fertility, and to the fact of its having been called "holy," not only in Christian, but in Heathen times.

This appears by the information, which Avienus tells us he extracted from the Punic account, preserved until his time, of the north-western voyage of the Carthaginian navigator, Himilco, supposed by Heeren to have occurred, most probably, about the middle of the *fifth* century before Christ; but considered to have happened, at all events, before the age of Alexander the Great, or not later than the *fourth*. Having noticed, from this Carthaginian source, the natives of the "Insulæ Œstrymnides," or "Scilly Islands," as a race who did not carry on traffic in the usual large vessels formed of pine, &c.,—

> ——————— "Sed rei ad miraculum,
> Navigia junctis semper aptant pellibus,
> Corioque vastum sæpe percurrunt salum,"—

Avienus thus proceeds:

> "Ast hinc duobus in *Sacram* (sic *insulam*
> Dixere prisci) solibus cursus rati est.
> Hæc inter undas multam *cespitem* jacet,
> Eamque late gens *Hibernorum* colit.
> Propinqua rursus insula *Albionum* patet."

Mr. Moore observes:—"In this short but circumstantial sketch, the features of Ireland are brought into view, far more prominently than those of Britain. After a description of the hide-

hide-covered boats, or *currachs*, in which the inhabitants of those islands," the Œstrymnides, "navigated their seas, the populousness of the isle of the Hiberni, and the turfy nature of its soil, are commemorated. But the remarkable fact contained in this record—itself of such antiquity—is, that Ireland was then, and had been, from ancient times, designated 'The *Sacred* Island,' "—which, he elsewhere adds, "was a sort of type of her social position many centuries after, when again she shone forth as the *Holy* Island of the West"[a]. See Note 58.

Note 2, Page 4.

The family of Colonel Charles O'Kelly, &c.

The branch of the O'Kellys, or that of Screen, from which the Author was descended, had, from the reign of Philip and Mary, been on good terms, or officially connected with, every English administration in Ireland, except that of the usurper, Oliver Cromwell. The Author's connexion by blood with the race of the English settlers in Ireland was through his mother, Isma, daughter of Sir William Hill, of Ballybeg, in the County of Carlow.

Besides Colonel Charles O'Kelly, Author of *Macariæ Excidium*, Member in the Irish Parliament of 1689, for the County of Roscommon, and Colonel of a Regiment of Infantry, and his brother John, of Clonlyon, Sheriff, in 1686, for the County of Roscommon, Member, in the Parliament last mentioned, for the Borough of Roscommon, and Lieutenant Colonel and Captain of a company in his brother Charles's regiment,—there were several *other* O'Kellys, Kellys, or Kelleys, in the service of King James II., during the War of the Revolution in Ireland.

Amongst the Infantry of the Irish army, Edmund Kelly was Lieutenant to Captain Sir Anthony Mullady's company in "The Royal Regiment," or "The King's Foot Guards," under Colonel William Dorrington. Teige O'Kelly was Lieutenant, and Bryan Kelly was Ensign to Captain Charles Daly's (or O'Daly's) company; William Kelly was Ensign to Captain John Bourke's company; and another William Kelly was Ensign to Captain Edmond Bourke's company, in the Regiment of Richard de Burgh, or Bourke, Earl of Clanrickarde. William Kelly was Lieutenant to Captain Edmond Lally's company, in the Regiment of Ulick de Burgh, or Bourke, Lord Galway. Richard Kelly was Captain in the Regiment of Christopher Fleming, Lord Slane. Maurice Kelly was Lieutenant to Captain James Eustace's company, in the Regiment of Sir Maurice Eustace of Castlemartin. Hugh Kelly was Ensign to Captain Mathew Lynch's company, in the Regiment of John de Burgh, or Bourke, Lord Bophin, or Boffin. Daniel Kelley and John Kelley were Captains, and another Daniel Kelly Lieutenant,

[a] Pliny, Historia Naturalis, lib. v. cap. 35. vol. ii. pp. 1018, 1019: Valpy, London, 1826.—Moreri, Grand Dictionnaire Historique, &c., tome v. p. 4: Paris, 1725.—Avienus, Descriptio Orbis Terræ, et Ora Maritima, pp. 140-141, 150, &c.: Argentorati, ex Typographiâ Societatis Bipontinæ, 1809.—Heeren, Historical Researches into the Politics, Intercourse, and Trade of the Carthaginians, Ethiopians, and Egyptians, vol. i. pp. 92, 99-101, 169-172, 502-506, 520-522: Oxford, 1832.—Moore, History of Ireland, vol. i. pp. 7-9, 52: London, 1838.)

Lieutenant, in the Regiment of Colonel Oliver O'Gara. George Kelley was Ensign to Captain Robert Bellew's company, in the Regiment of Sir Michael Creagh, knight, Lord Mayor of and Member for Dublin. Hugh Kelly was Ensign to the Colonel's company, and Bryan Kelley Ensign to Captain Thomas Dowling's company, in the Regiment of Colonel Hewar Oxburgh. Denis Kelly was Captain in the Regiment of Colonel James Purcell.

Amongst the Horse of the Irish army, Denis O'Kelly, or Kelly, the son and heir of Colonel Charles, the Author, &c., was Captain of a troop, and had a horse shot under him at the battle of Aughrim, in the Regiment of Peirs, or Pierce Butler, Lord Galmoy; and John Kelly was Quarter-Master to his Lordship's own troop in the same regiment. Bryan Kelly was Lieutenant to Captain John Connor's troop in the Regiment of Colonel Henry Luttrell.

Amongst the Dragoons of the Irish army, Thomas Kelly was, in the Regiment of Lord Dongan, Dungan, or the Earl of Limerick, a Cornet to his Lordship's own troop. Constant Kelly was Quarter-Master to Captain William Buttler's troop in the Regiment of Sir Neal O'Neill.

In the list of the Irish General and Field Officers made prisoners at the battle of Aughrim, there is a *Major* Kelly mentioned; and different officers of this old name are likewise spoken of, on several occasions, during the War of the Revolution in Ireland, though without the regiments to which they belonged being particularized[b].

Note 3, Page 4.

Colonel O'Kelly's intention of writing a "more copious work" on the War of the Revolution in Ireland. Contemporary Jacobite materials for such a work.

Though we have reason to be grateful to the Colonel for the account he *has* left us of the three years' eventful contest in Ireland, it is much to be regretted, that some Irish Jacobite duly

[b] O'Donovan's Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many, commonly called O'Kelly's Country, &c., pp. 114–116: Dublin, 1843.—List of the Officers in King James the Second's Irish Army, under the heads of the several Regiments, as given in manuscript book, marked C. F. T. I. No. 14: Trinity College Library, Dublin.—Archdall's Lodge's Peerage of Ireland, vol. i. pp. 138–140, and vol. iv. pp. 48–49: Dublin, 1789.—Harris's Life of King William III., p. 316, and appendix, No. XXXI. pp. xxxii.-iii., No. XXXII. pp. xxxiii.-iv., and No. LIV. p. lxx.: Dublin, 1749.—Abbé Mac Geoghegan's Histoire de l'Irlande, tome ii. p. lxxiii., and tome iii. p. 751: Paris, 1762, and Amsterdam, 1763.—The Journal of the Proceedings of the Parliament in Ireland, with the Establishment of their Forces there (Licensed July 6, 1689), pp. 12, 16, 17: London, Printed for Robert Clavell, at the Peacock, in St. Paul's Church-Yard, MDCXXXIX.—Whitelaw's and Walsh's History of Dublin, vol. ii. appendix, No. IX. p. lxvi.: London, 1818.—The History of Parsonstown in the King's County, from the Earliest Period to the year 1798, &c., p. 119: Dublin, 1826.—The Case of Thomas, Earl of Limerick, commonly called Colonel Thomas Dongan, in a folio volume, marked on back, "Scotland & Ireland, vol. xvii. 1–74:" British Museum Library.—Rev. George Story's Continuation of the Impartial History of the Wars of Ireland, &c., p. 137: London, 1693.—Rev. John Mackenzie's Narrative of the Siege of London-Derry, &c., pp. 34, 36, 63: London, 1690, &c.

duly qualified has not bequeathed us a "more copious work," like that alluded to. The present work is chiefly valuable for the light it throws on the internal politics of the Irish Jacobites; and, more particularly, for the clear view it presents of the feelings of the old Irish, or great mass of the people of Ireland, respecting the transactions of those times,—feelings nowhere else so well described. But it is to be lamented, that the Colonel should, though a soldier, have written so much more on the mere politics, than on the military occurrences of the three campaigns, during which he adhered to King James's cause in Ireland[c]. A "more copious work," as regards the details of military events on the Irish or Jacobite side, *must* have appeared the more necessary, from the very erroneous, or one-sided idea, which the Colonel could not but have perceived, that the world would be led to form of the conduct of the King's adherents in that war, unless their actions should be made known at length, through *some* other medium, than the publications of their opponents[d]. And the defect of the Colonel's present work, as *not* affording such a relation, must have been the more obvious, since, in his time, in addition to the knowledge which he himself, as well as so many others of his countrymen, possessed, respecting the military occurrences of the three campaigns, there were in existence several accounts in detail of those occurrences, printed and issued during the war, by King James and his government in Ireland. From such of those Jacobite accounts as have come down to us, we *see* how very few have been the details, regarding those occurrences, transmitted in the Colonel's present work, compared with the particulars which he *might* have given.

In the first place, amongst those Jacobite military documents, there was a newspaper published in the Irish metropolis, under the appellation of *The Dublin Gazette*, as we find from the following sentence in some intelligence of the day, printed in London, about the month of April, 1689, upon a broad-sheet, and purporting to be the contents of a letter from a correspondent in Dublin. "There is," says the Williamite writer, in this broad-sheet, "no publick

[c] Mr. Hardiman has cited a similar remark, as to the injurious effects of mere *politics* on the transmission of *facts*, from Bishop Fleetwood, in connexion with the subject of his useful work, the *Chronicon Preciosum*. Having noted that, for forty years before the close of the fifteenth century, he was unable to collect the prices of commodities in England from any of her writers in those days, and also observed, that the same remark was applicable to forty years more, the learned prelate adds, in reference to those writers: "Our chroniclers wanted the care and observation of their predecessors; and, setting up for politicians, quite neglected (as *they* thought them) *lesser* matters."—(Hardiman's Statute of Kilkenny, pp. 20-21.)

[d] During the preceding war in Ireland, or that against the Parliamentarians, a letter is given by Rushworth, as directed by Bonaventure O'Conney, from St. Isodore's College, at Rome, to Sir Phelim O'Neill, in which the utility of regular, written accounts, on the side of the Irish (as well as their enemies) is thus advocated: "I would advise every chief officer among you to have a secretary along with him, to write a diurnal of your passages, and the overthrows your enemies receive, which will redound much to your glory." There *is* such a "diurnal," or journal, of *that* period, *yet* extant; but, for the War of the Revolution, we have *no* production at all to compete, in point of detail, on the Jacobite side, with Story's work on the Williamite side.—(Moore's History of Ireland, vol. iv. p. 255. Personal information.)

publick News-Letter, nor *Gazette*, suffered to be in any coffee-house, only the *Dublin Gazette*, which is *a legend of their own composition.*" A remark, however, that would equally apply to the *London Gazette*, which was just as much "*a legend of their own composition*" in London; since, in those days, neither it, nor any other sheet of news, was allowed to be published, without being previously "licensed according to order![e]" From this *Dublin Gazette* of James, compared with the *London Gazette* of William, very good means could have been obtained for narrating in detail the events of the Irish war; though, so far as the existence, at present, of any file, or even single copy, of that *Dublin Gazette* (for which the writer of this note has searched in vain), such means, unfortunately, no longer exist. King James's administration also issued printed sheets of military news in Dublin, for the information of his Irish subjects; some of which sheets seem to have been sent to Scotland, for the encouragement of his supporters, the Highlanders, there; as would appear from the printed sheet, on the latter portion of the campaign of 1689 against Marshal Schonberg, mentioned by Macpherson, in his

[e] "Till the Revolution," says Hume, "the liberty of the press was very imperfectly enjoyed in England, and during a very short period. The Star Chamber, while that Court subsisted, put effectual restraints upon printing. On the suppression of that tribunal in 1641, the Long Parliament, after the rupture with the King, assumed the same power, with regard to the licensing of books; and this authority was continued, during all the period of the Republic and Protectorship. Two years after the Restoration, an Act was passed, reviving the *republican* ordinances. This Act expired in 1679; but was revived in the first of King James. *The liberty of the press did not even commence with the Revolution. It was not till* 1694 *that the restraints were taken off*, to the great displeasure of the King (William III.) and his ministers, who, seeing nowhere, in any government, during present or past ages, any example of such unlimited freedom, doubted much of its salutary effects, and probably thought, that no books would ever so much improve the general understanding of men, as to render it safe to intrust them with an indulgence so easily abused." Thus, in the Introduction of his Answer to the Williamite Doctor King's "State of the Protestants in Ireland, under the late King James's Government," the Protestant Jacobite, Doctor Charles Leslie, complains, in 1692, of the difficulties opposed, by the fear of detection, to the getting of his publication through the press. "That this Answer," observes the Jacobite Doctor, "has not before this time appeared in print, has been occasioned by the severe watch that is kept over all the presses, which has made many interruptions and long delays; considering which, it is more to be wonder'd at that it has now got through the briars, than that it has stuck so long. This," he adds, "must excuse a difference you will find in the paper in some sheets, and other eye-sores of the impression, being done at different times and places." Hence, on the title-page of this work of the Jacobite Doctor, we find no author's, printer's, or publisher's name, only "London, printed in the year 1692." A number also of the broad-sheets of news from Ireland, during the War of the Revolution, under the "licensing" system, to which the English press was still legally subjected, may be seen in the very curious and valuable collection, entitled "Thorpe's Pamphlets," belonging to the Library of the Royal Dublin Society. These circumstances, regarding the general condition of the press in England, have been the more particularly noted, as, without bearing them in mind, an undue value may be attached to much contained in the publications of those times. The interference, too, with private correspondence, by both the Jacobite and Williamite governments, will be shown further on.—(Hume's History of England, vol. x. chap. lxxi. pp. 213-214: London, 1828. Leslie's Answer to King, &c.)

his State Papers, and designated, " A Journal of the most remarkable Occurrences that happened between His Majesty's Army and the Forces under the Command of Mareschal de Schomberg, in Ireland, from the 12th of August to the 23rd of October, 1689. Faithfully collected by James Nihell, Esq., Under Secretary to the Right Honourable the Earl of Melfort, His Majesty's prime Secretary of State." James likewise issued at least one pamphlet upon the war in Ireland. Of this exceedingly rare production, the writer of these lines was so fortunate as to meet with a copy, and to be allowed to transcribe it. It is entitled, " A Relation of what most remarkably happened during the last Campaign in Ireland, betwixt His Majesty's Army Royal, and the Forces of the Prince of Orange, sent to joyn the Rebels under the Count de Schomberg. Published by Authority. Dublin: printed by Alderman James Malone, Bookseller in Skinner Row, 1689." There were also remaining in Ireland, even so late as the period of those sectarian disturbances in Ulster, about two years previous to the insurrection of 1798, still more rare and valuable, or unpublished, documents for a History of the War of the Revolution.

The most important, as it would appear, of those collections, was in the possession of the Rev. James Coigly, of the County Armagh, executed in the year last mentioned, for high treason, at Maidstone, in Kent. In the sketch of his life by himself, dated " Maidstone Goal, 30th April, 1798," the reverend gentleman, who, from what he states, may have obtained the papers alluded to through some of his ancestors connected with the cause of King James II. in Ireland, in describing the wrecking and plunder of his father's house, by a " mob calling themselves Orangemen," writes thus: " With more than Gothic rage, they totally destroyed a choice collection of books, my property, in the Irish, English, French, Italian, Latin, and Greek languages; together with materials to compose a History of the last War in Ireland, being papers never published, and in the hand-writing of the late King James; Tyrconnell, then Lord Lieutenant; Sir Richard Nagle; Sir Maurice Eustace; Pierce Butler, Viscount Galmoy; Richard Butler, Baron Dunboyne; Patrick Sarsfield, created Earl of Lucan; Brown, created Viscount Kenmare; Sir William Mowat, who carried on the Scottish correspondence; Sir Neil O'Neil; Arthur Magenis, Viscount Iveagh; Lord Abercorn; Earl of West Meath; Lord Louth; Lord Enniskillen; Lord Clanricard; Sir Daniel O'Neil; Sir Brien O'Neil; Brigadier-General Gordon O'Neil; Lord Athenry; Lord Bellew; Lord Slane; O'Donnell; Sir Anthony O'Dogherty; Sir Cahir O'Dogherty; Colonel John O'Cahane; Colonels Brien and Hugh Mac Mahon; Colonels Edmund, Daniel, and Owen O'Reilly; Sir John Fitzgerald, Knight of Glin; Brigadier-General Mac Gillcuddy; Earl of Clancartie; Charles Mac Cartiemore; Colonels John and Dominick Browne; Colonel Walter O'Kavanagh; and many others." So much for the destruction of such a valuable mass of Jacobite materials for compiling a detailed narrative of the War of the Revolution in Ireland; and there were others existing here in Colonel O'Kelly's time, that might be mentioned, if necessary. But it will suffice to have specified the foregoing documents[f].

NOTE 4,

[f] An Account of the Present Miserable State of Affairs in Ireland. Licensed, According to Order, 1689: London, Printed by T. Wilkins, 1689.—Macpherson's Original Papers, vol. i. pp. 221–226;

NOTE 4, Page 5.

Education of Colonel O'Kelly, in the Spanish Netherlands, or Belgium; in ancient times, so much indebted, for its conversion from Heathenism, to missionaries from Ireland, &c.

Doctor de Burgo, in his *Hibernia Dominicana,* cites a recommendatory letter, dated November 8th, 1626, from the University of Louvain to some Irish ecclesiastics of the Dominican order, and gives, in a note to a portion of that letter, some extracts from Belgian writers, by which it appears that the Belgian clergy considered themselves bound to afford every opportunity for instruction in religion and learning to exiled students from Ireland, as a repayment for the debt due in ancient times to the Irish nation, for having converted the Belgians from Paganism to Christianity. The portion of the letter, above referred to, affirms it to have been given "libentius, ut sic etiam videamur vices aliquas rependere nationi Hibernicæ à qua olim Belgium nostrum primos precones S. Evangelij ac Fidei Catholicæ accepit." To which passage, the Doctor's note is as follows: "Huc faciunt quæ habent egregius hujusce ævi scriptor, à me sæpe laudatus *P. Bernardus de Jonghe,* Belga, in *Belgio Dominicano,* pag. 417. Hibernia . . . . *Sanctorum Insula* olim dicta, multos viros apostolicos protulit, ex quorum numero plurimi Belgarum ad Christum conversioni strenue insudarunt, et nonnulli martyrium subierunt. Horum nomina recenset Nicolaus Vernulæus in libello suo de 'Propagatione Fidei Catholicæ in Belgio per Sanctos ex Hibernia Viros,' ubi folio 3 sic habet: 'Hos adhuc Martyres suos Belgium colit, templis, et aris honorat, Patronos agnoscit. Atque idcircò gentem Hibernorum cum apud nos, tum alibi, hoc tempore exulem, complecti omni benevolentiâ juvareque par est. Nimirùm, ne illa apud nos inopiam patiatur, quos opibus cælestibus dotavit. Nam, si cælo nasci amplius est, quam in communem hanc lucem prodire, plus illis debemus, per quos salutis æternæ viam accepimus, quam ijs à quibus ut tantùm viveremus, habemus."—"Porrò," observes de Burgo, "Sanctos illos indigitat in limine prælibati sui operis *Lovanij,* 1639, typis vulgati idem *Nicolaus Vernulæus* in hunc modum alphabeticum.

Sancti ex Hibernia Viri, qui Fidem Christianam in Belgio propagarunt.

S. Abel.
S. Acca.
S. Adalgisus.
S. Adalbertus.
S. Bertuinus.
S. Colambanus.
S. Eloquius.
S. Guathagonus.
S. Himelinus.
S. Ieron.
S. Kilianus.
S. Livinus.
S. Luglius.
S. Luglianus.
S. Ecco.

London, 1775.—Official Pamphlet of King James, printed by Alderman Malone, in 1689, as above cited.—The Life of the Rev. James Coigly, an Address to the People of Ireland, as written by himself, during his Confinement in Maidstone Gaol, pp. 7, 8, 9, 14, 15, 16, 17: London, 1798.

S. Ecco.
S. Fredegandus.
S. Foillanus.
S. Fursæus.
S. Forannuanus.
S. Gerebernus.
S. Rumoldus.
S. Swithertus.
S. Wendelinus.
S. Wiro.
S. Willobrordus.
S. Warenfridus.
S. Wigbertus.
S. Willeicus.
S. Ultanus.
S. Vulganius.
S. Vuasnulphus.
S. Vincentius.
S. Marcellinus.
S. Mombolus.
S. Mono.
S. Obodinus.
S. Othgerus.
S. Plecbelmus.

Ejus Filij.

Landricus.
Deutelmus.

Sanctæ ex Hiberniæ Faminæ.

S. Dympna.
S. Oda.
S. Cunera.

His adjectæ.

S. Waldetrudis.
S. Aldetrudis.
S. Adelberta.

"Demum in *Conclusione Operis*, pag. 89, laudatus scriptor," continues the Doctor, "subjungit longiuscula quidem verba, pulchriora tamen quàm ut non excribantur: 'Quod mihi (inquit) propositum erat, nisi fallor, hactenus sum executus. Id fuit ut agnoscant Belgæ nostri Hibernorum in se merita, quorum opera aut religionem acceperunt, aut quasdam adhuc remanentes ex antiquâ superstitione tenebras depulerunt, aut in fide accepta confirmati sunt. Viros produxi, et Divos non eorum vitas, nisi fortè summatim. Neque enim propositum nobis hoc fuit. Plures scio ab illa Sanctorum Insula prodijsse, sed benè mereri de orbe toto, non de Belgio tantùm voluerunt. Alibi proindè etiam religionis Christianæ legem promulgarunt. Loquentur eorum merita nationes aliæ, nec obliterari temporum oblivione permitterent, quos ipsæ solent salutis suæ celebrare patres, vitæ patronos. Fateri autem cogor, et impellit me veritas, gentem nullam aliam tantoporè in aliorum salutem incubuisse. Utinam (et hoc votum supremum sit) cùm alij omnes, tùm nos Belgæ, tantum acceptæ religionis beneficium agnoscamus. Sub jugo hæreticæ tyrannidis ingemiscit hodiè gens Hibernica, et tamen constantissimis animis religionem retinet; nec ulla vis extorquet. Nec frangitur egestate, nec morte exhauritur, fortior ipsa tyrannide. Immò quod olim fecit in alienas nationes diffundit, ut aliis prosit, in patria inter tot pericula subsistit, ut sibi non desit. Illucesset aliquando dubio procul illa dies quo in Christianæ religionis libertatem, Deo propitio, tot Divorum suorum meritis asseretur, sed juvemus intereà qui obligati sumus, manum porrigamus, qui beneficium accepimus. Id voveo, voveant omnes, faveant, quos scripsi Dei."

Respecting the Irish College of St. Omers, in the Netherlands, at which Colonel O'Kelly received his education, Harris, in his account of such Irish establishments, only gives us the following

following short notice: "At St. Omers, in Flanders, as I am informed, was heretofore a seminary for secular Irish priests; but at present,"—that is, about the middle of the last century, his book being printed in 1762,—"there is no such thing. I am," he adds, "a stranger how it came to have an end."

Of the Irish College at Antwerp,—the mention of which is connected with the present work through the name of O'Reilly, one of whom was President there, and another, the Rev. John O'Reilly, the translator of Colonel O'Kelly's work into Latin,—Harris says the institution, like the other Irish Colleges in Flanders, was subject to the College of Douay, founded, in 1596, by the Rev. Christopher Cusack, who, by the expenditure of his own patrimony, and the pecuniary assistance of his friends, was enabled to form this, as well as other educational establishments, for his countrymen, in Belgium. The Rev. Mr. Roche, President of the College of Douay, and subsequently Roman Catholic Bishop of Ross in Ireland, at what year is not exactly stated, but apparently not long after the foundation of Douay College, and certainly previous to the year 1629, through the exertions of himself and his friends, first formed an establishment for Irish priests at Antwerp, where they were supported "partly by the alms given at masses, and partly by the benevolence of the people." "But," adds Harris, "the College of Antwerp, dedicated to St. Patrick, for Irish secular priests, may justly be said to owe its foundation to Mr. Laurence Sedgrave, a priest, probably of the diocese of Meath, who, in 1629, bought the house and garden for 13,320 florens, and erected it into a national Irish College, by the consent of the then Bishop of Antwerp, for twelve or sixteen priests, and he was the first President of it himself." Having stated that, in the reception of students at this College, there was observed "an equality of Provinces," or, in other words, that a similar number of students were admissible from Leinster, Ulster, Connaught, and Munster, Harris refers, for further information on this College, to a work denominated "Principium, Progressus, ac Præsens Status Collegii Pastoralis Hibernorum, Antwerpiæ," published in 1680[g].

Note 5, Page 5.

Colonel O'Kelly's Preceptor in Rhetoric.

From the eminence, in *his* day, of the previously-mentioned Nicolaus Vernulæus, as a professor and writer in Belgium; his friendliness to the Irish; the period during which he appears, by the dates of his works, to have flourished, or that of Colonel O'Kelly's youth; and the little difference between the unknown "Verulenus" of the text, and the known or real appellation of "Vernulæus;" the former seems to have been intended only as a slight disguise of the actual name of the Colonel's eloquent preceptor. At all events, the writer of this note has searched in vain for the name or works of *any* professor, either in Belgium or elsewhere, called "Verulenus." Of "Vernulæus," O'Flaherty, the learned author of Ogygia, speaks

[g] De Burgo, Hibernia Dominicana, pp. 432, 433.—Harris's Ware, vol. ii. pp. 252, 253, 254.

speaks thus: "Clarissimus Vernulæus Catholicæ ac Cæsareæ Majestatis Historiographus in suo Opusculo de Propagatione Fidei per Hibernos, in Belgio, cap. 12. *Hibernia nec Francorum, nec ullum externum Imperium unquam est passa.*" The following are the titles of Vernulæus's works, in Trinity College Library, Dublin:—I. "Nicolai Vernvlæi Institvtionvm Politicarvm Libri iv. Qui omnia Ciuilis Doctrinæ Elementa continent. Lovanii, Typis Philippi Dormalij, Typog. Iur. 1623. Cum Priuilegio." II. "Nicolai Vernvlæi Historiographii Regij et Publici Eloquentiæ Professoris Orationvm Sacrarvm Volvmen. In Festa Deiparæ Virginis et aliquorum Diuorum. Lovanii, Typis Philippi Dormalii, Anno CIↃ.IↃC.XXX." III. "Nicolai Vernvlæi Institutionvm Politicarvm Libri iv. Qui omnia Ciuilis Doctrinæ Elementa continent. Tertia editio correctior. Lovanii, Typis Francisci Simonis, 1635. Cum Priuilegio." IV. "Nicolai Vernvlæi Apologia pro Avgvstissima, Serenissima, et Potentissima Gente Austriaca, In qua illius Magnitudo, Imperium, Virtus. aduersus eius hoc Tempore Æmulos asseritur. Lovanii, Apud Franciscvm Simonis et Iacobvm Zegers. Anno 1635." V. "Nicolai Vernvlæi de Propagatione Fidei Christianæ in Belgio Per Sanctos ex Hibernia Viros Liber. Lovanii, Apud Iacobvm Zegers. Cum Priuilegio. Anno CIↃ.IↃC.XXXIX"[h].

Note 6, Page 6.

Misconduct amongst James II.'s Nobles and Generals in Ireland.

In noticing the various difficulties under which the King laboured previous to the battle of the Boyne, more especially when so very inadequately aided by the French Minister, Louvois, the royal memoirs thus refer to the misconduct in question: "Besides all these contradictions his Majesty had an other to struggle with, which was discord and disunion amongst his own people, which are never failing concommitants of difficult and dangerous conjunctures. . . . . But the King was forced to work with such tools as he had, or such as were put into his hands by others, which requir'd as much dexterity to hinder their hurting one an other, and by consequence himself, as to draw any use from such ill suted and jarring instruments[i]."

Note 7, Page 6.

The War of the Revolution, asserted to have been principally regarded as a religious contest, by the Irish Jacobites.

The anxiety of the Irish, during the Jacobite and Williamite war, for the safety of their religion above all other things, as well as the great influence of the Irish Roman Catholic clergy, to which that anxiety was so mainly attributable, are particularly alluded to in the manuscript

[h] Account of Colonel O'Kelly previously cited from Dermod O'Conor's Translation of Keating's History of Ireland.—O'Flaherty's Ogygia, pars i. p. 39.

[i] Memoirs of King James II. vol. i. pp. 387, 388, 389: London, 1816.

script correspondence of Lord Thomas Coningesby and Sir Charles Porter, William III.'s Lords Justices for Ireland, as matters, on account of which, it was most necessary to satisfy the Irish, in the conditions of the Proclamation, directed by William to be issued, for the purpose of terminating the Irish war. The manuscript letter of those Lords Justices, in the State Paper Office, London, dated Dublin, May 29, 1691, and in the handwriting of Lord Coningesby, after showing the necessity there was for the very favourable tenor of "the inclosed Proclamation," with respect to the Irish ("His Majesty having, ye last post, by letter from Lord Portland, sent orders to ye Generall[j], upon any terms to bring ye Irish to a submission"), argues, that the conditions in question, however they might be objected to as "very large," ought not to be made less so; because, adds the document, "sinse they (the Irish) are a people naturally jealous of ye English, if there be any roome left for suspitions, it will be by ye clergy, whoe are likewise avers to all manner of treaty, and who have in this kingdome a greater influence over the people, than any where els in ye world." In the manuscript letter of the same Lords Justices to Lieutenant-General Ginkell, from Dublin Castle, July 13, 1691, in the handwriting of Secretary John Davis, and amongst the MSS. of Trinity College, Dublin, it is again stated by those Lords Justices, that they availed themselves of every allowable means to render the Proclamation acceptable to the Irish, on the score of their religion, since the preservation of that religion was to *them* an object of such paramount importance:—"As to the matter of religion," says the letter, "which, we do believe, is what they are most desirous to have secureed, we have sent a clause, as extensive as it is possible for us to undertake"[k].

Note 8, Page 7, 8.

False and true dates assigned for the Origin of the Scotch Monarchy from Ireland, &c.

The version in the text, of the commencement of the Scottish monarchy in Britain by colonists from Ireland, adopts the story of the occurrence of that event under an imaginary Fergus, asserted, by an apocryphal class of *Scotch* historians, to have lived about 330 years before Christ, and to have been succeeded by from forty to forty-five kings, *now* agreed to have no more reigned in Scotland, than their fabled predecessor. This system of antedating the origin of the Scottish monarchy, which was but too long attempted to be imposed upon the world as a portion of Scotch *history*, took its rise from the disputes about the right of succession to that crown in the time of Edward I.; whose claims, before the Pope, to that kingdom, founded upon a fabulous pedigree of ancient kings on the English side, could, in an unenlightened age, be controverted by no better means, than a counterlist of imaginary princes on the Scottish side. The first authentic settlement in North Britain of the Irish,—or, as they were

[j] Lieutenant-General Baron de Ginkell.

[k] Manuscript letter, endorsed, "Ld Just. May 29th, R. June 2. 91", State Paper Office, London.—Manuscript letter, marked "DCCXXXV.," in unpublished correspondence, Trinity College Library, Dublin, of George Clarke, Esq., Secretary at War in Ireland, to Baron de Ginkell.—Harris's Life of William III., pp. 264-265.

were then, and for several centuries after, called, *Scots*,—was made in Argyleshire, about the middle of the third century, by Carbry or Cairbre Riada, who was chief of Dalriada, a country so named from him, and comprehending a large portion of the present County Antrim. The name of Dalriada was transferred by this Irish colony to their settlement in North Britain, and the posterity of Cairbre ruled over the two Dalriadas. The next and the most important settlement from Ireland in North Britain took place about the year 503, under the three sons of Erc, namely, Loarn, Fergus, and Angus, of whom the first took possession of Loarn, so called after him, and the second of Cantire, while Angus is stated to have colonized Ila. These colonies were subordinate to the Monarch of Ireland till the famous Council of Drumkeat in Ulster, in the year 590, when Aidan, the grandson of Fergus, was freed by Aodh, or Hugh, then Monarch of Ireland, from future homage to the Irish crown. The gradual encroachments upon and final subjection of the Pictish monarchy in North Britain, by the race of the Irish settlers, founded the modern kingdom of Scotland. This last event, or the subjection of the Picts, was effected by the descendant of Fergus, Kenneth II., son of Alpin, A. D. 843, or 340 years from the year 503, the period of the landing of his ancestor in North Britain from Ireland.

During the 254 years from this overthrow of the Pictish kingdom, in 843, by the descendants of the Irish colony in Scotland, under their King, Kenneth II., to the death of King Donal Bane, in 1097, and which is known as the Scoto-Irish period of the history of Scotland, that country, as Chalmers observes, was under a "Celtic king, a Celtic government, a Celtic church;" and down to "the demise of Donal Bane," he adds, "the whole people inhabiting every district of proper Scotland spoke the IRISH tongue"[1].

NOTE 9, Page 8.

James VI. of Scotland, a descendant of Fergus, and the son of Queen Mary, succeeds to the Crown of England.

According to Charles O'Conor's genealogical table of the royal line of Scotland, from Kenneth II., the conqueror of the Picts, and, as such, the first Prince who reigned over the chief portion of the territory comprehended in the modern kingdom of Scotland, James VI. of Scotland, or James I. of England, the son of Mary, Queen of Scots, was the twenty-third in descent from Kenneth; and the remaining portion of James's pedigree, from Kenneth up to Fergus, may be seen in Chalmers's Caledonia. The other circumstances of James's title to the *two* crowns of Britain are thus set forth by Mac Geoghegan:—"A la mort de la Reine Elizabeth," says the Irish Abbé, "Jacques VI., Roi d'Ecosse, hérita du Royaume d'Angleterre comme descendant de Marguerite, fille aînée du Roi Henry VII. Il étoit fils de Marie Stuart, décapitée

[1] O'Conor's Dissertations on the History of Ireland, pp. 205-309: 3rd edit. Dublin, 1812.—Chalmers's Caledonia, vol. i. pp. 271-278, 282-283, 374-375, 477-479: London, 1807.—Moore's History of Ireland, vol. i. pp. 127-129, 136-139.—Scott's Hist. of Scotland, vol. i. pp. 7-12, 49-50, &c.: Lond. 1830.

décapiteé sous Elizabeth, dont le pere Jacques V. étoit né du mariage de Jacques IV., Roi d'Ecosse, avec la dite Marguerite. Le pere de Jacques VI. étoit le Lord Darnly ; celui-ci étoit fils du Comte de Lenox, descendu de Robert Stuart, successeur immédiat de David Bruce, Roi d'Ecosse, vers le milieu du quatorziéme siécle . . . . Jacques I., réunissoit en sa personne le droit de tous les Rois Bretons, Saxons, Danois, et Normands, dont le sang couloit dans ses veines ; de sorte qu'il n'y avoit pas dans l'Europe un Souverain, dont le droit à la Royauté fut plus incontestable, que celui de ce Prince à la Couronne d' Angleterre. Par l'avenement de ce Prince au trône Britannique, furent enfin réunies sous un même chef deux Nations rivales ; sçavoir, l'Angleterre et l'Ecosse, qu'une émulation continuelle avoit divisées pendant tant de siécles, et les Monarques Anglois depuis cette époque prirent le titre de Roi de la Grande Bretagne et d'Irlande"[m].

Note 10, Page 8.

James I. acknowledged, as a Monarch of the blood of their ancient Kings, by the old Irish, &c.

Doctor Lingard, after alluding to the wars in Ireland, during the reign of Elizabeth, in which, owing to the unhappy connexion of the contest with religious feelings, and the excommunication of that Princess by the Pope, the hostility of the Irish was the more violent, speaks as follows (on the contemporary authority of Lynch, illustrated by Dr. O'Conor) respecting the very different sentiments, which the old Irish entertained of the Queen's successor : " The exceptions made to Elizabeth did not apply to James. Against *him* no excommunication had been pronounced, nor was *he* a prince exclusively of Saxon or Norman origin. *He* claimed his descent from Fergus, the first king of Scots in Albion ; and Fergus, as a thousand genealogies could prove, was sprung from the ancient kings of Erin. *His* accession, therefore, was hailed as a blessing by the aboriginal Irish ; they congratulated each other on the event ; they boasted that the sceptre of Ireland was restored to the rightful line in a descendant of Milespane," or Milesius[n].

The following description of the feelings of *both* races of the Irish, or those of aboriginal and colonial descent, with reference to the succession of James to Elizabeth, is given by the Abbé Mac Geoghegan : " Les anciens Irlandois considéroient le sang Milésien qui couloit dans les veines de Jacques, ils le regardoient comme un Prince qui leur devoit l'origine, ils n'avoient pas oublié qu'Edouard Bruce, frere de Robert Roi d'Ecosse, de qui Jacques tiroit son origine, avoit été choisi par leurs peres au commencement du quatorziéme siécle, pour les gouverner en Souverain ; ils n'ignoroient pas qu'Edouard avoit été effectivement couronné Roi d'Irlande : cela jointe à leur soumission actuelle à Jacques, leur parut un titre valable à la Couronne d'Irlande, du moins il valoit bien, selon eux, le droit dont ce Prince avoit hérité des Rois d'Angleterre ses prédécesseurs, qui ne furent jamais universellement reconnus par les anciens

[m] O'Conor's Dissertations on the History of Ireland, pp. 205, 206.—Chalmers's Caledonia, vol. i. pp. 278, 301, 304, 305, 376, 377.—Histoire de l'Irlande, Ancienne et Moderne, par M. l'Abbé Mac-Geoghegan, tome iii. pp. 635, 636.

[n] See Note 81.

anciens habitans d'Irlande. Les Irlandois modernes regardoient Jacques comme l'héretier du droit de la Couronne d'Angleterre, et par conséquent de celle d'Irlande, en vertu de son extraction de Marguerite, fille aînée de Henri VII.; de sorte que les deux peuples qui habitoient l'Irlande alors, en oubliant leur ancienne querelle, se réunirent parfaitement pour se soumettre au Loix de ce nouveau Roi. Voilà les motifs de la soumission générale des Irlandois à la Couronne d'Angleterre"[o].

Note 11, Page 8.

James's reign over England, Scotland, and Ireland, generally tranquil.

Peace having taken place with Spain soon after James's accession to the throne of England, the King was, for the greater portion of his reign, free from any foreign war; or until the necessity of sending assistance to his unfortunate son-in-law, the Elector Palatine, against the house of Austria, and the circumstances resulting from the breaking off, by the Duke of Buckingham, of the proposed match between the Prince of Wales, afterwards Charles I., and the sister of Philip IV. of Spain, again involved England in hostilities with the Spanish monarchy.

Note 12, Page 8.

Connexion of Charles I., by marriage, with the Royal Family of France.

The Princess Henrietta Maria de Bourbon was the youngest daughter of the celebrated Henry IV., sister to Louis XIII., and aunt to Louis XIV. of France. She was born in November, 1609, married by proxy to Charles I., at Paris, in May, 1625, and was the mother of Charles II. and James II. of England. After the death of her first husband, she privately married Henry Jermyn, created at the Restoration Earl of St. Albans. She died at the Castle of St. Columbe (an *Irish* Saint by the way), near Paris, in August, 1669. "She excelled," according to the account of her son, King James II., "in all the qualitys of a good Wife, a good Mother, and a good Christian. She was buryd with great magnificence at St. Denis the buriall-place of the Kings of France, in the same mañer as the Queen Mothers of France are us'd to be buried[p]."

Note 13, Pages 8, 9.

Unfavourable period at which Charles I. came to the Crown.

The reign of the unfortunate Charles is erroneously described in the text as "sufficiently prosperous," until the bursting forth of those commotions, amongst the Scotch and English, which

[o] Lingard, History of England, vol. ix. chap. ii. pp. 139-140, 4th edit.: London, 1839.—Mac Geoghegan, Histoire de l'Irlande, tome iii. p. 637.

[p] Lingard's History of England, vol. ix. chap. iii. pp. 228-231, 237, 238, and vol. xi. chap. vi. pp. 352, 353.—Jesse's Memoirs of the Court of England under the Stuarts, vol. ii. pp. 202-236: London, 1840.—Memoirs of King James II. vol. i. pp. 445-446.—L'Art de vérifier les Dates, &c., tome i. pp. 667, 827: Paris, 1783.

which *immediately* occasioned the great civil war. The position of Charles I., from the commencement of his reign, was one of war and defeat abroad, and fiscal or pecuniary difficulties, and political and religious contentions, at home. After premising, that "there are certain omens and prognosticks, which sometimes precede and forebode the misfortunes of great men, and have therefore been thought by the best writers, not unworthy of a place in history"[q], Carte relates the following remarkable incident, which, and other occurrences of the kind, are mentioned by different authors to have been looked upon, as presages of the king's melancholy destiny:

"Sir A. Van Dyck, having drawn the king in three different faces, a profil, three quarters, and a full face, the picture was sent to Rome, for the Cavalier Bernini to make a bust from thence. It was given to that great master in his art by the Cardinal Protector of the English nation, who pressed him to make a good one with dispatch. Bernini was unaccountably dilatory in the work; the Cardinal complaining of the slowness with which it advanced, pressing him to finish, and wondering how he could be so tedious in making the bust of so great a prince, the other said that he had set about it several times, but there was something so unfortunate in the features of the face, that he was shocked every time that he examined it, and forced to leave off his work; and if there was any stress to be laid upon physiognomy, he was sure that the person whom the picture represented was destined to a violent end. The bust was at last finished, and sent to England. As soon as the ship which brought it arrived in the river, the King, who had an excellent taste in those polite arts, and was very impatient till he saw the piece, ordered it to be carried immediately to his house at Chelsea. It was brought thither, placed upon a table in the garden, whither the King went, with a train of nobility about him, to take a view of the bust. As they were viewing it, an hawk flew over their heads, with a partridge in his claws, which he had wounded to death. Some of the partridge's blood fell on the neck of the statue, where it always remained without being wiped off, and was seen by hundreds of people, as long as the bust was in being. It," observes Carte, "was put over the door of the King's closet at Whitehall, and continued there, till it was burned in the fire which consumed that palace about forty years ago,"—that is from the year 1736, when his book was published. And, with respect to his authority for this anecdote, he adds: "I have it from a very reverend author, who hath often seen the statue, and well knows the fact to be true"[r].

Note 14, Page 9.

The Scotch suspect Charles I. of intending to overthrow their form of worship, asserted to have been similar to the primitive religion established in Scotland, &c.

Mr. D. H. Kelly says, in a marginal remark on the portion of the text here illustrated: "Pinkerton, Wodrow, and others, wrote to prove the Culdees Presbyterians, having no Bishop, or episcopal ordination, amongst them." Whether the Presbyterian form of Christianity, which,

[q] See Notes 15, 16, 29, 32.

[r] Jesse's Memoirs of the Court of England, &c., vol. ii. pp. 59-60.—Carte's Life of James, Duke of Ormonde, vol. ii. p. 55: London, 1736.

which, since the sixteenth century, has finally prevailed over other systems in Scotland, *was* or was *not* such as had been originally established in North Britain by the Irish missionaries or Culdees, who converted the Picts from Heathenism, it would be here unseasonable to inquire. It may be more interesting to add, from a learned Scotch writer, a circumstance hitherto not sufficiently noted, as to the great length of time, during which the clergy of Scotland continued to be Irishmen. "The Culdees," says that writer, Keith, "were, apparently, from Columba's time to the twelfth century, the only monks and clergy in Scotland, *and* ALL *Irish*. . . . . At St. Andrew's they elected the Bishops till 1140, and existed there till 1297. . . . . At Dunkeld, Dumblane, and Breckin, they elected the Bishops yet later than at St. Andrews. At the two last they constituted, with their prior, the dean and chapter, till about 1240. To a late period the *only* common clergy in Pickland [i. e. Pictland] were *Irish*. When the church of St. Andrew was made metropolitan by Kings Achy and Grig, at the end of the ninth century, it was long before a native clergy could be formed; and the Irish clergy, from superior opportunities and learning, and from ancient veneration and custom, still held the common offices of the Church, even down to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Interest, national spirit, and ecclesiastic party, long maintained them, and they were only supplanted by degrees, as the natives, from advanced society, and visiting foreign universities, began to acquire learning."

Along with this testimony of Keith, it may be mentioned, that in those portions of Scotland, or the Highlands and Western Isles, where the ancient or Celtic language and the Roman Catholic religion maintained themselves against the inroads of more recently introduced forms of speech and doctrine, the native Scots, down to a much later period, appear to have owed whatever spiritual instruction they received to priests from Ireland. King James II., in that part of his advice to his son, written in 1692, respecting the conduct which the latter should observe towards Scotland, in case of his gaining the crowns of his ancestors, says: "As to the Highlands, send and encourage missionairs amongst them, and establish scholes there, that they may haue of their own country men to be their Pasturs, and not *be beholding only to the Irish for to be supplyd with Preists*"[a]. To remedy which want of a native Roman Catholic clergy in those parts of Scotland, the King bids his son "make some settlement on the Scots College at

[a] "His Majesty," says a Scotch writer, of King George IV., "on visiting Scotland, through Mr. Peel, with great cordiality, became Patron of the Society for the Support of Gaelic Schools, and, since that period, the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge and the General Assembly have cordially taken up the same idea. . . . . To these Gaelic schools have resorted not only the child of tender years, but the old man and old woman stooping for age. Never, since education was promoted by any body of men, was it found necessary to supply assistance to the eyes themselves: yet such has been the eagerness of certain aged scholars in the Highlands, that, within these two years, in order to meet it, the Gaelic School Society have had placed at their disposal not fewer than 120 pairs of spectacles. But I must not enlarge, and shall simply advert to one school in the Hebrides, where 237 scholars were present at the examination, of all ages, from literally a great-great-grandmother down to the child of five years." On the eagerness of these descendants of the ancient Irish to learn, when taught in their native tongue, it is remarked: "There would seem to be a fascination in these Celtic dialects pe-

at Paris, for the breeding up young men to be fittly qualifyd for that mission: 'tis what you are bound to do both as a good Christian and a King"[t].

NOTE 15, Page 9.

Good reception of Charles I. in Scotland on his visit to Edinburgh, and coronation, notwithstanding the dissatisfaction in that country, which eventually commenced his destruction.

At and for some time after the decease of King James in 1625, Scotland was unprecedentedly tranquil, or until Charles, between 1626 and 1628, first attempted and finally succeeded in resuming that portion of ecclesiastical property, which, at the Reformation, had devolved to the Crown; but which, during the disorderly period of his father's minority, had been parcelled out, among various members of the Scotch aristocracy, by the Regents, Murray and Morton. The feelings of discontent occasioned among the different powerful families, from whom these possessions were thus resumed, finally had a share in effecting the King's ruin. In 1633, indeed, when Charles visited Scotland with a splendid suite of English and Scotch noblemen, he was received with enthusiasm, and his coronation excited much popular joy. Yet this was not without so much dissatisfaction amongst the Scotch, from what they considered good grounds for political and religious distrust,—including a suspicion of the King's having been secretly inclined to Popery!—that, observes Dr. Lingard, on the authority of a contemporary letter dated September 30, 1633, it was remarked of Charles by some, "that the Scots would imitate the Jews, and that their hosannas at his entry would be changed into, 'Away with him, crucify him!' Leslie, Bishop of the Isles, mentioned this at dinner to Charles, who," it is added, "immediately turned thoughtful and ate no more." Nor was this observation ill-founded, since, from the differences already existing, and which from year to year continued to increase, between Charles and that portion of his subjects, it was Scotland that subsequently took the lead in that armed resistance to the royal authority, which caused the downfal of the monarchy, and brought the Monarch himself to the block[u].

NOTE 16,

culiar to themselves; for, whatever may be said in reply, *we* have never evinced such delight in *our* native language." And, after noting how the Crown, as "Patron of the Gaelic Schools," has annually devoted "£2000 to the Highlands and Islands" of Scotland, it is added, "this is still the case under Her present Majesty."—(The Native Irish and their Descendants, by Christopher Anderson, pp. 7, 179, 180: 3rd edit. London, Dublin, and Edinburgh, 1846.)

[t] Keith's Catalogue of Scottish Bishops, as cited in Doctor O'Conor's Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores Veteres, tom. iv. p. 115.—Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 635, 636.

[u] Lingard, History of England, vol. ix. chap. ii. pp. 131-138, chap. iv. pp. 298-299, chap. v. pp. 310-312.—Laing, History of Scotland, vol. iii. book i. pp. 17-41, 57-61, 68-80, 82-84, and book ii. pp. 87-97, 101-105: 2nd edit. London, 1804.—Hume, History of England, vol. vii. chap. xlvii. pp. 133-141, chap. lii. pp. 350-357, 365-366, chap. liii. pp. 386-389, &c.

Note 16, Page 9.

Popular accusations in England and Scotland against Charles I., of being ill-affected to Protestantism, and the King's defence.

The insurrection in Great Britain, against Charles I., which, after beginning in Scotland, extended to England[v], was much advanced by the reports circulated, of the danger that menaced the Protestant religion from the advances of Popery, and the King's regard for Papists. This latter circumstance is thus explained by Dr. Welwood in his Memoirs:—"The King's urgent necessities, and the backwardness of the Parliament to supply them, had forced him upon unwarrantable methods of raising money; and the readiness the Roman Catholicks express'd to assist him in his wants, did beget in him at first a tenderness towards them, and afterwards a trust and confidence in them: which was unhappily mistaken by his other subjects, as if he inclin'd to their religion."

Charles's defence of himself, against the notion of his having had a leaning towards the Roman Catholic faith, is thus set forth, in his "Declaration to all his loving Subjects, published with the Advice of his Privy-Council," in 1641:—"Concerning religion, as there may be any suspicion of favour or inclination to the Papists, we are willing to declare to all the world, that as we have been from our childhood brought up in, and practised the religion now established in this kingdom, so it is well known, we have (not contented simply with the principles of our education) given a good proportion of our time and pains to the examination of the grounds of this religion, as it is different from that of *Rome;* and are from our soul so fully satisfied and assured, that it is the most pure and agreeable to the sacred Word of God, of any religion now practised in the Christian world; that as we believe we can maintain the same by unanswerable reasons, so we hope *we should readily seal it by the effusion of our blood, if it pleased God to call us to that sacrifice*[w]. And, therefore, nothing can be so acceptable

[v] "Notwithstanding all the groundless clamours of some, who loudly cry out against the Irish," says Lord Castlehaven, "but speak not a word of their own rebellion, I must do that kingdom so much justice, as to declare, that I can no more believe, the leading part of the nation, did ever design, much less encourage, the barbarous cruelties there committed, than I can be persuaded, that the Lords and Commons, who first made war against the late King," Charles I., "in England, did from the beginning intend to imbrue their hands in his sacred blood. Yet still I think them inexcusable, because I see no great difference, whether a man kills another himself, or unchains a fierce mastiff, that will tear him to pieces. I cannot therefore but believe, the contrivers and abettors of the Irish rebellion, guilty of the massacre that ensued, tho' committed by the rude rabble; no less than those that raised the late rebellion in England, as guilty of their Prince's blood, as if they had actually been regicides: tho' the army on the one hand, and the rabble on the other, did the work, which their first movers, who unchained them from their obedience to the laws, were not able to hinder."—(Memoirs, pp. 16-18.)

[w] Mr. Jesse, speaking of the coronation of Charles I., says: "Senhouse, Bishop of Carlisle, who had been his Chaplain when Prince of Wales,

acceptable unto us, as any proposition which may contribute to the advancement of it here, or the propagation of it abroad; being the only means to draw down a blessing from God upon ourselves and this nation. And we have been extremely unfortunate if this *profession* of our's be wanting to our people; our constant *practice* in our own person having always been (without ostentation) as much to the evidence of our care and duty herein, as we could possibly tell how to express"[x].

NOTE 17, Page 10.

Charles I., after taking refuge from the English with the Scotch, is given up by them.

The King, to avoid being made prisoner by his English subjects, in case he should await the result of a siege in Oxford, his chief remaining fortress, towards which the hostile troops were advancing, escaped from that place at midnight, in April, 1646, disguised as a servant, and early in the following month, on a promise of safety, took refuge at Kelham, amongst the forces of his countrymen, the Scotch. But his hope of protection from them was disappointed. The English Parliament insisted, that the King should be surrendered to them, on the grounds of the Scotch being only their auxiliaries, employed within the limits of England; and this requisition was backed with a vote for keeping up a large army, by way of a menace to use force against the Scotch, should they refuse to submit. A debt of £400,000 was, on the other hand, claimed from, and acknowledged to be due, by England to the Scots, for their military services against the royal cause. One-half of this sum was required to be paid, before the Scotch forces should leave England; the other half, after entering their own country. Under these circumstances, the Scotch Parliament at first voted, that the King should be protected, and his liberty insisted upon. But, on the interference of the General Assembly of the Kirk, after a solemn fast to obtain the blessing of Heaven, in a house of 200 members, of whom only seven or eight are related to have spoken in favour of Charles, it was decided, that, as the King refused to take the "Covenant," he should be given up to the English. In fine, there being such a breach between the two nations, "that," says Bishop Kennet, "like *Herod* and *Pilate*, nothing but trading for the person of their Master could have made them friends;" on the payment by the English, in January and February, 1647, of £200,000, the Scotch forces withdrew into their own country; and the royal fugitive was handed over, by his countrymen, to the English Parliamentary Commissioners[y].

NOTE 18,

was selected to deliver his coronation sermon. The Bishop took for his text: Rev. ii. 10, 'Be thou *faithful unto death*, and I will give thee a crown of life,' &c.; a passage, which was considered by the superstitious, as far more suitable to his funeral sermon, than as adapted to the brilliant occasion on which it was delivered."—(Memoirs of the Court of England, during the Reign of the Stuarts, vol. ii. pp. 59-60.)

[x] Doctor Welwood's Memoirs of the most material Transactions in England, &c., pp. 38, 175, 210, 212, 213: Dublin, 1752.

[y] Lingard, History of England, vol. x. chap. iii. pp. 174-188.—Hume, History of England, vol. viii. chap. lviii. pp. 264-273.—Kennet's History of England, vol. iii. p. 162: 2nd edit. London, 1719.

Note 18, Pages 10, 11.

Charles I. tried and executed in England, to the great regret of the Irish.

Cox, in his work on Ireland, thus expresses himself, under the year 1649, respecting the execution of Charles I. at Whitehall:—"And now how gladly would I draw a curtain over that dismal and unhappy 30th of January, when the royal father of our country suffered martyrdom. Oh! that I could say they were *Irish* men that did that abominable fact, or that I could justly lay it at the door of the Papists!" Mac Geoghegan, who, writing as a Roman Catholic priest, and one of the old Irish, speaks in different terms, though with equal abhorrence, of the King's execution, and observes, on this amusing wish of the then ex-Recorder of Kinsale, and subsequent Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, and Lord Chancellor of Ireland:—"Cette exclamation de Cox fait bien sentir les dispositions de cet auteur, par rapport à un peuple, dont il ecrit l' histoire"[z].

Note 19, Page 11.

The death of Charles I., against the will of the majority of the English nation, succeeded, not by a popular, but a military government.

It is *not* historically correct, as intimated in the text, that, by the death of Charles I., power was transferred to the people. As the King's death was *not* the act of the people of England, whether we consider that people either in their numerical or representative capacity, so neither was power transferred to the people, by the King's death. Charles's execution was, owing to the supremacy of the Independent sect or faction, represented by the army; and as it was to this ascendancy of the military the King's execution was attributable, so was his death followed, *not* by a popular, or democratic, but by a military system of government; assuming, under the name of a republic or commonwealth, to represent the power of the people[a].

Note 20, Page 11.

Misstatement respecting General Owen Roe O'Neill refuted.

It is very strange, how any one could have laboured under such a misapprehension, as to affirm, that the Irish were, through Owen Roe O'Neill's "unhappy generalship, completely overthrown, and defeated with enormous slaughter!" General Owen Roe O'Neill was never "completely

[z] Cox, Hibernia Anglicana, vol. ii. p. 206.—Mac Geôghegan, Histoire de l'Irlande, tome iii. p. 680.—Harris's Ware, vol. ii. pp. 207, 208, 209, 218, 220.

[a] Hume's History of England, vol. viii. chap. lix. pp. 340, 341, 356.—Lingard's History of England, vol. x. chap. iv. pp. 268, 269, and chap. v. p. 344.

"completely overthrown, and defeated with enormous slaughter;" but, on the contrary, always kept the field, at the head of his army of Ulster Irish, from July, 1642, the period of his landing in the County Donegal, from Flanders, till November 6th, 1649, the day of his death at Cloughouter, near Cavan, in the old Abbey of which he was interred. His army then amounted to 6000 foot and 500 horse. When he was arrested by his last fatal illness, he was on his march to join the Lord Lieutenant, the Marquis of Ormonde, and the Irish royalist forces, against Cromwell. This junction of the Irish General with the Marquis was to have taken place, according to the treaty just agreed upon between them, which, by uniting the entire military strength of Ireland in defence of the royal cause, would have given the Royalists the fairest prospects of effectually opposing the invasion of Cromwell and his followers. Carte, in his life of Ormonde, says of Owen Roe O'Neill: "The Marquis of Ormonde had always used great frankness in his treaties with him, and had a very advantageous opinion, as well of his honour, constancy, and good sense, as of his military skill, from which he proposed as much advantage to the King's affairs, as he did from the force of his troops." And this high appreciation of Owen Roe O'Neill, by the Lord Lieutenant, is sufficiently justified, from the character given of the Irish commander, by other writers, of *both* nations and religions. "Owen Roe," observes Mac Geoghegan, "avoit de l'expérience dans l'art de la guerre; il s'étoit beaucoup distingué au service de l'Espagne, principalement par la belle défense qu'il fit à Arras où il commandoit en 1640, lorsque cette place fut assiégée par l'armée Françoise sous les ordres des trois Maréchaux, de Chattillon, de Chaulnes, et de la Meilleraye. Owen Roe avoit des idées nettes, le coup d'œil juste, et un jugement fort sain; il sçavoit profiter adroitement des avantages que l'ennemi lui fournissoit; il ne mettoit rien au hasard, et ses mesures étoient toujours bien prises: il étoit sobre, prudent, et secret; il sçavoit bien déguiser ses sentimens dans l'occasion: il étoit bien versé dans les intrigues des Cours; en un mot, il avoit toutes les qualités nécessaires pour faire un grand Général. Il étoit en effet reconnu de tout le monde alors, pour le plus brave et le plus expérimenté des Généraux d'Irlande." "Owen O'Neil," adds Doctor Warner, "was a man of good natural parts, much improved by experience in his profession; in the exercise of which he seems to have copied after the model of the Roman Fabius, by leaving very little to chance, in dexterously taking hold of any advantage given him by his enemy, and in the utmost care to afford no advantage over himself. . . . To his military qualifications may be added his sobriety, moderation, reservedness, and knowledge of the world." His advice before his death, as to the method of opposing the Cromwellians, was, says Carte, "that Cromwell should not be fought with unless upon great advantage, and that he would sooner be beat by passes, and the season of the year, without any hazard, than he could by any engagement in the field, his army having been hitherto victorious." For, according to Doctor Robert Gorge, Secretary of Marshal Schonberg, in a manuscript memorial in the State Paper Office, London, written in 1691,—"well knowing the usual mortality which attended new bodys in that country, Owen Roo Oneale, who was the best Generall that ever the Irish had, was, in that last warr, heard often to boast, that there were Irish enough in Ireland to destroy all the Brittains [Britons] in England and Scotland in an Irish warr." Owen Roe's greatest achievement in Ireland was his overthrow, June 5th, 1646, of

of the Parliamentarian forces, under Major-General Munroe, at the battle of Benburb. Owen's army amounted to 4500 foot, and 500 badly-equipped horse, and he does not appear to have had any cannon. Munroe is stated to have had 6000 foot, 800 well-accoutred horse, and four or five pieces of cannon. The Irish lost, by their highest account, but 70 men killed, and 200 wounded. The Parliamentarians had 3243 men killed upon the field, besides so many in the pursuit, during the night and day, that the greater part both of their infantry and cavalry were supposed to have been destroyed; and the whole of their artillery, with thirty-two stand of colours, the military chest, arms, tents, baggage, 1500 draught horses, and provisions for two months, were captured. Owen Roe was grand-nephew to the celebrated Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, who so long waged war against Queen Elizabeth, and finally died in exile at Rome, in the year 1616. *His* sword, with the benediction of the Pope, was sent from Rome to be presented to Owen, as the fittest master for such a weapon.

Perhaps no more may have been intended in the text, by the statement with respect to Owen Roe O'Neill, than to attribute the *ultimate* overthrow of the Irish to the conduct of that General, in having so long supported the Nuncio Rinuccini,—a Prelate, upon whose councils some Roman Catholic as well as Protestant writers have cast the blame of the nation's ruin[b]. Amongst the former were Sir Richard Bellings, Secretary of State to the Supreme Council of the Confederate Catholics of Ireland, and the Reverend Doctor Callaghan or Mac Callaghan (for the name was in that century variously written, as Callaghan, Mac Callaghan, and O'Callaghan)[c] known by the appellation of "honest Doctor Callaghan." Sir Richard Bellings, in a letter to his friend, the Doctor, dated Paris, January, 1652, says: "Ie scay que ç'a toûjours esté vostre aduis qu'on deuait rendre toute obeïssance au gouuernement royal, & qu'en des affaires temporelles la souueraine autorité appertenoit aux magistrats ciuils; lesquels principes s'ils auoient esté obseruez comme ils deuoient par le Seigneur Archeuesque de Fermo, Nonce de sa Sainteté en Irlande, & autres du Clergé, ils auroient conserué la nation et la religion en vn estat florissant." Doctor Callaghan, in his letter, dated "De Cour-Cheuerny,

[b] Of the Roman Catholics, of this opinion, was Colonel John O'Kelly, as well as his son, Colonel Charles, the author. The account of both, attached to the English version of Keating, alleges, of the author's father, that he "was likewise very active and zealous in supporting King Charles the First's cause during the whole course of the war in Ireland, and had such a distinguished character for his services from those two eminent royalists (the Marquisses of Ormond and Clanrickard) that he was restored, by a particular clause in the Act of Settlement, to all the estate which he either had in possession or reversion in the year 1641, which estate was accordingly enjoyed by him, and still (1723) remains in his family."—(Keating's History of Ireland, Appendix, p. 10: London, 1723.)

[c] See Note 71.—In reviewing the causes of the breaking out of the civil war in Ireland in 1641, Lord Castlehaven says: "I must withal acknowledge there has been, from the very beginning of the rebellion, a considerable number of those very ancient Milesians, that upon all occasions, sided still with such other confederate Catholicks, as endeavoured all they could to bring back the whole nation to their former obedience, to the King and his laws. In that number, the Lord Viscount Muskry (after Earl of Clancarty), with his whole party, the *O'Callaghans*, and some other gentlemen thereof (men of note in Mounster) were eminent." Lord Castlehaven then attributes the final subjugation and ruin of the country to those, who acted in a different manner.—(Memoirs, *ut infrà.*)

Cheuerny, ce 24 Decemb, 1651," asserts on the same point,—" Que les censures du Nonce ayant armé les Catholiques contre les Catholiques, & ayant par cette guerre intestine, diuisé & ruïné leurs forces, qui estant vnies eussent esté inuincibles, ont donné beau lieu au Republicains Anglois, également ennemis de la Royauté & de nostre Religion, de se rendre maistres de cette Isle unfortunée."[d]

Note 21, Pages 11, 12.

Long though unequal struggle against the Parliamentarians or Cromwellians in Ireland, and subsequent loyalty of the Irish to Charles II., during his exile on the Continent.

Ireland, notwithstanding the miserable state of theological discord, and civil and military disorganization, amongst its inhabitants, by which the national resources for defending the royal cause against the Parliamentarians or Cromwellians were so much diminished, was not proclaimed to have been entirely conquered, until the autumn of 1653, or between four and five years after the decapitation of Charles I. With reference to those ruinous divisions, partly owing to the animosities occasioned by opposition of creeds; partly owing to the spirit of politico-religious faction amongst those of the same church; partly owing to the difference of race between the original Irish and the colonies of British descent; and partly to the various causes for disunion on the score of property, &c., connected with the more or less ancient period of the arrival of those settlers in the island;—with reference to divisions so numerous and weakening, Cox, in the prefatory portion of his Anglo-Irish work, written in 1689, says: " That these distinctions may appear to be neither trivial nor merely notional, it will be necessary to give instances of these several factions in the late Irish wars; and first, there was an army of all meer Irish (not an English Papist among them) commanded by the Bishop of Clogher, and another of meer English (all Papists) under General Preston. And secondly, there was an army of Old English and Irish, under the Lords Mountgarrat, Taaf, &c.[e], and an army

[d] Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica, vol. ii. pp. 340-347, 380-521.—Carte, Life of Ormonde, vol. i. pp. 158, 348-349, 575-576, vol. ii. pp. 83, 94.—Mac Geoghegan, Histoire de l'Irlande, tome iii. pp. 677-678, 685-687.—Warner, History of the Rebellion and Civil War in Ireland, vol. i. pp. 226-227, vol. ii. pp. 86-87, 180-182: Dublin, 1768.—Manuscript Memorial above cited, in State Paper Office, London.—Relatione della Battaglia seguita fra Catholici Hibernesi et Heretici Puritani in Ultonia, Provincia d'Hibernia, il di cinque de Giugno, 1646: in Roma, 1646.—Foreign Quarterly Review, No. LXVII., p. 14.—Lettre de Monsieur Callaghan, Docteur en Theologie de la Faculté de Paris, et Curé-Prieur de Cour-Cheuerny, à un Docteur de ses Amis, touchant les Principales Impostures du P. Brisacier Iesuite (pp. 2, 3, 4, 9). Avec vne Lettre d'vne Seigneur Catholique d'Hibernie, (Sir R. Bellings) qui le justifie plainement de toutes les Calomnies de ce Iesuite qui regardent ce Royaume (pp. 1, 6): Paris, 1652.—Harris's Ware (Account of Irish Writers), vol. ii. p. 125.—Earl of Clarendon's State Letters and Diary, vol. i. p. 23: Dublin, 1765.—Earl of Castlehaven's Memoirs, p. 15: Dublin, 1815.—Hibernia Dominicana, Supplement., pp. 875, 884, 889, 909.

[e] By the word "English," Cox thus far means Anglo-*Irish*, or the Irish of English origin more or less remote, as contrasted with the older or Milesian Irish.

army of New English, commanded by the Earls of Ormond, Insiquin, &c., &c. And thirdly, there was an army of Papists under the Nuntio, and an army of Protestants commanded by the Marquess of Ormond." On the final success of the Cromwellians, from thirty to forty thousand of the Irish, who were unwilling to submit to the revolutionary government of England, left their country, under different leaders, and entered the services of France, Spain, Austria, and Venice.

Mac Geoghegan adduces the testimony of Charles II. himself, respecting the generous loyalty displayed towards him, during his banishment on the Continent, by the Irish exiles, in the French and Spanish services. "Ce Prince," observes the Abbé, "nous en est garant; voici comme il parle dans ses premieres harangues aux deux Chambres du Parlement, immédiatement après qu'il fut rétabli sur le trône d'Angleterre. Dans sa première harangue du 27 Juillet, 1660, il s'exprime de cette sorte. 'Je compte n'avoir pas besoin de parler de l'Irlande qui ne mérite pas d'être seule exclue du bienfait de ma clémence, ses habitans m'ont témoigné une affection extrême dans les pays étrangers; vous aurez donc soin de mon honneur, et des promessesque je leur ai faites.' Et encore au 30 Novembre suivant, dans sa déclaration au sujet de l'arrangement des affaires d'Irlande, il se sert de ces paroles remarquables: 'En dernier lieu nous nous sommes souvenus, et nous nous souviendrons toujours, de la grande affection qu'une partie considérable de cette Nation nous a témoignée pendant notre séjour au-delà des mers, nos troupes Irlandoises ayant toujours reçu avec la plus grande joie et obéissance nos ordres, et s'y étant soumise de même, ne balançant pas de se retirer au service que nous leur avons indiqué comme le plus utile a nos intérêts, quelque nuisable qu'il dut être au leur, laquelle conduite de leur part ne sçauroit être que très-digne de notre protection, justice, et faveur.'" The conduct of those troops towards Charles is thus described by the Abbé: "Pendant que ce Prince étoit en France, ils signalerent leur courage au service de cette Couronne. La situation des affaires obligea-t-elle le Monarque Anglois de chercher un asyle chez les Espagnols? le premier commandement de sa part suffit à tous ces Régimens pour le suivre dans les Pays-Bas, de sorte qu'on peut dire, sans craindre un démenti, que l'attachement et la fidélité des Irlandois pour leur Roi, dans un temps qu'il étoit abandonné de presque tous ses autres sujets, lui attira les honneurs, et la considération dont il avoit joui parmi les Etrangers, pendant le temps de son éxil."

A similar account of the conduct of those Irish exiles to Charles II. is given in an interesting manuscript volume, in the possession of the writer of this note, entitled, "The Case of the Roman Catholicks of Ireland." It is "divided into two parts," contains 144 pages, in a fine, round, legible hand, and, from the mention of two circumstances at pp. 55, 142, 143, appears to have been written, early in the eighteenth century; the object of the author (who, as an Irish Jacobite, of course, conceals his name) being, to demonstrate the injustice of the Act of Settlement, by which, after the Restoration, so large a portion of the landed property of Ireland was transferred from its original possessors, who had fought and suffered so much for the royal cause at home and abroad, to those, who had only obtained that property, as the enemies of monarchy, or followers of Cromwell. After mentioning the final submission of Ireland, from

from "an impossibility of continueing the war," the manuscript says: "When the kingdom was reduced to this extremity, most of the army, choosing rather to quit their native country, their wives, their children, and old decrepite parents, than live under the Usurper's tyranny, and withal being desirous to spend the remainder of their daies in their Prince's service, and to let him see, by their constant adhesion to his interest abroad, as well as at home, how maliciously they had been aspers'd by their enemies, and misrepresented both to himself and his roial father[f], they made formal capitulations, and were *not*, as Clarendon says, sold to foreign Princes; by which capitulations, they stipulated to pass, as they did, into foreign countries, especially France and Spain, where they stuck to no service nor bread but what squar'd with his interest, resorting and flocking to him from all places and engagements, and siding chearfully with ye Princes they saw favour'd most his interest. When he was in France, they quitted the Spanish service and the sure bread they had on that side, to joyn him upon uncertainties; when he quitted France to live in Flanders under the protection of Spain, they abandon'd what establisments they had acquired by their gallant actions in the Most Christian King's service, to be still near their master, doing him pleasure in the field, and supplying him in his wants, as far as their pay and industry cou'd reach, and doing him all the good offices that fell within their sphere or power: all which they did with such alacrity and zeal, such love and duty, that his Majesty found himself in his banishment master of a considerable body of an army, which made him the more regarded abroad, and the subject of nourishing hope to his friends, and of anxious care and inquietude to his enemies at home."

The importance *then* attached by the French government to the Irish regiments in its service was so great, that, even *after* Cardinal Mazarin's treaty of alliance with Cromwell against Spain, by which the Stuart family were to quit the French dominions, various efforts were made by the Cardinal and Marshal Turenne to induce the Duke of York (afterwards James II.) not to leave the French for the Spanish service. Nay, Cromwell's permission was *asked* and *obtained* for the Duke to remain in the service of France; on account of the loss it would be to the combined forces of England and France, and the gain to Spain, that the Irish regiments should join the latter; as it was known they would, when the Duke and his royal brother (Charles II.) should be *both* under the protection of that power. This circumstance is

[f] Of the manner, in which it was sought to "asperse" and "misrepresent" the Irish to Charles I., the King himself appears to have been duly aware. For, it is remarked, in Mr. Moore's last volume: "Soon after the battle of Naseby, a manuscript copy was found of Sir Edward Walker's Discourses of the Events of the Civil War, in which, among several other corrections in the King's handwriting, it was observed, that, in one place, where the writer had occasion to speak of the insurgents, and had styled them *rebels*, the King had drawn his pen through the word 'rebels,' and had substituted the word 'Irish' in its stead." But, according to the observation of Mac Geoghegan, "les Anglois eurent à peine mis le pied en Irlande, qu'ils commencerent à traiter de rébelles les nationnaux, qui défendoient si justement leurs foyers contre eux. Tel a toujours été depuis le stile de cette nation impérieuse. Il ne faut pas s'étonner, puisqu'on a vu à la fin du dernier siécle leurs écrivains traiter de *rebelles* les troupes qui soutenoient la cause de Jacques II., leur Prince légitime, contre un usurpateur." — (Moore, History of Ireland, vol. ii. p. 215, and vol. iv. pp. 258-259. — Mac Geoghegan, Histoire de l'Irlande, tome ii. p. 5, and tome iii. p. 671.)

is stated in James's Memoirs, which add, that, when James afterwards went into the Spanish service, four Irish regiments came over to him from the French, and would have been followed by more, but for the obstacles presented by the jealousy of the Spaniards, to his brother's having too great a body of men obeying him in the Spanish army[g].

NOTE 22, Page 12.

Charles II., though considered a Protestant, yet well served by the Irish, though Roman Catholics, as well as William, Prince of Orange, afterwards, at the Revolution, by numbers of Dutch, who were Roman Catholics.

Notwithstanding the wonder expressed in the text at the loyalty of the Irish to Charles II., the contemporary memorials of the Revolution of 1688 show how a Prince, even when a still more "zealous opponent of the Roman Catholic rites," was not the less faithfully served by numbers of that religion, though the circumstance has not been duly noticed in our printed *histories*. The number of Roman Catholics was so considerable in the army which William brought with him from Holland to England to dethrone James II., that one of the objections of the Protestant Jacobites to the Revolution, was the danger to be apprehended from so many Papists, as there were in the Prince of Orange's forces. One of those Protestant advocates for the restoration of James to his throne, under proper constitutional securities, after noting, to the prejudice of William, "that most of the things that made the King's government so obnoxious had already been done in this," observes: "We have, in great part, a Popish army too, tho' that was one of the most crying offences we objected to the King, and from which we drew the most popular notions of our insecurity." Another writer, on the same side, remarks: "I might mention the great number of Papists in the Dutch army, as another dissuasive from venturing ourselves in this bottom. . . . . 'Tis ill trusting Popery in any shape. This is a root, which, wherever it is planted, can bring forth no good fruit. The bogs of Holland cannot (we think) make it less malignant than those of Ireland." A third of those opponents of a change of dynasty in favour of William, objects to him, that "he brought along with him more Catholic soldiers than ever King James had in his army." A fourth of the same class of writers, namely, the celebrated political and religious controversialist, Doctor Charles Leslie, in adverting to "the Roman Catholicks in K. William's army," adds of them, "who are many more in England, than K. James had in his army here."

Even William's own splendid Regiment of Blue Guards, decidedly the finest in the Dutch army, and that to which the gaining of the battle of the Boyne was afterwards principally owing

[g] Leland's History of Ireland, vol. iii. pp. 313-392: 3rd edit. Dublin, 1774.—Curry's Review of the Civil Wars of Ireland, vol. ii. book ix. chap. i. pp. 53-56: Dublin, 1786.—Cox, Hibernia Anglicana, vol. i. *ut sup.*—Dalrymple's Memoirs, &c., vol. iii. part ii. book vi. p. 168: London, 1790.—Lingard's History of England, vol. x. chap. vi. pp. 365-366.—Mac Geoghegan, Histoire de l'Irlande, tome iii. pp. 704-705.—Manuscript Case of the Roman Catholicks of Ireland as above quoted.—Memoirs of King James II., vol. i. pp. 265-269, 275-276, 280-281, 297.

owing[h], contained numbers of Dutch Roman Catholics. This appears from what occurred between James and a body of that regiment, who were commissioned by William to attend the King at Rochester, in December, 1688, shortly before his escape to France. Harris, in his Life of William, after mentioning the appointment of about 100 of those Guards to wait on James (they consisted of "a Captain and a hundred common men," according to their royal prisoner), thus relates the circumstance alluded to :—"The Dutch guards left him at full liberty, and paid him rather more respect than he had lately received from his own. Most of that corps happened to be *Papists*, and when the King went to Mass, joined very reverently with him. He asked them, *How they could serve in an expedition designed to destroy their own Religion?* One of them answered, *That his Soul was God's, but his Sword belonged to the Prince of* Orange; which," adds Harris, "pleased the King so much, that he repeated it to all about him." To the considerable proportion of Roman Catholics in those Guards, the King's Memoirs (though not to the extent of Harris's statement) bear testimony; by mentioning, that "the Officer who commanded was a Catholick, and near half the soldiers came next morning to hear Mass with him after their arrival there." For the kindness shown him, amongst these Dutch Roman Catholics of William's Guards, James, the following year, towards the close of the campaign near Dundalk, against Marshal Schonberg, took an opportunity of demonstrating his gratitude. "Three Dutch-men," says the Williamite Chaplain, Story, then with Schonberg's army, "were taken as they were stragling in the Country, who being brought to King *James*, and ask'd, who they belonged to? when he understood their Captain was the same that had the Care of him formerly at *Rochester*, he dismissed them, with his Service to their Captain, giving each of them some Mony, because, he said, their Captain had been formerly civil to him."

To this noble Regiment of Guards, that were commanded, at the period of William's landing in England, by Count de Solmes, and consisted of so many as twenty-five companies, their royal master was so warmly attached, according to Dalrymple, that the English Parliament, after the Peace of Ryswick, or in 1699, having determined on a reduction of their army, by which those Guards should be sent back to their own country, the King was so irritated, as to have, for some time, thought of placing the Crown in the hands of the Parliament, and retiring to Holland. From the considerable number of Roman Catholics, alleged to have been in those Guards at the time of the Revolution, it is probable they were levied, to a great extent, in North Holland; for Mr. Hampden, junior, in his speech in the English House of Commons, March 14, 1689, on the vote for reimbursing the Dutch for the expense of William's expedition to England, says: "In North Holland, there are *more* Papists than Protestants"[i].

NOTE 23,

[h] See Note 122.

[i] Somers's Tracts, vol. ix. pp. 270,304, and vol. x. pp. 184, 367: London, 1813.—Leslie's Answer to King, p. 178.—Story's Impartial History of the Wars of Ireland, pp. 31, 79, 80, 89.—Captain Richardson, in Graham's History of Ireland, from 1689 to 1691, p. 174: Dublin, 1839.—Harris's Life of King William III., p. 157.—Dalrymple's Memoirs, vol. iii. part iii. book vii. pp. 176-181: London, 1790.—Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 135, 267-273.—Parliamentary History of England, vol. v. p. 175: London, 1809.

NOTE 23, Page 12.

Distribution of the estates of the Irish, by the English revolutionary Parliament, amongst English contractors, republican soldiers, and regicides.

The "contractors" above mentioned were those English capitalists, who, soon after the Ulster insurrection in October, 1641, or upon the credit of two English Acts of Parliament passed early in 1642, advanced money for the subjugation of the Irish, on the condition, when Ireland should be conquered, of being repaid by large grants of land, from the confiscated estates of the Irish Roman Catholics. "It," says the historian, Borlase, "was resolved upon solemn debate, on the 8th of December, 1641, by the Lords and Commons in the Parliament of England, that they would never give consent to any toleration to the Popish religion in Ireland, or any other His Majesty's dominions." The author of the manuscript "Case of the Roman Catholicks of Ireland," previously described, speaks, as follows, of the confiscating Acts, which succeeded this resolution: "This was but a prelude to the two rigid Acts the English Parliament pass'd in February and March following, for the confiscation of two millions and a half of Irish acres, arable, meadow, and pasture land, belonging to Irish Papists, all the woods, boggs, and other land passing under the name of improfitable acres, and belonging to the premisses, to be thrown, with the rest, into the bargain, and all to be set aside as a fund for satisfaction, to such as would furnish money towards carrying on the war against ye rebels of Ireland, this fund of confiscations to be made over and assign'd to the Adventurers proportionably to their respective lones, *when both Houses would declare the kingdom conquer'd.*"

The writer of this manuscript then complains, that, from "the distinction the Acts made between profitable and improfitable acres, and the manner the later are superadded, without any restriction or limitation," ALL the Roman Catholic landed proprietors of Ireland might consider themselves as liable to confiscation; though the Ulster insurrection was, he says, little, if at all, extended beyond that province; and he then proceeds to make this view of the matter more apparent, from the localities assigned by the English Parliament for compensation, in *every* province of Ireland, to English Adventurers, out of the lands of the Irish Roman Catholics. "But, to let them and the Adventurers see ye Catholics of the whole kingdom were indistinctly" [i. e. without distinction] "involv'd in ye calamity of these confiscations, and that the people in arms in Ulster were not alone to suffer, that Parliament prodigally settled for each Adventure

	"pounds.	acres.		
"of	200	1000	in	Ulster.
	300	1000		Connact.
	450	1000		Munster.
	600	1000		Leinster.

"To obviate all acts of clemency in favour of innocents or penitents, or even of meriting persons

persons of that nation, the Parliament riveted these Acts to that degree of irrevocability, that they brought his Majesty to divest himself of the power of alienating any of these confiscations from the uses of the Acts, or applying them to any other use whatsoever, tho they left themselves at liberty to employ, as they really did thereafter, the most part of the money given in by the Adventurers, against the King himself in England[k], which makes it plain the hidden view of the party in projecting these confiscations was, to make themselves masters of such a good beginning of a fund, for carrying on their premeditated war against the King in England; for their rebellion being as yet in its infancy, it was not seasonable they should propose to raise any considerable sum of money by way of a tax, so the Irish confiscations were the readiest contrivance they could imagine for their wicked purpose." A similar representation of the insurrectionary designs for which this Adventurers' money on Irish confiscations was principally raised and applied by the English Parliament, is given in King James II.'s Memoirs[l].

When the ruling powers in England eventually, or on the 26th of September, 1653, announced Ireland to be reduced to submission, the greater part of the island was thus apportioned between the above-mentioned Adventurers, or subscribers under those acts of confiscation, and the Cromwellian soldiery. At a Council of War of the leading Parliamentarian or Cromwellian commanders, "Lord Broghill," says his Chaplain, the Rev. Thomas Morrice, "proposed, that the whole kingdom might be survey'd, and the number of acres taken, with the quality of them; and then all the soldiers to bring in their demands of arrears, and so to give to every man, by lot, as many acres of ground, as might answer the value of their arrears. This was agreed on; and all Ireland being survey'd, and the value of acres given it, the highest was valued only at four shillings the acre, and some only at a penny. Accordingly they took the names of all that were in arrear, who drew lots in what part of the kingdom their portion should be; and, in this manner, the whole kingdom was divided among the conquerors and adventurers of money." After the Restoration, the Attorney-General, Sir W. Domville, in overhauling the particulars of this division of the country, discovered, according to Carte, amongst other improprieties, that there were "great abuses in the manner of setting out the Adventurers' satisfaction, in which the proceedings were very clandestine and confused. For they had whole Baronies set out to them in gross, and then they employed Surveyors of their own to make their admeasurements, and those finished, they had never since brought in their surveys or field-books into the Surveyor-General's office, or to publick view. Thus they had admeasured what proportions they thought fit to mete out to themselves; and what lands they were pleased to call unprofitable, they had returned as such, let them be never so good and profitable. In the County of *Tipperary* alone, he had found by books in the Surveyor's office above 50,000 acres returned as unprofitable, and in the moiety of the ten Counties, wherein their satisfaction was set out, he had found 245,207 acres so returned by the Adventurers as unprofitable;" &c. then, having shown how very profitable much of this land was

[k] King's Letter, 2. July. 1646. Rush. Coll^{ns} part 3. pag. 544.

[l] See Note 90.

was discovered to be, this writer adds: "The lands held by the soldiers as unprofitable, and returned as such into the Surveyor's office, amounted to 665,670 acres, as appeared by a particular recital thereof, in the certificates of the proper Officers"[m]. See Note 27.

NOTE 24, Pages 12, 13.

Chronological error respecting Cromwell corrected.

The statement, as to Cromwell having died within three years after he obtained the supreme authority, is a mistake. Oliver Cromwell became chief ruler of England, under the title of Protector, in December, 1653, and died in September, 1658. He was, consequently, by title, the *de facto* ruler of England nearer *five* than *three* years. And, if we date his political and military supremacy in that country farther back than his actual assumption of the name of Protector, as might fairly be done, the limitation of his authority to but *three* years would be still less correct[n].

NOTE 25, Page 13.

The re-establishment of Monarchy in England, wrongly attributed to apprehensions from abroad.

The assertion of the "Restoration" having occurred in England, through any fear of an intervention by France and Spain for the purpose, is *not* borne out by King James's Memoirs, which state that, at the latter end of the year 1659, and even at the commencement of the following year, or that in which the Restoration actually took place, the hopes of the royal family, with respect to the occurrence of such an event, were reduced to the lowest ebb. James himself had so little expectation of the revolution about to occur in England, that, when intelligence reached him of the fortunate changes there for his brother Charles and himself, he was preparing to depart for Spain, to take the command there, as High Admiral and General of the Spanish forces, against the Portuguese.

NOTE 26, Page 13.

Charles II. and his brothers, the Dukes of York and Gloucester, enter London, &c.

Charles II., with his brothers, James, Duke of York, and Henry, Duke of Gloucester, entered London, on the anniversary of his birth-day, 29th May, 1660[o].

NOTE 27,

[m] MS. Case of the Roman Catholicks of Ireland, pp. 36-42.—Curry's Review of the Civil Wars of Ireland, book v. chap. xxiii., and book ix. chap. i. vol. i. pp. 266-268, and vol. ii. pp. 54-57.—Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. p. 359.—Hume's History of England, chap. lv. vol. viii. pp. 83-88.—Lingard's History of England, chap. i. vol. x. pp. 49-50, 62-63.—Morrice's Life and Letters of Roger Boyle, first Earl of Orrery, and Lord President of Munster, &c., vol. i. p. 39: Dublin, 1743.—Carte's Life of Ormonde, vol. ii. pp. 301-302.

[n] Sir H. Nicolas's Chronol. of History, p. 321.

[o] Memoirs of King James II., vol. i. pp. 379-382, 385-386.

Note 27, Pages 13, 14.

Charles II. pardons all offenders, except the regicides, whose lands, in Ireland, are granted to his brother, James, Duke of York.

From the lands of those regicides who had acquired confiscated estates in Ireland during the Cromwellian usurpation, an immense grant was made to James, Duke of York, afterwards James II. The number of Irish statute acres, so obtained by the Duke, is specified in a manuscript document, inserted in Mr. Sheffield Grace's Memoirs of the Family of Grace, at 169,431! Mac Geoghegan thus expresses himself at this acquisition of Irish lands by James: "On donna au Duc d'York les terres confisquées de ces infâmes. Pouvoit-on transferer à ce Prince un droit que ces Usurpateurs n'avoient pas? Ils avoient possedé ces terres en vertu de la donation que Cromwell leur en avoit faite, pour récompense de leur parricide. Ce tyran en avoit dépouillé quelques Seigneurs Irlandois pour la raison opposée; leur droit étoit par conséquent injuste. Ne semble-t-il pas, que ces terres devroient plutôt être restituées aux anciens propriétaires, que de servir d'appanage au frere du Roi"[p]?

Note 28, Page 14.

Irish landed property confiscated under Charles II., as well as under the Parliamentarian and Cromwellian regime.

A *general* idea of the system, by which, in connexion with the Acts of Settlement and Explanation (above alluded to), the greater portion of the landed property of Ireland, that had belonged to the Irish royalists before the year 1641, was transferred to their enemies, the "Cromwellian settlers," may be obtained, from the numerous original testimonies cited by Dr. Curry, or from the more condensed narrative of Dr. Lingard. After mentioning a final grant of compensation by Charles to only ninety-four out of several thousand suffering loyalists, the latter writer observes: "But when compensation had thus been made to a few of the sufferers, what, it may be asked, became of the officers who had followed the royal fortune abroad, or of the 3000 Catholics who had entered their claims of innocence? To all these the promises which had been made by the Act of Settlement were broken; the unfortunate claimants were deprived of their rights, and debarred from all hope of future relief. A measure of such sweeping and appalling oppression is perhaps without a parallel in the history of civilized nations. Its injustice could not be denied; and the only apology offered in its behalf was, the stern necessity of quieting the fears and jealousies of the Cromwellian settlers, and of establishing on a permanent basis the Protestant ascendancy in Ireland."

The number of Irish thus stripped of their properties would seem, however, to have been

[p] Memoirs of the Family of Grace, p. 39.—Mac Geoghegan, Histoire de l'Irlande, tome iii. p. 716.

been many *more* than this extract from Doctor Lingard would make them; for Chief Justice Nugent (the same who was afterwards created Lord Riverston by James II.) says, in an unpublished letter to Lord Sunderland, among the manuscripts in the State Paper Office, London, and dated Dublin, 23rd June, 1686:—"There are 5000 in this kingdome, who were never outlawed, and out of theyre estates, yet cannot now by law be restored." That is, could not be restored to "theyre estates," as the law, under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, *then* stood.

The Lord Chancellor Clare, speaking in the Irish House of Lords, February 10th, 1800, of the results of Cromwell's usurpation in Ireland, "as having redounded essentially to the advantage of the British empire," and then adding, "but admitting the principle in its fullest extent, it is impossible to defend the Acts of Settlement and Explanation by which it was carried into effect," sums up the consequences of those Acts as follows:—"Having thus, in the first instance, vested three-fourths of the lands and personal property of the inhabitants of this island in the King, Commissioners are appointed, with full and exclusive authority, to hear and determine all claims upon the general fund, whether of officers or soldiers, for arrears of pay, of adventurers, who had advanced money for carrying on the war, or of innocent Papists, as they are called. In other words, the old inhabitants of the island, who had been dispossessed by Cromwell, not for having taken a part in the rebellion, but for their attachment to the fortunes of Charles II. But, with respect to this class of sufferers, who might naturally have expected a preference of claim, a clause is introduced, by which they are postponed, after a decree of innocence by the Commissioners, until previous reprisal shall be made to Cromwell's soldiers and adventurers, who had obtained possession of their inheritance . . . . . Seven millions eight hundred thousand acres of land were set out, under the authority of this Act, to a motley crew of English adventurers, civil and military, nearly to the total exclusion of the old inhabitants of the island, many of whom, who were innocent of the rebellion, lost their inheritance, as well from the difficulties imposed upon them by the Court of Claims, in the proofs required of their innocence, as from a deficiency in the fund for reprisal to English adventurers, arising principally from a profuse grant made by the Crown to the Duke of York. . . . . And thus," adds Lord Clare, "a new colony of new settlers, composed of all the various sects which then infested England, Independents, Anabaptists, Seceders, Brownists, Socinians, Millenarians, and Dissenters of every description, many of them infected with the leaven of democracy, poured into Ireland, and were put into possession of the ancient inheritances of its inhabitants: and I speak with great personal respect of the men, when I state, that a very considerable portion of the opulence and power of the kingdom of Ireland centres at this day, in the descendants of this motley collection of English adventurers"[q].

NOTE 29,

[q] Curry's Review of the Civil Wars of Ireland, book ix. chap. i.-xxvii. vol. ii. pp. 54-134.—Lingard's History of England, chap. iv. vol. xi. pp. 236-243.—Archdall's Lodge's Peerage of Ireland, vol. i. p. 245.—MS. Letter of Chief Justice Nugent.—Speech of the Lord High Chancellor Clare, in the Irish House of Lords, Monday, February 10th, 1800. pp. 16-19. By Authority. Dublin, 1800.

NOTE 29, Page 14.

Charles II. has no family by his Queen, though many natural children.

Charles II. was married in May, 1662, to Donna Catarina, the Infanta of Portugal. Her dower consisted of £500,000, the fortress of Tangier in Africa, of Bombay in the East Indies, and the privilege of a free trade to the Portuguese colonies. This marriage of Charles to Catherine was, according to the late Very Rev. Richard Henry Dawson, Dean of St. Patrick's, made the subject of the earliest medal, connected with Ireland, that is known to exist, in express commemoration of an important public event. The Dean speaks of this medal as "a small silver piece, of a very beautiful execution." He says: "It bears on the obverse a figure of St. Catherine with her wheel, and the legend, PIETATE INSIGNIS. The reverse has Fame blowing a trumpet, and in her hand she carries an olive branch. On the banner appended to the trumpet there is a small harp, the arms of Ireland; and were not *that* sufficient to appropriate this medal as belonging to our series, the inscription, PROVINCIA CONNAGH, decides the matter."

To the bad consequences of such irregular attachments as those of Charles to his different mistresses, James II., in his excellent advice to his son (commonly called the Chevalier de St. George) alludes, in these terms: "To come to what I haue seen myself, and ought to waigh very much with you, the late King my Brother had the misfortune to be much adicted to that fatal Vice, had Children by all his owned Mistresses, and none by the Queen, besides which, he had the mortification to haue the Duke of Montmouth, who he beleeved to be his Son (thō all the knowing world as well as myself had many convincing reasons to thinke the contrary, and that he was Rob: Sidneys) fly in his face and joyne with the Earle of Shafsbury and the factious party, in the design they had to sease his person and rise in Rebellion against him, thō at the same time he shew'd him all the tenderness of a Father, and the kindness of a Friend, doing things for him which ought to haue made him make a better returne then he did." Mr. Jesse, in his fourth volume, after the sketch of the life of the Duke of Monmouth, has given a sufficiently detailed account of the other illegitimate children of Charles II., by his various mistresses[r].

NOTE 30, Page 14.

Death of Charles II.

Charles II. expired on the 6th of February, 1684–5, of the effects of a violent apoplexy, with which he was first struck, on the 2nd of the same month. The circumstances of this event are well known, from the narratives of our popular historians[s].

NOTE 31,

[r] Hume's History of England, chap. lxiii. vol. ix. pp. 160-161.—Lingard's History of England, chap. v. vol. xi. pp. 249-250, 254-256.—King James II.'s Memoirs, vol. i. pp. 393-395, and vol. ii. pp. 630-631.—Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy (Polite Literature), vol. xix. pp. 4-5: Dublin, 1843.—Jesse's Memoirs of the Court of England during the Reign of the Stuarts, vol. iv. pp. 57-72.

[s] Memoirs of King James II., pp. 746-749.—Lingard's History of England, vol. x. chap. v.

Note 31, Pages 14, 15.

James, Duke of York, a Roman Catholic, long previous to his becoming King of England.

The Duke of York had, contrary to the statement of the text, been a member of the Roman Catholic Church, many years before his accession to the royal dignity. It was, according to his Memoirs, in the beginning of the year 1669, that his reconciliation to the Roman Church took place[t].

Note 32, Page 15.

James II. crowned King, with much pomp, yet under unfavourable auspices, in England and Scotland.

On the subject of James's coronation, his Memoirs say: "Thō he had reason to scruple the communicateing in those prayers, preaching, and Cerimonys, which were perform'd according to the rites of the Church of England, yet his Majesty was so desirous to comply as far as any shew of reason or plausible excuse could warrant him, that he readily yielded to it, so on the 23d of April (1685) the King and Queen were crown'd accordingly, with all the splendor and magnificence which is usual on such sollemn occasions, and with full as much publick joy and testimonys of affections as had been ever seen in former times." James, nevertheless, "retrenched," according to Rapin, "several things which caused a needless expence, as, for instance, the cavalcade from the Tower to Westminster, which was wont to be performed the day before the coronation; saving thereby a charge of £60,000." The same historian further observes, that, during the ceremony, "the crown, not being fit for the King's head, was often in a tottering condition, and like to fall off." Upon which he remarks: "The people reckoned this an ill omen to the King, as well as another thing which happened the same day. In one of the churches of London, the King's arms, painted in a glass window, suddenly fell down, and broke in pieces, while the rest of the window was standing, without possibility of discovering, why that part should fall sooner than the rest." "Finally," he adds, "the canopy carried over him did also break." "I saw," says another contemporary, Doctor Hicks, "the tottering of the crown upon his head, the broken canopy over it, and the rent flag hanging upon the white tower over against my door, when I came home from the coronation. It was torn by the wind, at the same time the signal was given to the Tower, that he was crowned. I put," remarks the Doctor, "no great stress upon omens, but I cannot despise them: most of them, I believe, come by chance, but some from inferior intellectual agents, especially those which regard the fate of kings and nations"[u]. See Notes 13, 15, and 16.

Note 33,

pp. 336-337, vol. xii. chap. ii. p. 152, and chap. iv. pp. 352-354. — Barillon's Despatch of February 18th, 1685, in Dalrymple's Memoirs, Appendix to vol. ii. pp. 90-94: London, 1781.

[t] Memoirs of King James II., vol. i. pp. 440, 441, 483, 487.

[u] Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. p. 10.— Tindal's Rapin, vol. ii. pp. 742-743: fol. edit. London, 1743.—Jesse's Memoirs of the Court of England under the Stuarts, vol. iv. pp. 388-389.

NOTE 33, Page 15.

Accession of James II. a great source of joy to the Irish Roman Catholics, from their hopes of the restoration of their Church and Estates.

Of the general sentiments of the Irish Roman Catholics towards the Protestant settlers in Ireland, on the accession of James II. to the throne, Dr. King, afterwards Archbishop of Dublin, asserts: "They affirmed, both publickly and privately, with many oaths, that they would, in a short time, have our estates and churches; that if they suffered us to live, they would make us *hewers of wood and drawers of water;* that Ireland must be a Catholick country whatever it cost; and, as for the English, they would make them as *poor devils*, as when they first came into Ireland."

Dr. John Molony, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Cork, one of the most *ultra* of the leading Irish political characters of those times, thus expresses himself, as to the course which *he* would recommend, for the adoption of his countrymen, towards their domestic adversaries. In a letter from France, March 8th, 1689, to his brother prelate, Dr. Patrick Tyrrell, Roman Catholic Bishop of Clogher and Kilmore, and Secretary of State in Ireland, he says,—"I would have them" [the Irish Roman Catholics] "restored to their estates, both spiritual and temporal, usurped by the *Cromwellians*, or under the title of being *Protestants*, yet, with that proviso for the spiritual, that a competent pension should be allowed to the Protestant possessor during his life, for he can pretend no longer lease of it; or that he should give the Catholick Bishop or Incumbent a competent pension, if it were thought fitter to let him enjoy his possession during life." Then, turning from the consideration of ecclesiastical changes, to the difficulties existing with regard to the resumption of their old properties, by the original Irish proprietors, on account of the purchases made, in various instances, on Cromwellian titles, by several Irish lawyers and others, Bishop Molony observes: "Now remains, I think, one objection to solve, which may give some obstruction to this intended settlement, which is, that of the gown-men or others, who made purchases of some new interests, *bonâ fide:* must they lose their purchase and money? To which I answer, that although it may be reply'd, *caveat emptor*, especially to the gown-men, who knew best of all that horrid Act of Settlement, or so called, was most unjust and could by no true law hold; yet, because they are persons useful to the commonwealth, and acted *bonâ fide* (seeing the estate out of the ancient proprietor's hands by so many publick Acts, as it was not like ever to come to him again), there ought an expedient to be found for the like, that they be not losers, and that either they or the ancient proprietors may be recompensed one way or other, rather than it should be an obstacle to the common good."

From a comparison of all the printed evidence we possess on the conduct of James II. respecting ecclesiastical matters in Ireland, with whatever is contained in the State Paper Office, London, on the same subject, it is most probable, that he intended the Roman Catholic Church should be *an* Established, if not THE Established Church here[v]; but, according to his Memoirs

[v] See Notes 90 and 113.

Memoirs, with a general "liberty of conscience" here, as well as in England, for the members of other Christian persuasions.

As to the animosity which the Williamite Dr. King would represent to have been *general* amongst the Irish against all those of English race, with landed property, in Ireland; such a feeling rather seems to have been entertained against those English of the last, or Cromwellian immigration, established on the ruin of so many of the more ancient proprietors of *both* races, by the Acts of Settlement and Explanation. The descendants of the older English settlers in Ireland would appear to have looked upon themselves as holding their possessions under a title sanctioned by time, and to have proportionably sympathised with the disinherited Irish, in their aversion to the Cromwellians. The Anglo-Irish and Williamite annalist, Cox, Ex-Recorder of Kinsale, lamenting, in 1689, in England, where he was a refugee, the absorption of the older English colonists into the native Irish interest, which adhered to the cause of James II. against the Revolution, observes: "Whereas the Old English were heretofore on the British side in all national quarrels, they are now so infatuated and degenerated, that they do not only take part with the Irish, but call themselves *Natives*, in distinction from the New English, against whom they are (at present) as inveterate as the Original Irish, though," he adds, "time may open their eyes, and rectifie that error"[w].

Note 34, Pages 15, 16.

General reputation of James for courage and ability, when Duke of York.

James II., while Duke of York, and in exile with his brother, Charles II., on the Continent, had served four years with distinction, under the great Marshal Turenne, in the French armies, and two years more, under the famous Prince of Conde, in the Spanish armies. Turenne's biographer, the Chevalier de Ramsay, says: "L'un et l' autre de ces deux grands capitaines admirerent toujours la valeur et la capacité du Duc d'York." "It was," observes Mr. Jesse, "a saying of the celebrated Prince of Conde, that if ever there was a man without fear, it was the Duke of York;" and, as has been previously seen, the Spanish Court sufficiently attested the high opinion it entertained of the Duke's merit, by the command which it offered him of its forces, both by sea and land, against the revolted Portuguese[x]; but which the Duke was prevented from accepting, by the occurrence of the Restoration. Of his personal gallantry, as a naval commander, in the wars against the Dutch, during his brother's reign, the instances may be found in Hume and Lingard. "Nor does it appear," says the Rev. J. S. Clarke,

[w] King's State of the Protestants of Ireland, under the late King James's Government, sect. iii. p. 18; and Letters in Appendix, pp. 303-309, and pp. 360, 369, 370, &c.: London, 1690.—Leslie's Answer to King, p. 25.—Macpherson's Original Papers, vol. i. pp. 319, 320, 337, 339, 341, 342: London, 1775.—Copies of the original Correspondence, with Ireland, of the Earl of Sunderland, Secretary of State, &c., in the State Paper Office, London.—Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 102, 106, 111, 112, 355, 361, 619, 621, 622.—Cox's Hibernia Anglicana, vol. i. preface: London, 1689.

[x] See Note 25.

Clarke, editor of his Memoirs, "that the essential and lasting service which James rendered to this Country, in compacting and as it were building up its Naval Power, has been sufficiently weighed. It is not generally known, that the Naval Regulations now in force are taken almost *verbatim* from those which he established, or that when lately the Board of Naval Revision wished to add to and improve the Naval Regulations, they sent for the papers of Pepys, the Marine Secretary of JAMES, as being the best materials whence they could obtain the object they had in view. As Campbell frankly acknowledged, *James thoroughly understood the whole business of the Admiralty, and knew also the disorders which had crept into the whole œconomy of the Fleet in the six years immediately preceding his Accession.* This fact is amply corroborated by the honourable testimony of Mr. Secretary Pepys, in his Memoirs; the excellent methods there recorded, by which James regenerated the Naval Power, clearly show how well he understood it in all its bearings." Of James, as Duke of York, Hume gives this character: —"Severe but open in his enmities, steady in his counsels, diligent in his schemes, brave in his enterprizes, faithful, sincere, and honourable in his dealings with all men; such was the character with which the Duke of York mounted the throne of England"[y].

NOTE 35, Page 16.

Error as to James's time of life, at the birth of his son, corrected.

Whatever period between the accession of James II. to the throne, in February, $168\frac{4}{5}$, and the birth of his first child after that event, or in June, 1688, the text alludes to, it is incorrect in speaking of the King, as only "entering his fiftieth year." James, having been born October 14, 1633, was necessarily in his fifty-second year at the period of his coming to the Crown in February, $168\frac{4}{5}$, and in his fifty-fifth year in June, 1688, when his son, styled the Pretender, was born. Nevertheless, the King was considered to be of such a sound constitution, that the Irish Roman Catholics looked to his having sufficient time, during his reign, to make the many political and religious changes in their favour, so earnestly expected from him. In the copy of a letter sent to His Majesty, August 14, 1686, which Archbishop King states to have been found amongst the papers of Dr. Patrick Tyrrell, Roman Catholic Bishop of Clogher and Kilmore, and Secretary of State in Ireland, the writer observes:—"And now that a needful alteration is begun in Ireland, it should be carried on speedily for your own and Catholick subjects' security; for all the sectaries in England are so gall'd at some of the phanaticks being discarded in Ireland, that they join heads, concert councils, swear and contrive vengeance against all Papists, who must expect no quarters but during your Majesty's reign:

[y] Histoire du Vicomte de Turenne, par M. le Chevalier de Ramsay, avertissement, tome i.: Paris, 1735.—Jesse's Memoirs of the Court of England during the Reign of the Stuarts, vol. iv. pp. 383-385. —Hume's History of England, vol. ix. chaps. clxiv. clxv. pp. 183-184, 267-268, and vol. x. chap. clxxi. p. 187. — Lingard's History of England, vol. xi. chap. v. pp. 279-281, and vol. xii. chap. i. pp. 12-16.—Memoirs of King James II., Editor's Preface, vol. i. pp. xxvi.-xxvii.

reign[z]: but all good men have reason to hope that God who delivered you from the manifold dangers of your life, and made your enemies your foot-stool, will spare your precious life, till you accomplish the glorious work reserv'd for you, by that Providence that is your best Life-guard. And 'tis the comfort of all good subjects, that besides your being of all sides descended from healthy parents, you have (I thank God) all the symptoms of a vigorous long-liv'd man: nay, that your having been suckled by a very healthy long-lived woman, must in reason contribute much to the length of your life"[a].

Note 36, Page 16.

Mary of Modena, Queen of James II.

Maria Beatrice Eleonora d' Este, daughter of Alphonso IV., Duke of Modena, was born October 5, 1658. The first wife of the Duke of York, Anne Hide, daughter of the Chancellor of that name, having died, March 31, 1671; and it having been determined by Charles II. that his brother, the Duke, as heir apparent to the Crown of England, and then without any legitimate male issue, should marry again; the Earl of Peterborough was commissioned to demand, as wife for the Duke, the young Princess of Modena from her mother; who, on account of her son's minority, was then Regent of that Italian principality. "It was," observes James's Memoirs, "with no litle difficulty that the young Princess consented to it, she being then but fifteen years old, and so innocently bred, that till then she had never heard of such a place as England, nor of such a person as the Duke of York. Besides, she at that time had a great inclination to be a nun, in so much that the Duchess her mother was obliged to get the Pope to write to her, and perswade her to comply with her mother's desires, as most conduceing to the seruice of God and the publick good. With much difficulty his Holiness and her Highness prevail'd upon the Princess, and the Earle of Peterborow therupon made his publick entry at Modena, as Embassador Extraordinary from the King, and after having agreed [to] all the articles of marriage upon the 30th of September, N. S., he married her by proxy for the Duke his master." This match was chiefly promoted by Louis XIV., who had adopted the Italian Princess as his daughter; to whom, according to M. Mignet, in his valuable work, "*Négociations relatives à la Succession d'Espagne sous Louis XIV.*," the French Monarch likewise gave "une dot de quatre cent mille écus. Louis XIV.," adds M. Mignet, "ne l'avait pas seulement dotée, il avait aplani toutes les difficultés qu'opposait à ce mariage la jeune princesse elle-même, qui desirait se faire religieuse. Il avait envoyé le Marquis de Dangeau auprès de sa mère à Modène, et il avait obtenu du Pape un bref exhortatoire pour la détourner de cette résolution." "The noise of this match coming to the ears of the House of Commons, who," according to the Duke's Memoirs, "were mightily heated against that which they call'd Popery, as they usually are when discontented with the government, enter'd into a hot

[z] See Note 47.

[a] Memoirs of King James II., vol. i. pp. 1, 746-749; vol. ii. pp. 1, 160.—King's State of the Protestants of Ireland, Appendix, pp. 303, 304.

a hot debate about it, and at last resolved upon an address to the King to break the match, because the Princess was a Roman Catholick, and that it was promoted by France." Nevertheless, James met his bride at Dover, November 21, 1673, and consummated the nuptials there. Mr. Jesse gives this interesting account of the Duchess of York, and subsequent Queen of England:—" Youth, beauty, innocence, and good nature, naturally rendered Mary of Modena a favourite at the court of Charles. Her exquisite symmetry, her fair complexion, and especially her dark and lustrous eyes, are dwelt upon enthusiastically by her contemporaries. Lord Lansdown, in his 'Epistle to the Earl of Peterborough,' thus celebrates their brilliancy:

> " 'Our future hopes all from thy womb arise;
> Our present joy and safety from your eyes;
> Those charming eyes, which shine to reconcile
> To harmony and peace our stubborn isle.'

" And again:

> " 'Those radiant eyes, whose irresistless flame
> Strikes envy dumb, and keeps sedition tame.'

" In his allusions to her in 'The Progress of Beauty,' Lord Lansdown grows still warmer in her praise. With reference to her subsequent misfortunes, Mary of Modena was poetically spoken of by her contemporaries, as 'the Queen of Tears.'" Notwithstanding the great disparity in point of years between herself and her husband, she being only about 15 and he above 40 when they were married, and, moreover, his having given her, for some years, considerable cause for uneasiness by his matrimonial infidelities, Mary, adds Mr. Jesse, "regarded him with the most devoted attachment, and in a period, teeming, in an extraordinary degree, with dangers and intrigues, she naturally took the highest interest in whatever was likely to affect his life or happiness. Regarding her character in social life," continues the same writer, "nothing could be more amiable. Her chastity has never been impugned; she was charitable and pious; and, under peculiarly trying circumstances, invariably figures as an affectionate mother, and a devoted and exemplary wife." As Duchess of York she had, from the period of her marriage in 1673 to 1682, four children, or one son and three daughters, all of whom, however, died when very young; which circumstance, combined with that of her not having been pregnant for several years, and of the advanced period of life at which her husband was arrived after he became King, made his enemies calculate on his having no more children. But, besides the unfortunate Prince of Wales, James Francis Edward, born at St. James's Palace, London, in June, 1688, Queen Mary had, after the Revolution, a daughter born in June, 1692, at the Castle of St. Germain, near Paris. In that residence, the Queen died, May 7, 1718, in the seventeenth year after her husband's decease, the thirtieth year of her exile from England, and the sixtieth of her age[b].

NOTE 37,

[b] Jesse's Memoirs of the Court of England during the Reign of the Stuarts, vol. iv. pp. 464-469, 479-482.—Memoirs of King James II., vol. i. pp. 387, 388, 452-454, 484-486, and vol. ii. pp. 129, 130,

Note 37, Page 16.

Marriage of William, Prince of Orange, to the Princess Mary, eldest child of James II.

William Henry III., Prince of Orange and Nassau, Stadtholder of the Seven United Provinces of Holland, and afterwards William III., King of England, was the son of William II., Prince of Orange and Nassau, and Stadtholder of the Seven United Provinces of Holland, by the Princess Mary Stuart, eldest daughter to Charles I., and sister to Charles II. and James II., Kings of England. William III., Prince of Orange, married, in November, 1677, his first cousin, Mary Stuart, eldest daughter of the Duke of York, afterwards James II., and thus was the son-in-law, as well as the nephew, of that unfortunate monarch. It was not correct to say, in the text, of William, "to whom, after his father-in-law's decease, the succession to the kingdom, of undoubted right, devolved." In case of King James's death without male issue, William, through the medium of his wife, might, indeed, have been the *virtual*, though he could not have been the *actual*, Monarch of England; the "undoubted right to the sovereignty" vesting in his wife *only*, as the elder surviving child of King James; and on *her* decease, without any family, devolving to *her* sister, James's second daughter, the Princess Anne, afterwards Queen Anne. But, William having caused the English Parliament to change this order of things at the Revolution, by proclaiming both himself and his wife Sovereigns of England, with the executive power vested in his person, Anne, notwithstanding her sister Mary's death in 1694, was obliged to wait until William's decease in 1702, before she became Queen of England[c].

Note 38, Page 16.

Disaffection of the Protestants towards James II. increased, on his Queen becoming with child: hopes of the Irish Roman Catholics on the subject.

King James's Memoirs mark the "exceeding jealousie and dissatisfaction to the Church of England," occasioned by the circumstance of his Queen's pregnancy. Barillon, the French Ambassador, writing to his master, Louis XIV., on the subject, from London, January 5th, 1688, says:—"Il y aura des prieres publiques ordonnées par toute l'Angleterre à un jour qui sera marqué, pour l'heureux succes de la grossesse de la Reine d'Angleterre; les prieres des Catholiques seront fort sincéres; on ne s'attend pas que ce soit la même chose dans les eglises Protestantes; mais les evesques et les pasteurs n'oseront se dispenser d'obeir à la Proclamation."

The

160, 192, 496, 497, 599.—Négociations relatives à la Succession d'Espagne sous Louis XIV., &c., par M. Mignet, tome iv. partie v. section ii. pp. 223-224: Paris, 1842.

[c] Jesse's Memoirs of the Court of England from the Revolution in 1688 to the Death of George II., vol. i. pp. 6, 36-38, 78-85, 178-181, 217: London, 1843.—Memoirs of King James II., vol. i. pp. 1, 49, 391, 508-510, and vol. ii. pp. 295, 306, 307, 317, 525, 526, 601, 602.—Harris's Life of William III., pp. 1, 50, 51, 168-172, 391, 499.—Parliamentary Hist. of England, vol. v. pp. 110-111, 863-875, 1343.

The feelings of the Irish on the matter are thus noticed by a hostile or Williamite contemporary:—"Before I take leave of our supposed Prince of Wales's birth, I must not omit to acquaint the reader of the universal confidence of all the Irish in the kingdom, that the Queen (as soon as 'twas said she had conceived) was with child of a son. This they were so certain of, that they would lay you twenty guineas to one, or any other wager in proportion to that, from the highest to the lowest amongst them. This confidence was much wondered at by the English, and judged to be very unreasonable," observes this writer, with regard to the Anglo-Protestant settlers in Ireland; "which, when the English inquir'd the reason of," the Irish, he adds, "attributed their great assurance to the prayers of their infallible Church, which were daily offered to God upon this account, and would undoubtedly meet with a suitable return"[d].

NOTE 39, Page 16.

The Queen of James II. delivered of a Son.

The Queen was publicly delivered, at St James's Palace, June 10th, 1688, of the Prince of Wales, who was christened by the names of James Francis Edward, in the chapel of that palace, on the 15th of the following October. Dalrymple, after relating how this birth of a son to the King occurred during the celebrated proceedings against the Seven Bishops, marks how unwelcome the production of such an heir to the crown was to the disaffected feelings of the Protestants in England. "Rumours," he says, "were immediately spread, and, as men easily believe what they wish, were greedily received, that the birth was an imposture. Many falsehoods were invented and circulated to increase the suspicion; and, according to the nature of credulity, in times of high passion, the most improbable were the most believed. Even men of sense and of candour seemed to have lost their superiority of mind in the prejudices of the vulgar. The vulgar even fell below their ordinary deficiency of common understanding. They believed, that the fireworks, prepared in honour of the Prince of Wales's birth, were intended to bombard the city, in revenge for their rejoicings upon the deliverance of the Bishops. And, as men in terror are prone to superstition, the sky happening, on the night of the fireworks, to be alternately obscured by clouds, and inflamed by lightnings, they cried out, 'that this was an expression of the Almighty's indignation against the imposture put upon the Protestant heirs to the throne.' Few," he adds, "reflected how unlikely it was, that James should stifle the voice of nature, to injure his daughters[e], who had never injured him. It was said, 'That one who had broken faith with his God in changing his religion, and with his people in invading the constitution, was become insensible to all the ties of nature.'"

The

[d] Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 129, 130.—Barillon's letter of January 5th, 1688, to Louis XIV., in Dalrymple's Memoirs, appendix, part i. vol. ii. pp. 268-273: London, 1773.—A Full and Impartial Account of all the Secret Consults, Negociations, Stratagems, and Intriegues of the Romish Party in Ireland, from 1660 to this present Year, 1689, for the Settlement of Popery in that Kingdom, pp. 127, 128: London, 1689.

[e] See Note 37.

The Prince of Orange, in the first Declaration issued by him, October 10, 1688, from the Hague, before his embarkation for the invasion of England, observes, with respect to the recent birth of the King's son :—" But, to crown all, there are great and violent presumptions inducing us to believe, that those evil counsellors, in order to the carrying on of their ill designs, and to the gaining to themselves the more time for the effecting of them, for the encouraging of their complices, and for the discouraging of all good subjects, have published, that the Queen hath brought forth a son ; though there hath appeared, both during the Queen's pretended bigness, and in the manner in which the birth was managed, so many just and visible grounds of suspicion, that not only we ourselves, but all the good subjects of those kingdoms, do vehemently suspect, that the pretended Prince of Wales was not born by the Queen. And it is notoriously known to all the world, that many both doubted of the Queen's bigness, and of the birth of the child; and yet there was not any one thing done to satisfy them, or to put an end to their doubts." Then, having stated, " since our dearest and most entirely beloved consort, the Princess, and likewise ourselves, have so great an interest in this matter, and such a right, as all the world knows, to the succession to the Crown," that for those and many other reasons (not necessary, and too long here to mention), it was his intention to invade England, to obtain a redress of its grievances by means of " a free and lawful Parliament, assembled as soon as possible," he adds: " To this Parliament we will also refer the inquiry into the birth of the pretended Prince of Wales, and of all things relating to it." To the Parliament, however, or any other public tribunal, no inquiry of the kind was ever referred; but, in the words of James's Memoirs, " the Prince of Orange, haveing brought about what he aim'd at by that and other calumnys, let them moulder away when he had no further use for them ;" the misrepresentations respecting the Prince of Wales's birth being, according to the same authority, such, that " indeed none but a people accostomed to belieue the fables of forty-one, and the contradictions of Oates's plot, could reconcile."

" It would be needless," observes Mr. Jesse, after noticing the different party fictions on this matter, " to detail the various and unanswerable arguments, which refute the idle theory of a surreptitious birth. It would be alone a sufficient refutation, that, besides the necessary attendants, there were present, at the Queen's delivery, forty-two persons of rank, eighteen of the Privy Council, four other noblemen, and twenty ladies, all of whom, as far as circumstances and modesty would allow, were witnesses of the birth of the Prince of Wales. By the desire of James, the depositions of these persons were taken down, and may still be seen, with the autographs of the deponents, in the Council Office. . . . . No person, indeed, who was ever introduced to the Pretender,—as he was afterwards invidiously styled,—who had previously been acquainted with the features and character of his misguided father, ever, for a moment, questioned, that he was the genuine offspring of King James." See Note 45.

How very opposite was the popular feeling in Ireland to that in England, on the delivery of the Queen, is described as follows, in a contemporary Williamite pamphlet:—" Now comes into Ireland one Captain Bridges, who rid post to bring the happy news of the birth of the supposed Prince of Wales: for which he received the honour of knighthood, by the sirname of

of Sir Matthew Bridges. What tongue can express, or man describe, the extravagancy of those joys, which possessed the Irish, at the arrival of this news. Their former apprehensions of the shortness of their triumph, by reason of King James's declension in age, and the prospect of a Protestant successor, had extreamly imbittered their greatest comforts, and caus'd an intermixture of hopes and fears. But now, that they had got a young Prince, that would become a patron to the Holy Church, this soon dissipated all their troubles . . . . 'Twould require a volume to describe the particularities of those various scenes of joy, which they shew'd upon this occasion. Let this suffice, that no arts of extravagancy were omitted, whereby to represent their boundless complacencies"[f]. This is, of course, spoken of the Irish Roman Catholics, for the Irish Protestants naturally felt very much as their brethren did in England.

Note 40, Page 16.

The birth of a son to James gives an additional stimulus to the conspirators against him.

Twenty days after the birth of James's son, or June 30th, 1688, the invitation of the Prince of Orange to come over to England, and agreement to join him when he should arrive, was signed by the famous Association of Seven. The seven were, Lord Shrewsbury, Lord Devonshire, Lord Danby, Lord Lumley, the Bishop of London, Admiral Russell, and Mr. Sidney, afterwards Lord Romney, by whom the original document was written[g].

Note 41, Page 16.

Error, as to the period of William's sailing from Holland, after the birth of King James's son, corrected. Inability of the Dutch to oppose the King, but for the disaffection that deprived him of his forces.

The implication conveyed, either through carelessness or error on the part of the Author, that it was in the course of a few days after the birth of the Prince, that William's expedition drew near England, is opposed to the real chronology of those occurrences. The Prince of Wales, as has been seen, was born in June, 1688; whereas William first sailed from Holland on the 19th of October, soon after which he was driven back into harbour by bad weather; and he again put to sea on November 1st, and landed at Torbay, in Devonshire, the 5th of the same month. According to Harris, from whom these dates are given, the Dutch naval force consisted of fifty-two men of war, twenty-five frigates, twenty-five fire-ships, and near 400 transport vessels; and the Dutch land force mustered 14,352 men,—of whom 10,692 were

[f] Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 160-161, 191-192, 193-203. — Dalrymple's Memoirs, part i. book iv. vol. iii. pp. 100-101: London, 1790. —First Declaration of the Prince of Orange, in Parliamentary History of England, vol. v. pp. 1, 9, 10, 11.—Jesse's Memoirs of the Court of England under the Stuarts, vol. iv. pp. 406-407.—A Full and Impartial Account of all the Secret Consults, Negociations, Stratagems, and Intriegues of the Romish Party in Ireland, &c., pp. 125-126.

[g] Dalrymple's Memoirs, part i. book v. vol. ii. pp. 1, 2, and appendix, pp. 102, 107-110: London, 1790.

were infantry, and 3660 cavalry. King James's fleet (the exact numerical details of which cannot be gathered from his Memoirs) is stated by Dalrymple to have consisted of sixty-one ships, of which thirty-eight were of the line; and the King rates his army (without counting militia), at 40,000 men; "which force," add the royal Memoirs, "his Majesty thought sufficient to deal with the Prince of Orange, either by sea or land, and had realy been so, had the officers been faithfull."

As regards one portion of this observation, it appears from the French naval historian, Sue, "que la flotte du Prince d'Orange était tellement encombrée de soldats et de munitions, que les batimens d'escorte étaient en si mauvais état, qu'une escadre de vingt vaissaux de guerre auraient facilement dispersé cette multitude de navires marchant presque sans ordre, et porté un coup mortel à la puissance maritime de la Hollande." As regards the other portion of the King's observation, the very superior amount of his land forces to those of the Dutch leaves no room for questioning the justice of his assertion, on that head. An Irish Protestant officer, Captain Robert Parker, of the Earl of Meath's, afterwards the Royal Irish, Regiment of Foot, who was then in England, and who, on account of some losses the Dutch land-force had suffered by the time it had reached England, makes its numbers "not fully 14,000," says in his Memoirs:—"Here it is to be observed, to the honour of the army, that it was they, in a great measure, who saved the nation, at this juncture. They, seeing their religion, laws, and liberties at stake, refused to fight for their King, because he had overturned the Constitution; and declared in favour of the Prince, who came to restore it, else it had not been possible for him, with the handful of men he brought over (not full 14,000), to have compleated our late glorious *Revolution;* the consequences of which, not *Great Britain* only in particular, but also *Europe* in general, is very sensible of at this day"[h].

Note 42, Pages 16, 17.

James, by the desertion of his subjects in England, obliged to take refuge, with his Queen and infant son, in France, where they are magnificently received by Louis XIV.

The King finding, that (to use the language of his Memoirs) "now things were come to that extremity, by the generall defection of the nobility, gentry, and clergie, by the scandalous desertion of the chief officers and others in the army, as gaue little reason to trust those who remain'd, so that no other councel could reasonably be embraced, but to quit the kingdom with as much secresy as possibly he could," caused the Queen and the infant Prince of Wales to be privately embarked early in December, and conveyed to France, "par Messieurs de Lausun et de Saint-Victor," says the Duke of Berwick, "deux François qui se trouvoient pour

[h] Harris's Life of William III., pp. 137-141.—Dalrymple's Memoirs, part i. book v. vol. ii. p. 36: London, 1790.—Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. p. 186.—Sue, Histoire de la Marine Française sous Louis XIV., tome iv. p. 286: Paris, 1836.—Memoirs of the most Remarkable Military Transactions from the Year 1683 to 1718, by Captain Robert Parker, pp. 8-10, 13, 48: Dublin, 1746.

pour lors à Londres." Soon after, he himself effected his escape from his Dutch guards, at Rochester, by night, and sailed for France in a little vessel, accompanied by his son, the Duke of Berwick, two sea officers, Captains Trevanion and Macdonnell (most probably Captain Randall Macdonnell, an Irishman), Mr. Biddulph, a Gentlemen of the Bedchamber, and Labadye, one of the royal valets. "Besides the danger of crossing the seas in so small a vessel, and in the depth of winter," observe the royal Memoirs, "he was pen'd up all that while in a small cabbin where was just room for him and the Duke of Berwick to sit, in continual aprehentions of being attacked and seized again by his rebellious subjects; however it was some cause of mirth to him, when growing very hungry and dry, Captain Travanian went to fry his Majesty some bacon, but by misfortune the frying pan haveing a hole in it, he was forced to stop it with a pitched rag, and to ty an old furr'd can about with a cord, to make it hould the drink they put in it; however the King never eat or drank more heartely in his life." They landed in France, at Ambleteuse, about three o'clock on Christmas morning, old style; and James dispatched the Duke of Berwick to Louis XIV., at Versailles, to demand an asylum in his kingdom. "J'en fus reçu," adds the Duke, "avec toute la politesse et l'amitié imaginables; et il étoit aisé de voir par ses discours, que son cœur parloit autant que sa langue."

For the general details of the reception of James and his family, according to English, Dutch, and French accounts, see the under-cited authorities[1].

Note 43, Page 17.

Mistaken notion as to Louis XIV.'s having sworn, that he would either lose his own throne, or restore James II. to that of England.

For Louis XIV.'s having either taken an oath under circumstances of such remarkable solemnity as those above stated, or any *oath* at all, with respect to the restoration of James II. to his throne, the writer of this note has not found any authority in French histories or memoirs. The assertion with regard to such an oath may, perhaps, be best explained by supposing the notion of such an occurrence to have been adopted, from the common or popular mode of expressing in Ireland at the time, that the King of France had *most strongly pledged himself* to aid James, in the recovery of his kingdoms. Besides, we know, both from the general inadequacy of the assistance given by Louis to the Irish in their defence of James, and from the contemporary testimony of the Président de Montesquieu, that the Irish war was *not* considered in France to have been of such importance, as the taking of any *oath*, like that attributed to Louis, would imply. Speaking of that contest as one, in which, as regarded the Irish,

[1] Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick, tome i. pp. 29-40: Paris, 1778.—Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 205-206, 208-210, 211-212, 215-219, 221-227, 229-237, 239-242, 244-249, 259-273, 275-278. — Archdall's Lodge's Peerage of Ireland, vol. i. pp. 202-203.—King's State of the Protestants of Ireland, Appendix, p. 366: London, 1690. —Mercure Historique et Politique, tome vi. pp. 55-56, 165-166: a la Haye, 1689.—Voltaire, Siecle de Louis XIV., Œuvres Completes, tome xx. pp. 403-404: Paris, 1785.—Leslie's Answer to King, preface.

Irish, and those who so badly supported them, "la valeur ne manqua jamais, et la conduite toujours," that great political writer observes:—"On peut dire de cette guerre d'Irlande, qu'on la regarda à Londres comme l'œuvre du jour, et comme l'affaire capitale de l'Angleterre, et en France, comme une guerre d'affection particuliere et de bienséance."—He means with respect to James II.—"Les Anglois, qui ne vouloient point avoir de guerre civile chez eux, assommerent l'Irlande. Il paroît même que les Officiers François qu'on y envoya, penserent comme eux qui les y envoyoient: ils n'eurent que trois choses dans la tête, d'arriver, de se battre, et de s'en retourner[j]. Le temps a fait voir, que les Anglois avoient mieux pensé que nous"[k].

NOTE 44, Page 17.

Causes of the great Confederacy of European Powers, called the League of Augsburgh, against Louis XIV., and connexion of that League with the dethronement of James II.

The alliance of so many European powers against Louis XIV., known as the League of Augsburgh, had been in progress for a considerable time previous to the dethronement of James II.; and it was to add the important aid of England to the League, that the Prince of Orange was favoured by those powers, in his proposed invasion of England.

The partly religious and partly political causes of this great confederacy are thus set forth, under the years 1685 and 1686, in that learned compilation, "L'Art de Vérifier les Dates." Commencing in 1685 with Louis XIV.'s "Edit portant révocation de l'Edit de Nantes, donné par Henri IV., l'an 1598, en faveur du Calvinisme," the Benedictine compiler says:—"Le Chancelier le Tellier le signa dans son lit, où il étoit malade à la mort, en disant le *Nunc dimittis.* Christine, Reine de Suede, ne pensoit pas de même. Ecrivant de Rome sur ce sujet au Chevalier Terlon, *je considere,* disoit-elle, *la France comme un pauvre malade à qui l'on a coupé bras et jambes, pour le guérir d'un mal qu'un peu de patience et de douceur auroit entièrement dissipé.* Bien des Catholiques éclairés et judicieux étoient de cette avis. Ce qu'il y a de certain, c'est que la Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes nous a privés d'un grand nombre de commerçans et d'artisans, qui ont transporté chez l'étranger nos richesses et notre industrie. Les Princes Protestants, en recevant ces fugitifs dans leurs états, adopterent leur ressentiment. Celui qui montra le plus de zéle pour les venger fut Guillaume, Prince d'Orange. Mais il employa d'autres prétextes que celui de la religion, pour attirer dans son parti les Catholiques. Par ses intrigues, l'Empereur, les Rois d'Espagne et de Suede, les Electeurs de Saxe et de Baviere, les Cercles de Suabe et de Franconie, auxquels se joignirent dans la suite les Electeurs Palatin et de Brandebourg, et le Duc de Savoie, signent, le 21 Juin de l'an 1686, la fameuse Ligue d'Ausbourg. L'objet principal de cet alliance étoit de maintenir et de faire observer, dans toute leur étendue, les Traités de Munster, de Nimegue, et de Ratisbonne. On couvrit l'Assemblée d'Ausbourg du prétexte de la guerre contre les Turcs," &c. On

[j] See Note 141.

[k] Ebauche de l'Eloge Historique du Maréchal de Berwick par le Président de Montesquieu, in Mémoires de Berwick, tome i. pp. xx.–xxi.

On this great League against France, the Abbé de Saint Pierre observes:—" Elle ne fut d'abord proposée que comme défensive, mais dans le fond elle étoit aussi offensive, et il y avoit même réellement beaucoup plus de princes alliés qu'il n'en paroissoit. Les réunions des fiefs faites par les chambres de Metz et de Brisac, avec si peu d'égards pour les princes et pour la noblesse d'Allemagne, la surprise de Strasbourg, la prise de Luxembourg, la persécution des Calvinistes, le peu d'exactitude du Roi à tenir ses promesses dans les anciens et dans les nouveaux traités; la guerre de 1667, faite contre l'Espagne, malgre les renonciations; la dernière invasion de la Hollande, le bombardement de Gènes, tout cela avoit excité une haine presque universelle des princes et des nations d'Europe, contre lui et contre les François; de sorte que la Ligue fut presque aussitôt formée que proposée. Ce furent les suites de cette Ligue qui commencèrent les malheurs du Roi et du royaume; malheurs, qu'il auroit pû facilement éviter, *s'il s'étoit toujours piqué de ne rien entreprendre contre ses voisins de ce qu'il n'eût pas voulu qu'ils eussent entrepris contre lui, supposé qu'ils eussent été fort supérieurs en force;* et s'il eût été assez sage pour préférer de beaucoup le titre précieux d'arbitre équitable, de puissant pacificateur des nations Chrétiennes, et de grand bienfaiteur de l'Europe, au titre fastueux de conquérant, qu'il ne pouvoit acquérir sans être grand perturbateur du repos des autres nations." This formidable League of Continental Princes, which, according to the Abbé, cost France "plus de cent mille hommes en huit ans, et plus de soixante millions d'onces d'argent extraordinaire," was eventually augmented by the adhesion of Pope Innocent XI.

Respecting this last adhesion, and the proposed invasion of England connected with the general objects of the League, the Duke of Berwick adds, in his Memoirs, under the year 1688:—" Le Pape Innocent XI., l'Empereur, et le Roi d'Espagne, étoient d'intelligence avec le Prince d'Orange, sur l'invasion préméditée; cela dans la vue d'obliger le Roi d'Angleterre à renoncer à l'alliance qu'il avoit avec la France, et à se joindre à la Ligue nouvellement faite à Ausbourg, contre cette nation. Leur intention ne fut jamais pourtant de détrôner le Roi d'Angleterre; et pour preuve, Dom Pedro Ronquillo, Ambassadeur d'Espagne à Londres, dans une audience particuliere qu'il demanda exprès, fit entrevoir clairement au Roi que l'orage le menaçoit; mais en même temps l'assûra, au nom de la Maison d'Autriche, que, s'il vouloit entrer dans la Ligue, il n'y auroit plus rien a craindre pour lui, et que tout l'effort se tourneroit contre la France. La réponse du Roi, quoique peu conforme à ce que la politique auroit peut-être pu exiger de lui dans les circonstances présentes, fut selon la droiture de son cœur et de sa conscience. Il assûra l'Ambassadeur qu'il avoit intention de vivre bien avec tout le monde, et de ne se départir jamais des régles de l'équité et de la justice; que par ces mêmes regles, il ne pouvoit rompre avec un Prince son parent[l] et son allié, de qui il n'avoit jamais reçu que des amitiés. Ronquillo le pressant fortement, et lui faisant envisager les malheurs où il alloit être exposé, s'il persistoit dans cette résolution, le Roi lui répondit qu'il perdroit plûtot sa Couronne, que de jamais commettre une action injuste"[m]. See Note 50.

NOTE 45,

[l] See Note 12.

[m] L'Art de Vérifier les Dates, &c., tome i. pp. 665, 691, 692: troisième édition, Paris, 1783. — Annales Politiques de feu Monsieur Charles-

Note 45, Page 17.

Election of the Prince of Orange as King of England, to the prejudice of King James and his Son, after their departure to France.

"Dès que le Prince d'Orange apprit le départ du Roi," says the Duke of Berwick, "et son arrivée en France, il convoqua une Convention, où assisterent tous les Grands du Royaume et les Deputés des Provinces et Villes : après des grands débats, il y fut à la fin conclu, à la pluralité des voix, que le Roi avoit abdiqué, et qu'ainsi le trône étoit vacant. Le Roi écrivit de Saint Germain une lettre à la Convention, pour lui expliquer les raisons qu'il avoit eues de se retirer en France, et lui défendre en même temps de procéder en rien contre ses intérêts ou son autorité : mais on ne voulut pas recevoir sa lettre, et peu après on déféra la Couronne, ou, pour meux dire, on élut, pour Roi et Reine d'Angleterre, le Prince et la Princesse d'Orange. Je ne prétends pas ici faire un long discours, pour prouver l'irrégularité de tout ce qui se faisoit en Angleterre ; je dirai seulement qu'il n'a jamais été défendu par aucune Coutume ou Loi à un Prince de sortir d'un de ses Royaumes sans la permission de ses sujets, et qu'il est absurde d'avancer que par-là il abdique ; l'abdication étant une démission volontaire faite, ou de bouche, ou par écrit, ou du moins par un silence non forcé, après qu'on a été pressé de s'expliquer. Le Roi n'est tombé dans aucun de ces cas ; il étoit prisonnier, et pour se tirer des mains de ses ennemis, s'étoit sauvé où il avoit pu. De plus il ne lui étoit pas possible d'aller joindre ses fideles sujets en Ecosse, ou en Irlande, que par la France ; car toute l'Angleterre étant soulevée, il n'eut pu traverser toute ce Royaume qu'avec un grand péril : mais quand même il auroit été vrai que le Roi eût abdiqué, la Couronne se trouvoit, selon les loix fondamentales du Royaume, *ipso facto*, dévolue à l'héritier immédiat, lequel n'étant alors qu'un enfant au berceau, ne pouvoit avoir commis aucun crime, ni abdiqué. Le Prince de Galles, son fils, avoit été reconnu pour tel par toute l'Europe, par toute la nation Angloise, et même par le Prince d'Orange : ainsi le Prince de Galles étoit Roi ; et pour en reconnoître un autre, il falloit prouver qu'il étoit un enfant supposé : mais c'est ce qu'on n'a jamais osé entreprendre, attendu que nul Prince n'est venu au monde en présence de tant de témoins que celui-ci ; mais il fut prouvé en plein Conseil et assemblée de Notables, un peu avant la descente du Prince d'Orange. J'en pourrois parler savamment, car j'y étois ; et malgré mon respect et mon dévouement pour le Roi, je n'aurois jamais pu donner les mains à une action si détestable, que celle de vouloir supposer un enfant, pour ôter la Couronne aux véritables héritiers ; et après la mort du Roi, je n'aurois pas continué à soutenir les intérêts d'un imposteur : l'honneur et la conscience ne me l'auroient pas permis[n]". See Note 39.

Note 46,

Irenée Castel, Abbé de Saint Pierre de l'Academie Françoise, tome i. pp. 330, 331, 332, 398: Londres, 1758.—Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick, tome i. pp. 26, 27.

[n] Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick, tome i. pp. 41-44.

NOTE 46, Pages 17, 18.

The Scotch follow the example of England, in electing William as their King.

The Rev. J. S. Clarke, editor of King James's Memoirs, cites from Dalrymple, in reference to the first abandonment of James's cause by the "Assembly of Peers and Scottish Gentlemen at Whitehall," in January, 1689, the following remarkable speech of the Earl of Arran. Dalrymple, after remarking that, in this meeting, "but one man alone had the spirit to speak out their sentiments and his own," namely, the Earl, gives his speech thus:—"I respect the Prince of Orange as much as any man here does. I think him a brave Prince, and that we all lie under great obligations to him, for delivering us from Popery. But, while I bestow these just praises upon him, I cannot violate my duty to the King, my master. I must distinguish between his Popery and his person: I dislike the one; but have sworn, and do owe allegiance to, the other. This makes it impossible for me to concur in an address, which gives the administration of his kingdom to another. We are Scottish not English men. The King's father and grandfather did not abdicate the crown of Scotland even by quitting their native country; how then can the King do it by quitting England only? The Prince asks our advice. My advice is, that we should address him, to invite the King to return, and call a free Parliament, which may provide, in a constitutional way, for the security of our property, liberty, and religion. All other ways are unconstitutional. By this alone, the nation can avoid present and prevent future discord."

Dalrymple adds, that, notwithstanding this speech, the Prince of Orange said to the Earl, "that he respected men of honour, to whatever party they belonged. Yet," observes the historian, "amid this liberality of sentiment, he did not lose sight of prudence; for he soon after committed Arran to the Tower, under another pretence." The Scotch writer then says: "The Prince made use of another politic art, with regard to the Scotch. Though the way from Scotland to London was open to all, the roads from thence to Scotland were, by his orders, stopped up. Public safety was the pretence for this. But the real intention was, to detain the Scotch nobility and gentry, until they should kiss hands, upon his elevation to the throne of England: a ceremony which, it was thought, would, in many, be a pledge of their acquiescence in his title, lay his enemies open to the suspicions of their own party, and create an impression in Scotland, and still more in England, of the unanimity of the Scotch in his favour." The Prince and Princess of Orange were finally sworn as Sovereigns of Scotland in London, May 11, 1689, by three Commissioners deputed from the Scotch Parliament, consisting of the Earl of Argyle, as representative of the Lords; Sir James Montgomery, of the Barons or Knights; and Sir James Dalrymple, of the Boroughs of that Kingdom[o].

NOTE 47,

[o] Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 278-279.—Dalrymple's Memoirs, &c., part i. book vii. vol. ii. pp. 265-267: London, 1790.—Harris's Life of William III., p. 184.

Note 47, Page 18.

The Irish adhere to James II., though he was suspected by them, of being no better disposed, than his brother, Charles II., to restore them their estates.

This notion, as to the disinclination of James to do justice to the Roman Catholics of Ireland, by reinstating them in those lands which had been vested in the Cromwellians by the Acts of Settlement and Explanation (and for which opinion, indeed, some ground would appear to have existed from the grant of Irish lands, received by James himself, as Duke of York, after the Restoration)[p], is *not*, however, correct. That the King *was* of himself inclined to make such a restoration, notwithstanding the strong obstacles existing in England to the passing of any such Act in favour of the ejected Irish, is apparent from the following passage of the French Ambassador's despatch to Louis XIV. Writing from England to his master, October 16, 1687, Barillon says:—"Milord Sonderland m'a dit que le Roy son maitre est résolu de renverser l'établissement fait des biens des Irlandois Catholiques aux Anglois Protestans aprés le retour du Roy d'Angleterre[q]; que cela est encore tenu fort secret; mais qu'on y travaillera bientot, et que les mesures sont prises pour en venir à bout. Le renversement de cette établissement fait en faveur des rebelles, et des officiers de Cromwel, est regardé icy comme ce qu'il y a de plus important; et s'il peut être executé sans opposition, ce sera une entiére séparation de l'Irlande d'avec l'Angleterre pour l'avenir. C'est le sentiment general de tous les Anglois."

That Barillon was right in the description he here gives, of the general feeling in England against a repeal of the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, or, in other words, that the English, whether Roman Catholics or Protestants, were equally unwilling to have the Irish Roman Catholics restored to their estates, is also evident from the letter (previously cited in these notes) of Dr. John Molony, Roman Catholic Bishop of Cork, to Dr. Patrick Tyrrell, Roman Catholic Bishop of Clogher and Kilmore. Dr. Molony, writing to Dr. Tyrrell from France (when James II. was on his way from Paris to embark for Ireland), and, endeavouring in his letter to impress upon his brother prelate, that the time was then at hand for the Irish to redress their own wrongs, by taking immediate measures to recover their properties from the Cromwellians, instead of consenting to postpone that recovery, according to the advice of James's English adherents, until *after* the restoration of the King to his throne in England, says:—"For never a *Catholick*, or other *English*, will ever think or make a step, nor suffer the King to make a step for your restoration, but leave you as you were hitherto, and leave your enemies over your heads to crush you any time they please, and cut you off root and branch, as they now publicly declare: and blame themselves they have not taken away your lives along with your estates long ago[r]; nor is there any *Englishman, Catholick* or other, of

[p] See Notes 21, 23, 27, and 28.

[q] That is, the Restoration of Charles II., &c.—See Note 26.

[r] See Note 35.

of what quality or degree soever alive, that will stick to sacrifice all *Ireland* for to save the least interest of his own in *England*, and would as willingly see all *Ireland* over, inhabited by English, of whatsoever religion, as by the *Irish:* and yet," concludes the Bishop, "by their fine politics they would persuade the *Irish* to come and save their houses from burning, whilst they leave their own on fire: which is no better than to look upon people as so many fools, when every body knows that charity begins at home: that one's charity for himself is the rule and measure of that he ought to have for his neighbour: *diliges proximum tuum sicut teipsum.*"

From these extracts, the great difficulties of James's situation in this delicate matter, may be fairly estimated,—assailed as he was, on one side, by the natural impatience of his Irish Roman Catholic subjects to regain the possession of those estates, which, to the aggrandisement of *his* enemies as well as *their's*, they had been kept out of since the Restoration,—and, on the other side, having to dread such a general opposition as was to be expected in England, on his venturing to touch that settlement of Irish landed property, upon which the due maintenance of the English power in Ireland was *then* considered, by ALL parties in England, so absolutely to depend[s].

NOTE 48, Page 18.

Large force raised and offered, by the Irish nobility, to the Viceroy, the Earl of Tyrconnell, to support James II.

"Ce fut alors, "says Abbé Mac Geoghegan, "que la Noblesse d'Irlande par commission du Comte de Tirconnell, leva, habilla, équipa, et arma en partie à ses dépens trente mille hommes pour le service de son Roi; il y avoit déja quelques vieux corps en Irlande, sçavoir les régimens de Montcashel, de Tirconnell, de Clancarty, d'Antrim, et autres. Le Vice-Roi donna des commisions de Colonels à plusieurs Seigneurs. Les Gentilshommes du pays leverent des compagnies, se joignirent ensemble sous les drapeaux des Colonels, et formerent les régimens; on vit bientôt paroître en campagne les régimens d'Inniskillin, de Hugue Mac-Mahon, d'Edmond Boy ô Reilly, de Mac-Donell, de Magennis, de Cormoc ô Neill, de Gordon ô Neill, de Felix ô Neill, de Brian ô Neill, du Chevalier Donnell ô Neill, de Coconnact Maguire, d'ô Donnell, de Nugent, de Lutterel, de Fitz-Gerald, de Galmoy, d'ô Morra, de Clare, &c. Il ne manqua pas de soldats; mais les soldats manquoient la plûpart de toutes les choses nécessaires à la guerre, hormis de courage et de bonne volonté; et les Seigneurs qui avoient fait la premiere dépense, étoient hors d'état de la supporter long-temps; les armes, les munitions, l'argent étoient rares dans un pays, que la nation qui y dominoit avoit épuisé de tout depuis si long-temps: il y avoit même peu d'Officiers qui sçussent la discipline militaire, et il eut fallu plus de loisir que l'on ne s'en pouvoit promettre, pour discipliner de nouvelles levées"[t].

NOTE 49,

[s] Barillon's despatch, October 16th, 1687, in Dalrymple's Memoirs, Appendix, part i. vol. ii. p. 262: London, 1773.—Bishop Molony's Letter, in Archbishop King's State of the Protestants of Ireland, &c., Appendix, pp. 360, 363, 364, 372: London, 1690.—Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 636, 637.

[t] "En rendant compte de cette guerre," ob-

Note 49, Page 19.

William gets from Pope Innocent XI. a sum of money, under the impression of its being intended for an attack on France, but applies it to dethrone James II. in England.

Mr. Jesse, in treating of the period when William was making preparations for a landing in England, says: "The manner in which, at this period, William contrived to obtain a sum of money from Pope Innocent XI., to assist him in the invasion of England, though affording sufficient proof of his ingenuity, is, perhaps, not altogether to his credit. Innocent, like William himself, had strong reasons to be exasperated with the French king, and was ready and eager to join any project, which seemed likely to humble or embarrass that monarch. Accordingly, as soon as it became known in Europe, that the Dutch were engaged in making great military preparations,—the object of which, however, the world was then in ignorance of,—William had the adroitness enough to persuade his Holiness, that, in conjunction with the Emperor, he was about to undertake an expedition against France. Innocent fell unsuspectingly into the snare, and, by this means, William was enabled to extract from him a considerable sum of money, which was afterwards employed in dethroning a Roman Catholic prince, whose establishment upon the throne, it was the primary object of the Pope to uphold"[u].

Note 50, Pages 19, 20.

William and the Dutch finally overreach the Roman Catholic powers of the League of Ausburgh, by representing to them, that the expedition prepared in Holland was merely to invade England, for the purpose of reconciling matters between James and his subjects, and then getting James to join the League against France.

"If the Prince of Orange, in coming to England," says Dalrymple, "had really the intention of mounting the throne, he deceived the Emperor as well as the Pope. In his box there is a copy of the following letter from him to the Emperor, a short time before he sailed." Dalrymple then gives this important document, in the original French, and a translation into English; the former of which is subjoined[w].

"Sire,

serves the Abbé, "on s'est servi, parmi d'autres mémoires qui nous en restent, d'un journal qu'en a laissé feu Edmond Butler de Kilcop, Maréchal Général des Logis de la Cavalerie en Irlande; il est d'autant plus digne de foi qu'il a vu les choses par lui-même: il mourut en 1725 à Saint Germain-en-Laye, Mestre de Camp de Cavalerie au service de France. Les Seigneurs de Kilcop au Comté de Waterford descendirent de Theobald Butler, Lord Baron de Cahir, Pair d'Irlande, et de Catherine Cusack son épouse, fille et unique héritiere de Jean Cusack, Lord Président de Munster; et à l'exemple des Lords Cahirs leurs aînés, ils s'étoient toujours distingues par un invariable attachement aux intérêts de la religion et de l'état."—(Histoire de l'Irlande, tome iii. p. 733, et errata du tome iii.)

[u] Jesse's Memoirs of the Court of England, from the Revolution in 1688 to the Death of George II., vol. i. pp. 46, 47.

[w] The several errors of transcription or printing

"SIRE,

"Je n'ay pu n'y voulu manquer de donner avis à votre Majesté Imperiale, que les mesintelligences, qui sont depuis quelque tems entre le Roi de la Grande Bretagne et ses sujets, sont venues à des extremitez si grandes, qu' étant sur le point d'eclatter par une rupture formelle, elles m'ont obligé de me resoudre à passer le mer, a cause des instances vives et reiterées qui m'en ont été faites par plusieurs pairs et autres personnes considerables du royaume, tant ecclesiastiques que seculiers. J'ay cru fort nécessaire d'y mener quelques troupes d'infanterie et de cavalerie, à fin de n'être point exposé aux insultes de ceux qui par leurs mauvais conseils, et par les violences qui s'en sont ensuivies, ont donné lieu à ces mesintelligences extremes. J'ai voulu, Sire, *assurer par cette lettre votre Majesté Imperiale que quelques bruits que l'on puisse avoir deja semez, et non-obstant ceux que l'on pourra faire courir a l'avenir, je n'ay pas la moindre intention de faire aucun tort à sa Majesté Britannique, n'y à ceux que ont droit de pretendre à la succession de ses royaumes, et* ENCORE MOINS D'EMPICTER MOY MÊME SUR LA COURONNE, OU DE VOULOIR ME L'APROPRIER.

"Je n'ay non plus aucun dessein d'extirper les Catholiques Romains, mais seulement d'employer mes soins pour tacher de faire redresser les desordres et les irregularités, qu'on a fait contre les lois de ces royaumes par les mauvais conseils des mal-intentionnez.

"Je tacheray aussi de procurer, que dans un parlement legitimement assemblé et composé de personnes deüement qualifiées selon les lois de la nation, les affaires soient reglées d'une telle maniere que la religion protestante, avec les libertés et les droits du clergé, de la noblesse, et du peuple soient mis dans une entiere sureté; par ce moyen seulement il y a lieu d'esperer *qu'il s'ensuivra une bonne union et une sincere confiance entre le Roy et ses sujets,* AFIN D'ÊTRE EN ÉTAT DE POUVOIR CONTRIBUER PUISSEMENT AU BIEN PUBLIQUE. J'ajoute que dans le dessein que j'ay de tacher aussi de prevenir le continuation de ces mesintelligences, et d'affermir une si bonne union sur des fondemens solides, je dois prier votre Majesté Imperiale de s'assurer, que *j'employeray tout mon credit pour moyenner que les Catholiques Romains de ce pays la jouisse de la liberté de conscience, et soient mis hors de toute inquiétude d'être persecutéz à cause de leur religion; et que pourveu qu'ils en fassent l'exercise sans bruit et avec modestie, ils ne soient point sujets à aucuns punitiez*[x].

"J'AY EU DE TOUTE TEMS UNE TRÊS GRAND AVERSION POUR TOUTE SORTE DE PERSECUTION EN MATIERE DE RÉLIGION PARMI LES CHRETIENS.

"Je

in the French of this letter, as given by the Scotch writer, have not been meddled with, but left to the correction of the reader.

[x] William, in his conduct towards the *English* Roman Catholics, appears, so far as the popular prejudices against that religion would allow him, to have been desirous of fulfilling the promise given in his letter to Leopold: "When the Judges, in the first circuit," says an English Protestant and Jacobite contemporary, "desired to know his pleasure, how they should deal with Catholick priests, he told them—'He was under an obligation to the Catholick princes, not to molest them, in the exercise of their religion; and that he was not so apprehensive of disturbance from them (because few and weak) as from the professed members of the Church of England'"—namely, the Protestant Jacobites.—(Somers's Tracts, vol. x. p. 367: London, 1813.)

"Je prie Dieu qui est le tout puissant, de vouloir benir *cette mienne sincere intention*, et j'ose me promettre qu'elle ne deplaira pas à votre Majesté Imperiale.

"Je prie aussi Dieu de la vouloir combler de ses meilleurs benedictions. Je suis avec toute sorte de respect."

The light in which William represents the objects of his expedition to England, in this letter to the Emperor Leopold, is the same, as that in which the motives for the undertaking are placed by the "*Extrait des Registres des Résolutions des Hauts et Puissans Seigneurs des États Généraux des Provinces-Unies des Pays-Bas*," dated 28th September, 1688. In this official paper (published by Sue from the archives in Paris), after mentioning, in addition to the other causes assigned by William for his attempt upon England, the danger to be apprehended to the existence of Holland, as a Protestant state, from the intimate intelligence and reported alliance between James and Louis, the States-General declare they have resolved to grant William, "pour son assistance, quelques vaisseaux et quelques troupes, comme auxiliaires; qu'en conséquence son Altesse a déclaré à Leurs Hautes Puissances qu'elle était résolue de passer, avec la grace de Dieu, en Angleterre, *non en vue de s'emparer de ce royaume ou de le subjuguer, ni pour chasser le Roi de dessus son trône et s'en rendre le maître, ou pour renverser ou apporter quelque changement à la succession légitime*, moins encore pour exterminer la religion catholique ou pour la persécuter, mais *seulement* et *uniquement* pour secourir la nation, pour le rétablissement des lois et priviléges qui ont été cassés, comme aussi pour la conservation de leur religion et la liberté, et enfin de poursuivre et faire en sorte qu'il soit convoqué un parlement libre et légitime, composé de personnes de la qualité requise, selon les lois et la forme de ce gouvernement-là, et que dans icelui il puisse être déliberé et arrêté ce qui sera nécessaire pour faire donner aux lords, au clergé, à la noblesse, et au peuple, une entiére assurance que les lois et les priviléges de leurs royaumes ne seront pas violés ni revoqués; que Leurs Hautes Puissances espèrent et assurent qu'avec la grace de Dieu *le repos et la concorde seront rétablis dans ce royaume*, et que par ce moyen *il sera mis en état de pouvoir concourir* PUISSAMMENT *au bien commun de la chretienté, et au* RÉTABLISSEMENT *et* MAINTIEN *de la* PAIX *et de la* TRANQUILLITE *de l'*EUROPE; et sera, l'extrait de cette résolution de Leurs Hautes Puissances, *mis par l'agent Roseboom ès-mains des ministres étrangers residans ici, pour leur instruction et pour s'en servir où et ainsi qu'il appertiendra.*" Copies of this paper (signed by the Pensionary Fagel) were likewise to be forwarded to the ambassadors of the Republic in the different European courts; in order, as it states, "de *donner connaissance à tous les ministres de cet État qui sont dans les pays étrangers des raisons qui ont engagé Leurs Hautes Puissances d'assister de leurs troupes et leurs vaisseaux S. A. M. le Prince d'Orange passant en personne en Angleterre*"[y].

The following account is given in James's Memoirs, of the mixed causes for his dethronement

[y] "The history of diplomacy," says Dr. Lingard, with reference to such documents as those, "is, in a great measure, made up of attempts to beguile and to mislead: but never, perhaps, was positive falsehood so boldly and unblushingly put forward, as in these memorials of the Prince and of the States." — (History of England, vol. xiii. pp. 169-171.)

ment, arising from the Prince of Orange's intrigues against him, with the Emperor, the King of Spain, the Pope, and others, as well as the disaffected English.

"The Prince of Orange," it is observed, "had long ambitioned the Crown of England, and bore with great impatience the delay of a reversion, but now being cut off even from that expectancy by the birth of a Prince of Wales, was resolued to wait no longer, finding so favorable a disposition on all hands to second his attempt; first, from the factious temper of the people of England, and their inclination to chang; and now especially, by reason of their disgust at the King's favoring Catholicks, and dispensing with certain laws, which disposed them not only to receiue the Prince of Orange, but invite him to their aid; however all this would not haue done his work, had not the situation of affairs in other neiboring countrys seconded his design: The House of Austria had for some time been projecting a formidable League against France, whose former acquisitions had given them great disquiet, and made them aprehend new ones, so were resolved (if possible) to be beforehand with it now. The Prince of Orange's ambition to be at the head of a powerfull army, and his inveterate enmity against that King (Louis XIV.), made him an earnest stickler in this League, which at last was concluded at Ausburge, betwixt the Empire, the Kingdom of Spain, and the States of Holland, and they had found means to render the Pope himself (who was at that time ill satisfyd with the Court of France) to be more than favorable to their enterprize; so that nothing was wanting but the conjunction of England to make their force as formidable as they themselves could wish it; But the King (besides the little inclination he had to fall out with a Prince, his near relation and antient friend) haveing the prospect of enjoying a perfect peace, and free trade, when all his Neibors should be engaged in war, made him giue no ear to the earnest sollicitations of the Emperour's and King of Spain's Ambassadors, who press'd him violently to enter into this Confederacy. . . . . His Majesty looked upon the immagination of an universal Monarchy (with which they stroue to fright him as a thing aim'd at by France) as a fantastical dream, both impolitic and impracticable, as appear'd by Charles the 5th and Philip the Second, but that were it otherwise, the situation of England still secur'd it so well against a French, or any other encroachment, that newtrality was its true intrest; which made his Majesty graspe at this occasion of eating out the Dutch, the Kingdom's rivals in trade, rather then to eat out his own people's bowels, in the defence of that Commonwealth, which never fail'd to leaue their Allys in the lurch, at the least faint apearance of advantage by it."

"The Prince of Orange," continue the royal Memoirs, "knew how to turn this disposition and resolution the King was in, so as to second his intentions, by perswading the Emperour and King of Spain, that certainly the King of England had made a private League with France, and that there remain'd no means, but that of armes, to remoue the remora[z], which the present misunderstanding betwixt him and his people gaue a fauorable occasion of efecting; it is not otherwise

[z] "The sucking fish, supposed by the ancients to have power to stop a ship under sail, or a whale swimming, and figuratively used here."—(Posthumous Works of Frederick the Great of Prussia, vol. vii. p. 521: Holcroft's translation, London, 1789.)

otherwise to be immagin'd that those two Prince's so zealous in their Religion would haue concurr'd so easily with Rebellious Protestant subjects, to dethrone a Catholick King for no other reason, but because he was so; and against whom, they had not the least ground of quarrell or complaint: however by this stratagem the Prince of Orange drew them in to so unjust an enterprise, which without that turn, they would never haue *given in too, nor without their aid he could never haue* efected; but he had *the dexterity to delude all sides, by shewing them but* HALF *his design at first;* he made the greatest part of the people of England believe, *his comeing was but a compliment to their Laws, Religion, and Liberties,* and *to reduce the King to what they thought the just bounderys of his power;* this was the wheedle that deluded the Church of England partie, and made the Seaven Bisshops write to invite him even when they were in the Tower. He easily *perswaded the Emperour and the King of Spain, there was no other method of forceing the King of England into the League,* and *that he had no further aim in the undertakeing;* but when once he was possessed of the full power, which the treachery of the English put into his hands, and the Confederate Princes through their enmity to France had so effectually concurr'd too, he forced the former to confirme his usurpation, and the latter finding the Sweet of such vast issues of Englishmen and mony, which the Prince of Orange fail'd not to feed them with, soon framed palleating reasons to tollerate, what, perhapes, at first they would not haue consented too: besides, they knew the King was a lover of his people, and a good husband of his treasure, and therefore would never willingly haue parted with either, but upon an equivalent return of glory and profit; whereas they saw, the Prince of Orange's greedy ambition of Command, avidity of fame, *and enmity to France,* would make him as lavish of the English blood and coin, as they *themselves* could wish, which he being forreign too in inclination as well as birth, did not disapoint their expectation in."

In alluding to the particular reasons of the States of Holland for promoting this attempt of the Prince of Orange upon England, the same authority alleges, that "his (William's) loue to his natiue Country would make him (they hoped) favour its intrest on all occasions, and be ready to empty the English treasure into the Dutch excequer, which was what they sought, and what he fail'd them not in; and his haveing no Children prevented the thoughts of the like usurpation upon Holland, especially they finding their account in letting him govern it as absolutely, as if he had been their King the short time he was like to liue: tis true they had the hipocrisy to cloath their Manifesto with the zeal for Protestant Religion too, and cheated some people with the beliefe, that their disinteressed succours was a sort of Almes to England, to reestablish their Liberties, &c.; but such people did not reflect, that zeal and generosity are not the vertues of Merchants, they expected to be reimburs'd every penny they layd out, which was accordingly made good to them afterwards, and thō the account was swell'd high enough otherwise, yet they forgot not intrest, nor the hazard of the principal, which they were satisfyd for, before all was discharg'd[a]: this made them contribite so heartely to the enterprize, and

[a] By several circumstances mentioned in the abstract left us of the "debate on the vote for indemnifying the Dutch," in the English Parliament, March 14th, 1689, the Dutch estimates would seem to have passed the House, rather from its having been considered *expedient* to vote them, than from

and cause their Ambassador, Van Citters, to delude the King so treacherously, by his repeated protestations, that their preparations were not against him. There is no doubt therefore but the States of Holland knew the bottom of the design, which made the Prince of Orange at his going off assure them, he would liue their friend, or dy their servant; thus was the Nation (England) debauched from its duty, and tricked into a manifest undoing of itself, to support a forreign intrest, and feed those needy Princes of Germany, with mony and troops, for which the English could expect no other recompence, then the honour of establishing their neibours by their own ruin; yet all these hidden designes pass'd upon the people, under the notion of the Prince of Orange's pangs of conscience for the Protestant Religion, and the tender regard of the expireing liberties of England, whereas all these fair pretences of asserting the people's liberties and secureing their Religion, were but introductory too, and a cloak, to the real design, of *executeing the ends of the confederacy in general*, and to serve his own ambition, and unsatiable therst after Empire in particular; nay, there were those, who, conceiveing it to be more glorious to be wise than vertuous, and succesfull in wickedness than unfortunate in the pursute of justice, haue thought to ad a lustre to the Prince of Orange's character in afirmeing, that the very League itself against France, was only subservient to this unnatural design; which being first in his view, he put the Princes of Germany, and House of Austria, upon a Confederacy against the King of France, to find him business enough at home, and prevent his giveing him any impediment in his attempt upon England"[b].

NOTE 51,

a belief that the charges made were *fair*. Sir Thomas Clarges said, "*it is not reasonable we should bear* ALL *the charge*." Mr. Harbord, amongst other matters to press payment, observed, in reply, "if the King of France, by fair or foul means, makes peace with Holland, you may throw your caps at Ireland." Mr. Howe, after alluding to "the French King and King James making preparations for Ireland," exclaimed, "if you would have the Papists turn our churches into chapels, and make bonfires of the Protestants, then put this debate off till to-morrow!" He, *therefore*, as he alleged, moved that, without any further delay, they should "name a sum of money for the States of Holland." Mr. Godolphin, having noticed the previous mention of the "topic to induce the house to give money, &c., which was from the French King's tampering in Holland," said, "if we cannot reduce Ireland, unless we secure Holland, *that* must be your first step." Mr. Pollexfen remarked, "though *we pay more for this expedition than it has cost the Dutch*, let us *not enter into particulars*; it will more heartily show our affection *without examining them!*" Sir Thomas Lee observed, on the hurry in which it was sought to despatch the matter: "I confess I know not how to speak in this. It seems, by some gentlemen, if we come not to a sudden resolution in this, we are undone; but possibly this nation and Holland will not be lost for one night's consideration. I have *seen money granted here suddenly*, but *by them that have had shares in it afterwards!*"

The debate was put off to the following day, March 15th, and concluded by the vote, "that £600,000 be given to his Majesty, to enable him to defray the charges, laid out by the Dutch, in the expedition to England."—(Parliamentary History of England, vol. v. pp. 175-179.)

[b] Dalrymple's Memoirs, appendix to part ii. vol. ii. pp. 239-253, and appendix to part i. vol. ii. pp. 254-255: London, 1781.—Sue, Histoire de la Marine Française sous Louis XIV., tome iv. pp. 284-286. — Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 171-176.

Note 51, Page 20.

Small proportion to which Roman Catholics were reduced in England, as compared with Protestants of the Established Church, and Dissenters, at the period of the Revolution.

How nearly the "Roman Catholic rites" were "exploded" in England in those days, or, in other words, how "few and weak" were the members of that religion there in William's time, when compared with those of other persuasions, would appear from an inquiry which the King caused to be instituted on that point, for the entire kingdom, under the two divisions of the Province of Canterbury, and the Province of York. The paper embodying the results of that inquiry was placed by William in his chest, and has been very properly copied and published by Dalrymple, in his appendix. Under the head of the "The number of Freeholders in England," that document says, there were, within the province of Canterbury, 2,123,362 Conformists, or members of the Established Church; 93,151 Non-Conformists, or Protestant Dissenters; and but 11,878 Roman Catholics: while, for the province of York, there were 353,892 Churchmen; 15,525 Dissenters; and only 1978 Roman Catholics. There were, consequently, in both provinces, under the head of "Freeholders," 2,477,254 Churchmen; 108,676 Dissenters; or 2,585,930 Protestants of all kinds; and only 13,856 Roman Catholics—"the Conformists and Non-Conformists together, to Papists," says the document, being in the proportion of 186⅔. In fine, after setting forth at length the several data or details for this estimate, it arrives at the conclusion, that the Roman Catholics of the Province of Canterbury, "fitt to bear arms," being no more than 4239, and those of the Province of York only 701, "the total of the Papists throughout England fitt to bear arms" would be but 4940 persons"[c].

Note 52, Page 21.

The Sons of Golam, or Milesius, from Spain, stated to have conquered Ireland, about the period of the foundation of the Temple of Jerusalem by Solomon.

The author, in his allusion to a Milesian colonization of Ireland from Spain, seems to follow the account of O'Flaherty, the author of Ogygia. That writer, after noting that, during David's reign over the Hebrews, "Golam, Miles Hispanicus, Milesiorum regum Hiberniæ Sator, floruit," adds, respecting the testimony given by the Irish narratives relative to the colony alleged to have been brought by the sons of Golam, or Milesius, into this country: "Salomone Solymis regnante, optimi quique scriptores patrii concordi calamo referunt Scotorum ex Hispania in Hibernia appulsum"[d].

Note 53,

[c] Dalrymple's Memoirs, &c., book i. chap. i. part ii. appendix, vol. ii. pp. 39-44: London, 1790.

[d] Ogygiæ Extera, pars ii. pp. 82-83, &c.: Londini, 1685.

NOTE 53, Pages 21, 22.

Provincial Kings as well as a Supreme Monarch in ancient Ireland, and constant contentions for the Monarchy, &c.

In describing the ancient political system of Ireland, as "a sort of pentarchy, in which, in addition to the four great provinces of Leinster, Ulster, Munster, and Connaught, was included, as a fifth province, the district called Meath, which, though belonging naturally to Leinster, was set apart, on account of its position in the centre of the kingdom, to form the seat of the monarchy," Mr. Moore says:—"The limited extent of this portion, as compared with the four other principalities, was supposed to be compensated, as well by its commanding position, and superior fertility, as by the ample supplies and tributes which, in his capacity of supreme ruler, the King of Tara was entitled to receive from the subordinate princes. In the course of time, however," he observes, "it was found expedient to extend the limits of the royal domain; and a tract of land taken from each of the other provinces was added to the original territory, forming altogether the country now called Meath and Westmeath, with the addition, probably, of a great portion of the present King's County." Nevertheless, he justly complains that "the want of a controlling power and influence in the monarchy, as regarded its relations with the provincial governments, had been always an anomaly in the Irish scheme of polity, productive of weakness, insubordination, and confusion." Nor was this to be wondered at, when, "in addition to the chief king of each province, every subordinate prince, or head of a large district, assumed also the title of king, and exercised effectually, within his own dominions, all the powers of sovereignty[e], even to the prerogative of making war, not only with his co-equal princes, but with the king of the whole province, whenever he could muster up a party, sufficiently strong for such an enterprize."

In accounting for this state of things, the same historian remarks:—"To the right of primogeniture, so generally acknowledged in those ages, no deference whatever was paid by the Irish. Within the circle of the near kin of the reigning prince, all were alike eligible to succeed him; so that the succession may be said, to have been *hereditary as to the blood, but elective as to the person.* Not only the Monarch himself was created thus by election, but a successor

[e] This multiplicity of petty kings was only common to Ireland with *other* countries, in a primitive condition. "Without going so far back as the land of Canaan in the time of Joshua, where every city could boast its own king, we find, that the small and narrow territory of the Phœnicians was, in a similar manner, parcelled out into kingdoms; and, from Homer's account of the separate dominions of the Grecian chiefs, it would seem, that they, also, were constructed upon the same Canaanite pattern. The feeling of clanship, indeed, out of which this sort of government by a chieftainry sprung, appears to have prevailed strongly in Greece, and to have been one of the great cements of all their confederations, warlike and political." It is added, that, "during the Heptarchy, the island of Great Britain contained about fifteen kingdoms, Saxon, British, and Scotch; and, in one of the smallest of them, the kingdom of Kent, there were, at one time, three chiefs, on whom the annalists bestow the title of King."—(Moore's History of Ireland, vol. i. pp. 169-170.)

successor, or Tanist, was, during his lifetime, assigned to him, by the same process . . . . For the succession to the minor thrones, a similar provision was made; to every petty king a successor was, in like manner, appointed, with powers proportioned to those of his chief; and thus, in addition to the constant dissension of all these princes among themselves, each saw by his side an adult and powerful rival, chosen generally without any reference to his choice or will; and, as mostly happens, even where the successor is so by hereditary right, forming an authorised rallying-point for the ambitious and disaffected.

"So many contrivances, as they would seem, for discord, could not but prove successful. All the defects of the feudal system were here combined, without any of its atoning advantages. It is true, that an executive composed of such divided and mutually thwarting powers must have left to the people a considerable portion of freedom; but it was a freedom, under its best aspects, stormy and insecure, and which life was passed in struggling for, not in enjoying. The dynasts themselves, being, from their position, both subjects and rulers, were, by turns, tyrants and slaves: even the monarchy itself was often regarded but as a prize to the strongest; and faction pervaded all ranks, from the hovel to the supreme throne. . . . . Among the numerous occupants of thrones, the tenure of authority and of life was alike brief; and it is computed that, of the supreme kings who wielded the sceptre, before the introduction of Christianity, not one-seventh part died a natural death; the remaining sovereigns having been taken off in the field, or by murder. The same rivalry, the same temptations to violence, were in operation throughout all the minor sovereignties: every provincial king, every head of a sept, had his own peculiar sphere of turbulence, in which, on a smaller scale, the same scenes were enacted; in which the law furnished the materials of strife, and the sword alone was called in to decide it"[f]. See Note 55.

Note 54, Page 22.

The old Irish alleged to have been so warlike, that even the Romans did not venture to molest them.

"It cannot but be acknowledged," says the writer previously cited, "that the conduct of the Romans, respecting Ireland, by no means warrants the supposition, that they held its conquest to be at all an easy task. The immense advantages that must attend the acquisition of a country placed so immediately in the neighbourhood of their British possessions, were, we know, fully appreciated by them; nor could any views be more keen and far-sighted than those of Agricola, as unfolded by Tacitus, both as regarded the commercial strength that must accrue to Britain from the occupation of Ireland, and the strong moral and political influence which the example of this latter country must ever exercise, whether for good or for evil, over the fortunes of her more powerful neighbour. He saw that the Britons, says the historian, could never be effectively curbed, as long as there was a people yet unmastered in their neighbourhood; and that, to effect this object, the example of liberty must be removed wholly

[f] Moore's History of Ireland, vol. i. pp. 170-172, &c., vol. ii. p. 9.

wholly from their sight. . . . . With so clear and deep a sense of the great value of the possession, there can hardly be a more convincing proof, that the Romans considered its conquest not easy, than the simple fact that they never attempted it; and that, though Britain continued to be harassed by the Irish, for near three centuries after, not a single Roman soldier ever set foot on their shores. Even when the flight of their eagles had extended as far as the Orcades, Ireland still remained free.

"How little the Irish themselves were in fear of invasion at this very period, when, as Tacitus informs us, the coast opposite to their shores was lined with Roman troops, may be judged from the expedition to Britain, undertaken by their Monarch Crimthan, for the purpose of aiding his ancient allies, the Picts, in their heroic stand against the legions of Rome. In the course of this visit, the Irish Monarch is said to have first set the example of those predatory incursions into the Roman province, by which the Britons so long after continued to be molested; and having been, as it appears, eminently successful on this occasion, he returned to his dominions laden with a variety of rich and even luxurious booty, the particulars of which have been triumphantly enumerated by the annalists. In the long list of articles specified by the Four Masters, as composing this mass of plunder, are mentioned a suit of armour, ornamented with embossed gold and gems, a military cloak with golden fringe, a sword with figures of serpents upon it in chased gold, and a brace of greyhounds, joined together by a silver chain, whose price is estimated, according to the primitive usage of barter, at the value of 300 cows."

According to the same usage in the heroic age of classic poetry, Homer, it may be observed, states the price of Diomede's brazen armour at nine, and that of Glaucus's golden armour at a hundred oxen[g].

Note 55, Page 22.

Continual hostilities of the ancient Irish amongst themselves—as in other nations, to a comparatively recent period.

For the continual hostilities which existed between the aboriginal Irish, like *all* other nations in a primitive, clannish, or feudal state of society, see the Annals of the Four Masters, from the earliest period, down to the final reduction of Celtic Ireland beneath the British sceptre, in the reign of James I. On the bad effects of the social and political system in ancient Ireland, both as productive of those wars, and of the still more injurious consequences ultimately flowing from them, Mr. Moore remarks:—"One of the worst results, indeed, of that system of law and government under which Ireland first started into political existence, and retained, in full vigour of abuse, for much more than a thousand years, was the constant obstacles which it presented to the growth of a public national spirit, by separating the mass of the people into mutually hostile tribes, and accustoming each to merge all thought of the general peace or welfare in its own factious views, or the gratification of private revenge."

"Such

[g] Moore's Hist. of Ireland, vol. i. pp. 119-121.—Mitford's Hist. of Greece, vol. i. p. 140: London, 1838.

"Such a course of discord and faction, prolonged, as it was through centuries, could not fail to affect materially the general character of the nation, and to lay deep the seeds of future humiliation and weakness. A people, divided thus among themselves, must have been, at all times, a ready prey for the invader: and the fatal consequences of such disunion were shown most lamentably, a few centuries after this period, when, as we shall see, to Irish assistance alone were the Danish marauders indebted for the footing they were able to maintain, so long and ruinously, in the country. By the same causes, though existing, perhaps, in a much less aggravated degree, were the Celts, both of Britain and Gaul, brought so easily under the dominion of the Romans. The politic use to which the rival factions among the Gauls might be turned could not escape the acute observation of Cæsar; and history, which has left untold the name of the recreant Irishman, who proffered his treasonable services in the camp of Agricola, has, with less charity, recorded that of the British chief, Mandubratius, who, from motives of mere personal revenge, invited Cæsar into Britain"[h].

Nevertheless, when all the unfavourable circumstances connected with the situation of the Irish, as so primitive, remote, and secluded a people, are fairly allowed for, that *their* conduct, in this practice of making war on each other, was CERTAINLY not worse than that of other European nations, is evident from the continuance of "private wars" down to a comparatively recent period among those nations, notwithstanding every effort of the spiritual, as well as temporal power, to put a stop to such contests, and the crimes and miseries, necessarily accompanying them. The following representation, for instance, by Voltaire, "de la France vers le temps de Hugues-Capet," or in the tenth century (and, as will be seen, long after), displays a picture, in several points, resembling the political condition of Ireland, in and previous to the twelfth century, from the general prevalence of internal warfare, owing to the want of a monarchy sufficiently strong to enforce anything like a due degree of subordination, union, and tranquillity in the country:

"Louis, le dernier des descendans de Charlemagne, n'avait plus pour tout domaine que les villes de Laon et de Soissons, et quelques terres qu'on lui contestait. L'hommage rendu par la Normandie ne servait qu'à donner au roi un vassal qui aurait pu soudoyer son maître. Chaque province avait ou ses contes ou ses ducs héréditaires; celui qui n'avait pu se saisir que de deux ou trois bourgades rendait hommage aux usurpateurs d'une province; et qui n'avait qu'un château relevait de celui qui avait usurpé une ville. De tout cela s'était fait *cet assemblage monstrueux de membres qui ne formaient point un corps.* Le temps et la nécessite établirent que les seigneurs des grands fiefs marcheraient avec des troupes au secours du roi. Tel seigneur devait quarante jours de service, tel autre vingt-cinq. Les arrière-vassaux marchaient aux ordres de leurs seigneurs immédiats. Mais, si tous ces seigneurs particuliers servaient l'état quelque jours, *ils se fesaient la guerre entr'eux presque toute l'année.* En vain les conciles, qui dans des temps de crimes ordonnèrent souvent des choses justes, avaient réglé qu'on ne se battrait point depuis

[h] "According to the etymologist Baxter," it is added in a note, "the name of Mandubratius signifies 'the Betrayer of his Country,' and was affixed to this chieftain, in consequence of his treason:—'Inde populari Cassivelanorum convicio, *Mandubratur* tanquam *patriæ proditor* appellatus est.'"

depuis le jeudi jusqu'au point du jour du lundi, et dans les temps de Pâques, et dans d'autres solennités: ces réglemens, n'étant point appuyés d'une justice coërcitive, étaient sans vigueur. Chaque château était la capitale d'un petit état de brigands: chaque monastère était en armes; leurs avocats qu'on appelait *avoyers*, institués dans les premiers temps pour présenter leurs requêtes au prince et ménager leurs affaires, étaient les généraux de leurs troupes: les moissons étaient ou brûlées, ou coupées, avant le temps, ou défendues l'épée à la main; les villes presque réduites en solitude, et les campagnes dépeuplées par de longues famines. *Il semble que ce royaume, sans chef, sans police, sans ordre, dût être la proie de l'étranger; mais une anarchie presque semblable dans tous les royaumes fit sa sureté,*" &c. Again, he remarks upon the state of France still later, or "pendant le douzième siècle jusqu'au règne de St. Louis," that it was established there, "par les lois des fiefs, que si le seigneur d'un fief disait à son homme-lige: 'Venez-vous-en avec moi, car je veux guerroyer le roi, mon seigneur, qui me dénie justice: l'homme-lige devait d'abord aller trouver le roi, et lui demander, s'il était vrai, qu'il eût refusé justice à ce seigneur? En cas de refus, l'homme-lige devait marcher contre le roi au service de ce seigneur, le nombre de jours prescrits, ou perdre son fief. Un tel réglement pouvait être intitulé, *Ordonnance pour faire la guerre civile* . . . . Dans les premiers temps de la race des Hugues, nommé improprement Capétienne, du sobriquet donné à ce roi, tous les petits vassaux combattaient contre les grands, et les rois avaient souvent les armes à la main contre les barons du duché de la France. La race des anciens pirates danois, qui régnait en Normandie et en Angleterre, favorisait toujours ce désordre. C'est ce qui fit que Louis le Gros eut tant de peine à soumettre un sire de Couci, un sire de Montlhéri, un sire du village de Puiset, un seigneur de Baudouin, de Châteaufort: on ne voit pas même qu'il ait osé et put faire condamner à mort ces vassaux."

Doctor Robertson, whose researches, in his History of the Emperor Charles V., relative to the "private wars" among the nations of the Continent, during the middle ages, strengthen the picture of Voltaire respecting such contests, and the calamities occasioned by them, says, "that the invasion of the most barbarous enemy could not be more desolating to a country, or more fatal to its inhabitants, than these intestine wars;" and that "the contemporary historians describe the excesses committed in the prosecution of these quarrels, in such terms as excite astonishment and horror." He contents himself with citing but "one passage" from Guibert, Abbot of Nogent in France, who lived at the latter end of the eleventh, and early part of the twelfth century:—"Erat eo tempore, maximis ad invicem hostilitatibus, totius Francorum regni facta turbatio; crebra ubique latrocinia, viarum obsessio; audiebantur passim, immo fiebant incendia infinita; nullis præter solâ et indomitâ cupiditate existentibus causis, extruebantur prælia: et ut brevi totum claudam, quicquid obtutibus cupidorum subjacebat, nusquam attendendo cujus esset, prædæ patebat. Gesta Dei per Francos, i. 482."

A clearer and more shocking idea of the atrocities connected with "private wars" may, however, be formed from the accounts of the cruelties practised in England, when, in the general confusion of the contest for the crown between Stephen and the Empress Matilda, mother of Henry II., about thirty years before the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland, every proprietor

proprietor of a castle, which edifices are described as having "filled the land," acquired the power of carrying on hostilities, upon his own account. The Saxon Chronicle says of those petty tyrants :—" They greatly oppressed the wretched people, by making them work at these castles, and, when the castles were finished, they filled them with devils and evil men. Then they took those whom they suspected to have any goods, by night and by day, seizing both men and women, and they put them in prison for their gold and silver, and tortured them with pains unspeakable, for never were any martyrs tormented as these were. They hung some up by their feet, and smoked them with foul smoke ; some by their thumbs, or by the head, and they hung burning things on their feet. They put a knotted string about their heads, and twisted it, till it went into the brain. They put them into dungeons, wherein were adders, and snakes, and toads, and thus wore them out. Some they put into a crucet house, that is, into a chest that was short and narrow, and not deep, and they put sharp stones in it, and crushed the man therein, so that they broke all his limbs. There were hateful and grim things, called Sachenteges, in many of the castles, and which two or three men had enough to do to carry. The Sachentege was made thus : it was fastened to a beam, having a sharp iron to go round a man's throat and neck, so that he might no ways sit, nor lie, nor sleep, but that he must bear all the iron[i]. Many thousands they exhausted with hunger. I cannot, and I may not tell of all the wounds and all the tortures that they inflicted upon the wretched men of this land ; and this state of things lasted the nineteen years that Stephen was king, and ever grew worse and worse. They were continually levying an exaction from the towns, which they called *Tenseriei*, and, when the miserable inhabitants had no more to give, then plundered they, and burnt all the towns, so that well mightest thou walk a whole day's journey, nor ever shouldest thou find a man seated in a town, or its lands tilled. Then was corn dear, and flesh, and cheese, and butter, for there was none in the land,—wretched men starved with hunger,—some lived on alms, who had been erewhile rich : some fled the country, —never was there more misery, and never acted Heathens worse than these. At length they spared neither church nor churchyard, but they took all that was valuable therein, and then burned the church, and all together. Neither did they spare the lands of bishops, nor of abbats, nor of priests ; but they robbed the monks and the clergy, and every man plundered his neighbour as much as he could. If two or three men came riding to a town, all the township fled before them, and thought that they were robbers. The bishops and clergy were ever cursing them, but this to them was nothing, for they were all accursed, and forsworn, and reprobate. The earth bare no corn, you might as well have tilled the sea, for the land was all ruined by such deeds, and it was said openly, that Christ and his saints slept."

Having

[i] That is, as elsewhere explained, a very heavy weight of iron chains, attached to the person! For the tortures inflicted on the native peasantry in France, or Normandy, by the Norman aristocracy, anterior to the Conquest of England, see Note 56.

[j] "A payment to the superior lord for protection," says the editor. See, however, Du Cange sub vv. Tensamentum—Tenseria—Tensura. (Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediæ et Infimæ Latinitatis, tom. iii. p. 1095 : Paris, 1678.)

Having observed in reference to France, that, after the various efforts made for centuries, by the Church, by voluntary associations, and by the royal power, to put down "private wars" there, all of which efforts proved ineffectual, that Charles VI. had, in 1413, to issue "an ordinance, expressly prohibiting private wars, on any pretext whatsoever," Dr. Robertson exclaims:—"*How slow is the progress of reason and of civil order! Regulations, which to us appear so equitable, obvious, and simple, required the efforts of civil and ecclesiastical authority, during several centuries, to introduce and establish them.*" Yet, "even posterior to this period," he adds, that "Louis XI. was obliged to abolish private wars in Dauphiné, by a particular edict, A. D. 1451."

After noting, that it would add too much to his work, "if he should attempt to inquire, with the same minute attention, into the progress of this pernicious custom, in the other countries of Europe," the Doctor says, with respect to "private wars" in Spain, that, "in Castile, the pernicious practice of private war prevailed, and was authorized by the customs and law of the kingdom,"—that, "as the Castilian nobles were no less turbulent than powerful, their quarrels and hostilities involved their country in many calamities,"—that, "in Aragon, the right of private revenge was likewise authorised by law, exercised in its full extent, and accompanied by the same unhappy consequences,"—and, in fine, notwithstanding the efforts made in Spain, for several centuries, "to abolish the right of private war,"—that "the evil was so inveterate, that as late as A. D. 1519, (the Emperor) Charles V. was obliged to publish a law, enforcing all former regulations, tending to suppress this practice."

The same historian, even after what he has stated of the consequences of "the right of private war" in France and Spain, adds, that "in Germany, the disorders and calamities occasioned by the right of private war were greater and more intolerable than in any other country of Europe." He asserts that, with reference to the imperial authority, "not only the nobility, but the cities, acquired almost independent power, and scorned all subordination and obedience to the laws." He alleges, too, that "the frequency of these *faidæ*, or private wars, is often mentioned in the German annals, and the fatal effects of them are most pathetically described." Then, having mentioned the different efforts made, from time to time, to remedy such a state of things in Germany, he informs us, that "the final and perpetual abolition of the right of private war," in that country, "was not accomplished until 1495."

On the "private wars," then, of the Irish chieftains with each other, at the head of their little "nations," as each of them considered his clan or followers to be, *no* judgment should *ever* be passed, without likewise taking into account, how long "private wars" continued to exist on the Continent, and how difficult it was found, even *there*, to effect their final abolition[k].

NOTE 56,

[k] Annals of the Four Masters, to A. D. 1172, in Doctor O'Conor's Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores Veteres, vol. iii., and in MS. to A. D. 1616, in the Royal Irish Academy. — Moore's History of Ireland, vol. i. pp. 174-175.—Doctor O'Conor's Memoirs of Charles O'Conor of Belanagare, vol. i. introduction, *passim*, and pp. 37-38. — Voltaire, Essai sur les Moeurs et l'Esprit des Nations, et sur les principaux Faits de l'Histoire depuis Charlemagne jusqu'à Louis XIII., Œuvres Completes, tome xvi. chap. xxxviii. pp. 532-534, et tome xvii. chap. l. pp. 68-69: edit. 1785.—Robertson's View

NOTE 56, Page 23.

Superior resistance experienced by the Danes or Northmen in Ireland, to that encountered by them in France and England. Irish MS. narrative of the wars against the Danes in Ireland.

The translator of the Lodbrokar Quida, or celebrated Death Song of King Ragnar Lodbrog, the piratic Hercules of the Scandinavian nations, observes, in a note on that composition:—"The fertile Erin was long the great resort of the Scandinavians, who, from the internal dissensions of the natives, gained a considerable footing. They, however, met with a stubborn resistance. Hence, the Islandic authors represent the Irish as most profuse of life, and the *Ira far* was no less terrible to the sons of Lochlin, than the *furor Normannorum* to the rest of Europe."

The best proof, however, of what a counterpoise the *Ira far* was to the *furor Normannorum* is supplied by the fact that, although a comparatively small force of that fierce race, "adversus quos," says an old French writer, "nullus rex, nullus dux, nullus defensor surrexit qui eos expugnaret," were so much dreaded as to obtain, early in the tenth century, from the descendant of Charlemagne, that considerable portion of France, in which, under their leader, Rolf or Rollo, they founded the powerful feudal sovereignty of Normandy,—and although their Danish brethren, under Sven or Swayn, the father of Knut or Canute, and their two royal successors, triumphed over and reigned in England from 1013 to 1042,—the same race were kept down in Ireland, and, in the end, completely crushed by the results of their memorable defeat, at the Battle of Clontarf[1], April 23, 1014. How honourable was the stand made by

of the Progress of Society in Europe, from the Subversion of the Roman Empire to the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century, sect. i. pp. 345-346, Note xxi. pp. 404-408, and Note xlv. pp. 431-432, prefixed to History of the Emperor Charles V., in Complete Works: one vol. London, 1831.—Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, chap. liii. pp. 961-963: one vol. London, 1831.—Histoire de la Conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands, par Augustin Thierry, livre viii. tome ii. pp. 213-216: Riga, Imprimeur-Libraire, Bruxelles et Liege, 1841.—The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, edited by Giles, in Bohn's Antiquarian Library, pp. 502-504: London, 1847.—Lingard's History of England, vol. ii. chap. iv. pp. 184-187.—Hardiman's Statute of Kilkenny, pp. 33-35, 52, 88-89: Dublin, 1841.

[1] "It may here be worthy of remark," says Mr. D. H. Kelly, "that O'Kelly is the only Irish family that preserves any *heraldic* memorial of that interesting conflict. The crest of O'Kelly, the Cinpiod, is founded on the tradition, that, on the morning of Clontarf battle, Holy Friday, 23rd April, 1014, a kind of *green horse*, or strange manifold animal, seeming to rise from the sea, rushed through the ranks of the Danes, and continued on into those of the Hymaine clans, in which he seemed to take refuge; and, that Teigue O'Kelly, taking advantage of this event to animate his troops, cried out to them, 'that this animal was a forerunner of victory.'—It is said, also, that, after Teigue fell, the same animal again appeared to protect his body against the insults of the enemy, till brought off from the field by his clan. This crest is still borne by the O'Kellys, and was the crest of the Author of the 'Macariæ Excidium.'"

by the Irish in that age, under Malachy II., Brian Boru, and other princes, against such formidable opponents, can only, indeed, be fairly estimated by a survey of how very different was the position which the Norwegian and Danish race then held in France and England, from the fate they met with in Ireland.

In Normandy, the name of *Norman,* or one of the conquering race, who restricted *that* appellation only to themselves, was, as Thierry informs us, "un titre de noblesse; c'était le signe de la liberté et de la puissance, du droit de lever des impôts sur les bourgeois et les serfs du pays. Tous les Normands de nom et de race étaient égaux en droits civils, bien qu'inégaux en grades militaires et en dignités politiques. Nul d'entre eux n'était taxé que de son propre consentement; nul n'était assujetti au péage pour le charroi de ses denrées, ou pour la navigation sur les fleuves; tous enfin jouissaient du privilége de chasse et de pêche, à l'exclusion des villains et des paysans, termes," adds Thierry, "qui désignaient en fait le masse de la population indigène." A fuller idea of the miseries imposed upon these disinherited and enslaved representatives of the old inhabitants of the country, by their Scandinavian-descended aristocracy, is conveyed, in the substance of the complaints made against those oppressors by the sufferers, as given by the same historian:—"'Les seigneurs," they exclaimed, "ne nous font que du mal, avec eux nous n'avions ni gain ni profit de nos labeurs; chaque jour est pour nous jour du souffrance, de peine, et de fatigue; chaque jour on nous prend nos bêtes pour les corvées et les services. Puis ce sont les justices vieilles et nouvelles, des plaids et des procès, sans fin, plaids de monnaies, plaids de marches, plaids de routes, plaids de forêts, plaids de moutures, plaids d'hommages. Il y a tant de prévôts et de baillis, que nous n'avons pas une heure de paix; tous le jours ils nous courent sus, prennent nos meubles, et nous chassent de nos terres. Il n'y a nulle garantie pour nous contre les seigneurs et leurs serjents, et nul pacte ne tient avec eux.'" Then, mentioning how, in this state, "dont elle était la partie opprimée, cette population eut la pensée de détruire l'inégalité de races, de maniere que le pays de Normandie se renfermât qu'un seul peuple, comme il ne portait qu'un seul nom"—and how from the year 997 to 1013 (a period corresponding with the reigns of Malachy II. and Brian Boru in this country), there was formed throughout Normandy a secret confederacy, or conspiracy, which "ne se borna point à une seule, ni même à plusieurs villes, qu'elle s'etendit sur les campagnes, et embrassa toutes les classes du peuple indigène dans une grande affiliation"—the historian adds, how these efforts for freedom were, nevertheless, crushed by the Norwegian and Danish aristocracy, under the Count of Evreux, whose cruelties, and the results of them, he thus relates:—"Le Comte d'Evreux traita ses prisonniers avec une extrême cruauté, sans se donner la peine de les mettre en jugement, ni de faire à leur égard aucune espèce d'enquête; il les condamna tous à des tortures atroces, que ces agents[m] s'étudièrent à varier; les uns eurent les yeux crevés, les poings coupés, et les jarrets brûlés; d'autres furent empalés; d'autres cuits à petit feu, ou arrosés de plomb fondu. Le peu d'hommes qui survécurent à ces tourments furent revoyés à leurs familles, et promenés tout mutilés dans les villages, pour y repandre la terreur. En effet, la crainte l'emporta sur l'amour de la liberté dans le

[m] The Count's underlings previously mentioned.

le cœur des bourgeois et des serfs de Normandie; la grande association fut rompue; il n'y eut plus d'assemblées secrètes, et une triste résignation succéda pour des siécles à l'enthusiasme d'un moment"[n].

In England, the ascendancy maintained by the Northmen in those days, or during the whole of Ethelred's disastrous reign, is painted in not less fearful colours. Passing over the successes of their earlier invasions in that reign, the Anglo-Saxon Bishop, Lupus, in a sermon preached about the year 1012, or one year before his countrymen were obliged to submit to the Danish monarch, Swayn, as their sovereign, and two years before Brian Boru's great victory at Clontarf, gives this striking picture, of the complete superiority in arms maintained over the English by the Northmen, whose fortune was so very different in Ireland. "We," says the Anglo-Saxon prelate, "perpetually pay them tribute, and they ravage us daily. They devastate and they burn; they spoil, they plunder, and they carry off our property to their ships. Such is their successful valour, that one of them will in battle put ten of our's to flight. Two or three will drive a troop of captive Christians through the country from sea to sea. Very often they seize the wives and daughters of our thanes, and violate them before the brave chieftains' face." Nor does the yoke related to have been imposed by the Danes upon the English, when they *did* submit, appear to have been less oppressive. "Le Danois, qui portait le titre de roi d'Angleterre," observes Thierry, "n'était pas seul à opprimer les indigénes; il avait sous lui toute une nation d'étrangers, et chacun y travaillait de son mieux. Ce peuple supérieur, dont les Anglais étaient sujets et non simples concitoyens, ne payait point d'impôts comme eux, et se partageait, ou contraire, les impôts levés par son chef, recevant tantôt sept marcs d'argent, et tantôt vingt marcs par tête. Quand le roi, dans ses revues militaires, ou dans ses promenades de plaisir, prenait pour son logement la maison d'un Danois, le Danois était défrayé tantôt en argent, tantôt en bétail, que le paysan saxon avait nourri pour la table de ses vainqueurs. Mais la demeure du Saxon était l'hôtellerie du Danois: l'étranger y prenait gratuitement le feu, la table, et le lit; il y occupait la place d'honneur comme maître. Le chef de la famille ne pouvait boire sans la permission de son hôte, ni demeurer assis en sa présence. L'hôte insultait à son plaisir l'épouse, la fille, la servante; et si quelque brave entreprenait de les défendre ou de les venger, ce brave ne trouvait plus d'asile; il était poursuivi et traqué comme une bête fauve; sa tête était mis à prix, comme celle des loups; il devenait *tête de loup*, selon l'expression anglo-saxonne, et il ne lui restait plus qu'à fuir vers la demeure des loups, qu'à se faire brigand dans les forêts, contre les conquérants étrangers, et les indigènes qui s'endormaient lâchement sous le joug de l'étranger"[o].

With

[n] "Concionibus subitò omissis," says M. Thierry's authority, respecting those unfortunate serfs, "ad *aratra* sunt reversi,"—words which may be compared with this *ploughing* practised in Ireland about the same period, by a petty Leinster prince, at the expense of the Danes. "Gildas Mochonna, King of Descert Bregh," observe the Annals of Ulster, under the year 1012, "died in Maelseachlainn's howse after tipling; he was ye man that made ye Gent," i. e. the Gentiles, or Danes, "plough by theire bodies, and two of them by their tayles, harowing after them."—(Old Translation in British Museum Library.)

[o] This ancient supremacy of the Danes over the

With such a remarkable contrast between the condition of those countries and that of Ireland, as opposed to the same formidable enemies, it is very gratifying, that the details of such a long struggle as that of the Irish, for above two centuries, against the Northmen, should exist, in a distinct Irish work, on the subject; and the more so as, till lately, it was thought that, beyond some fragments discovered by Mr. Curry in Trinity College Library, there were no remains of the work among us. It is entitled, Coȝaď Ȝaiďeal le Ȝallaiď, i. e. "The Wars of the Gaels," or Irish "against the Galls," or "foreigners." Colgan, who speaks, early in the seventeenth century, as having a copy in his possession, mentions it, as containing "singulis pæne annis nova prælia et conflictus Hibernorum cum Danis et Nortmannis," down to the decisive overthrow of the latter at Clontarf. There was also a copy of it, in the reign of Charles II., in the Book of Lecan; since the fact, of its having been enrolled among the other old tracts in that valuable collection, is assigned by the celebrated Irish antiquary, Duald Mac Firbis, in another portion of that book, at present extant, as *his* reason for not treating more at length there upon matters connected with the subject of the Danes in Ireland. His observation is to this effect:—"I decline entering more largely into the genealogies and history of the Danes, as these things are set forth in full in the tract denominated, 'the Wars of the Gaels against the Galls,' preserved in the great Book of Lecan." That volume, however, was deprived of this tract since

subjugated Saxons or English is referred to, on different occasions, in connexion with the Revolution of 1688, and the ensuing war in Ireland, by writers on *both* sides. In the Whig or Williamite work of Lord Molesworth on Denmark in 1692, written with a view of showing to what England *might* be reduced but for the Revolution, his Lordship, in enumerating the grievances imposed upon the Danes, formerly free, in consequence, as he argues, of their subjection, in his time, to absolute monarchy, observes that, in Denmark, "Another Grievance is the quartering and paying of the Soldiers. Those that know what a vexatious Thing it is (over and above the Charge) to be constantly plagued with insolent Inmates, who lord it wherever they dwell, will soon allow this to be a Mischief scarce supportable. This was *once* known in *England*, where the Lord *Dane*, or Danish Soldier, quartered in the *English* Yeoman's House, and domineer'd to purpose. Whence came the Nickname of Lazy Lordane." And, in one of the public papers printed in Ireland in 1689, by King James, for circulation among Marshal Schonberg's army, to induce as many English as possible to desert, the bringing in, with other foreigners, of so many *Danes*, is, from the ancient oppression by the latter in England, dwelt upon, as an act peculiarly culpable on William's part, with respect to Englishmen. "To call in," says the Jacobite document, "Multitudes of Strangers and Foreigners, of desperate Fortunes and divers Nations, who are continuing your *Slavery;* together with the old Invadours of our Country, the *Danes*, who held our Ancestors in a War of three hundred Years, and their Insolence became intolerable to a Proverb, till the very Women fell upon them with the Indignation of so many *Judiths*, it is so Shameful, it cannot be Honourable." This last allusion refers to the great massacre committed by the Saxons in England upon the Danes, not even excepting women and children, on St. Brice's day, or in November, 1002; though without being able to shake off the yoke of those unwelcome guests, by whose kings, above-mentioned, the country was afterwards entirely subdued.—(Archdall's Lodge's Peerage of Ireland, vol. v. pp. 134-135.—An Account of Denmark in the Year 1692, p. 55: London, 1735.—A Letter to the Officers and Souldiers of His Majesties Subjects that are in Count de Schomberg's Army: Dublin, 1689. — Palgrave's History of England, vol. i. p. 289: London, 1831.)

since *his* days, as it is no longer to be found there. Nevertheless, the eminent Irish scholar, Peter O'Connell, who died so recently as 1824, *had* a copy of this history of the Irish wars against the Danes, since, for the purpose of showing the meaning to be attached to various Irish words, he quotes several portions of it, in his valuable, though unpublished, Irish-English Dictionary. "Henceforward, nothing more was known respecting this work on the Danish wars until 1846, when one of our members, Mr. S. H. Bindon, being at Brussels, fortunately found, amongst the MSS. of the Burgundian Library there, a fine copy, in the handwriting of Michael O'Clery, one of the Four Masters; probably the very same copy which formerly belonged to Colgan. This, being subsequently inspected by another of our members, the Rev. Charles Graves, the Rev. J. H. Todd, our Secretary, went in 1848 to Brussels, collated the Trinity College fragments with the O'Clery copy there, and, by supplying from the latter what was deficient in the former, has thus placed a transcript of the entire at the disposal of the Irish Archæological Society for publication, when sufficient funds can be obtained for printing it, along with a translation into English, and illustrative notes, from Danish as well as Irish sources" [p].

NOTE 57, Page 23.

The old Irish seized on North Britain, or Scotland, frequently invaded South Britain, or England, sometimes assailed even Gaul, or France, and long maintained a supremacy in Eubonia, Menavia, or Man.

The first plantation of the Irish Dalriadic colony in Alba, Albany, or North Britain, and their ultimate acquisition of the modern kingdom of Scotland, have been already noticed[q], as well as the expedition against Roman Britain, in Agricola's time, by the Irish monarch Crimthan or Criomthan II., surnamed *Nianair*[r]. But, long before Crimthan's reign, it would appear, from the testimony of the Irish annalists, combined with that of the Roman panegyrist, Eumenius, that the Irish used not only to make attacks upon Albany, but upon Southern Britain, or that portion of the island subsequently conquered by Rome, and now styled England. After glancing at those early expeditions into Britain, under several of the more ancient monarchs of Ireland, "without depending," Mr. Moore says, "solely on Irish authorities, the language of the Roman panegyrist, Eumenius, in extolling the victory gained in Britain by Constantius Chlorus, would fully suffice to prove that, previously to the coming of Cæsar, the neighbourhood of Ireland had

[p] Moore's History of Ireland. vol. ii. chap. xvi. p. 19, and chaps. xx. and xxi., *passim.*—Sismondi, Histoire des Français, tome iii. pp. 323-337: Paris, 1821. — Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. iii. pp. 243-244, 251-309: London, 1801.—Histoire de la Conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands, &c., par Augustin Thierry, livre iii. tome i. pp. 130, 148, 149, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 177, 178, 179, 180: Bruxelles et Liege, 1841.—Johnstone's Antiquitates Celto-Scandicæ, pp. 89-150: Havniæ, 1786.—Colgan, Acta Sanctorum Veteris et Majoris Scotiæ seu Hiberniæ Sanctorum Insulæ, tom. i. p. 106.—Irish Information, communicated by Mr. Eugene Curry, of the Irish Archæological Society. —Report of the General Meeting of the Society, December 21st, 1848, pp. 3-4.

[q] Notes 8, 9, 10.

[r] Note 54.

had been found troublesome to the Britons, and that they had been 'accustomed,' for such is the phrase used by the orator, to invasions from that quarter." This inference from the testimony of Eumenius he verifies by the transcription of the original passage from that writer, as to the Southern Britons having, before their invasion and subjection by Rome, been habitually exposed to the hostilities of the Irish, as well as of the Picts[s]. Then,—having mentioned how, in order to arrest the predatory incursions of the Picts and their Irish or Dalriadic neighbours settled in Scotland, who were accustomed to compromise their quarrels for the purpose of invading Southern Britain, "the Romans had, at different intervals, during the second and third centuries, erected those three great walls, or ramparts, on the northern frontier of their province, whose remains still continue to occupy the curious research and speculation of the antiquary,"—Mr. Moore proceeds to describe the most celebrated expeditions, against Roman Britain and Gaul, of the Scots, or Irish. These expeditions were generally, or as regards Britain, undertaken in connexion with the Picts; at other times in conjunction with the Picts and Saxons; and, as regards Gaul, with their own forces. "About the middle of the fourth century," says he, in reference to Southern Britain, "so destructive had become their inroads, that it required the presence of the son of Constantine, to make head against and repel them[t]. Whatever differences their relative position, as rival neighbours, had given rise to, were entirely merged in their common object of harassing the Britons, whom a native historian describes as trembling with the fear of a new visitation, while still fainting from the dire effects of the tempest, which had just swept over them. To deliver the province from this scourge, one of the bravest of the Roman generals, Theodosius, was now appointed to the military command of Britain, and, after two active campaigns, during which he had to contend, not only with the Picts and Scots by land, but also with their new allies, the Saxon pirates, by sea, he at length succeeded in delivering Britain from her inveterate invaders. To such daring lengths had some of these incursions into her territory extended, that, on the arrival of the Roman general, he had found the Picts and their allies advanced *as far as London and Kent*[u]. In all this warfare, the

[s] "Ad hoc natio (Britannica) etiam tunc rudis, et solis Britanni Pictis modo et *Hibernis* adsueti hostibus, adhuc seminudi, facile Romanis armis signisque cesserunt." Mr. Moore, however, might have added, that it is *not* true, the Britons were *easily* subdued by the Romans. Caractacus *alone* was a proof of the contrary.

[t] The learned Cormac Mac Cullenan, King of Munster and Bishop of Cashel, deceased A. D. 908, and in whose time there were many ancient documents to write from, long since perished, is cited by Keating for a very curious circumstance, regarding the successes of the Irish against the Romans in Britain. After alluding to the great Roman fortifications, and the large number of Roman troops, in spite of which, the Irish and their allies, the Picts, used to invade and plunder South Britain, Keating adds:—"Cormac Mac Cullenan says, also, in the Psalter of Cashel, that, in consequence of the ravages committed in Britain by the Irish, and the Cruihni, who were also called Picts, the Britons thrice murdered the Roman Governors, as a peace-offering to the Irish."—(Keating's History of Ireland, *ut infra*.—Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, vol. iii. pp. 348-358.)

[u] The historians of the Roman Empire have not thought proper, it may be observed, to furnish details of the several reverses which the Roman troops in Britain, and their auxiliaries, MUST have met with, before the Irish invaders, and their

the Scots of Ireland were no less active than their brethren of Albany; and it is, therefore, remarkable that the Roman commander, though fitting out a fleet to chastise the Saxons in the Orcades, should yet have left Ireland, whose currachs wafted over such hostile swarms to his shores, still exempt from invasion. That his fleet chased, however, some of her vessels into their own northern harbours, may be concluded from a passage of the poem of Claudian, which commemorates this war:

"'Nec falso nomine Pictos
Edomuit, Scotumque vago mucrone secutus,
Fregit Hyperboreas remis audacibus undas.'

"The few following lines from the same poem describe briefly and picturesquely the signal triumph over the three hostile nations, which Theodosius had achieved:

"'Maduerunt Saxone fuso
Orcades, incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule,
Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.'

"An invasion of Britain, on a far more extensive scale than had yet been attempted from Ireland, took place towards the close of the fourth century (A. D. 396–7), under the auspices of Nial of the Nine Hostages, one of the most gallant of all the princes of the Milesian race. Observing that the Romans, after breaking up their lines of encampment along the coast opposite to Ireland, had retired to the eastern shore and the northern wall, Nial perceived, that an apt opportunity was thus offered for a descent upon the now unprotected territory. Instantly summoning, therefore, all the forces of the island, and embarking them on board such ships as he could collect, he ranged with his numerous navy along the whole coast of Lancashire, effecting a landing in Wales, from whence he carried off immense plunder, and, though compelled ultimately to retreat, left marks of depredation and ruin wherever he passed. It was against this adventurous monarch, that some of those successes were achieved by the Romans, which threw such lustre around the military administration of Stilicho, and inspired the muse of Claudian in his praise. 'By him,' says the poet, speaking in the person of Britannia, 'was I protected, when the Scot moved all Ireland against me, and the ocean foamed with his hostile oars.'

"The tottering state of the Roman dominion in Gaul, as well as in every other quarter, at this period, encouraged the Hero of the Nine Hostages to extend his enterprizes to the coast of Britany; where, after ravaging all the maritime districts of the north-west of Gaul, he was at length assassinated, with a poisoned arrow, by one of his own followers, near the Portus Iccius, not far, it is supposed, from the site of the present Boulogne.

"To

allies, *could* have advanced so "far into the bowels of the land" as "London and Kent," and have become altogether so formidable, as to need the exertions of a General, like Theodosius, for no less than two active campaigns, against them. An Irish account of this war, if we had one, would, no doubt, be more communicative as to such details. Our minds have been too much *romanized* by Roman historians, without duly considering that *their* accounts, after all, are only those of *one* side, which, in justice to the *other*, require, by a lover of truth, to be very much sifted. See Note 3.

"To Nial the Great succeeded Dathy (A. D. 406), the last of the Pagan Monarchs of Ireland, and not unworthy to follow, as a soldier and adventurer, in the path opened to him by his heroic predecessor. Not only, like Nial, did he venture to invade the coasts of Gaul; but, allured by the prospect of plunder, which the state of the province, then falling fast into dismemberment, held forth, forced his way to the foot of the Alps, and was there killed, it is said, by a flash of lightning." A. D. 428.

The circumstances of this Irish Monarch's death, and of the conveyance of his body back to Ireland, as related by the Mac Firbises, together with very curious particulars respecting the locality of his interment at Roilig na Riogh, or the ancient sepulchre of the Kings of Connaught, near Rath Croghan, County Roscommon, are given in Mr. O'Donovan's valuable contribution to the Transactions of the Irish Archæological Society, entitled, "The Genealogy, Tribes, and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach," &c. Doctor Mathew Kennedy, Judge of the Court of Admiralty, and Master of Chancery, in Ireland, during the reign of James II., in his "Chronological, Genealogical, and Historical Dissertation of the Royal Family of the Stuarts," published at Paris in 1705, says, respecting the termination of Dathy's life and expedition, in the Alps:—"The Piedmontois tradition of this matter, continued to this day, fully agrees with our account of this expedition." The local source through which a knowledge of the existence of that tradition was acquired, or a nobleman of the great family of De Sales (variously styled in the writers of the time, Marquis, Count, and Baron), appears from Abbé Mac Geoghegan, in his Histoire de l'Irlande. "La rélation," he observes, "de cette expédition de Dathy, dont parlent presque tous les livres Irlandois, se trouve conforme à la tradition Piémontoise, et à un très-ancien régistre des archives de la maison de Sales, où il est dit, que le Roi d'Irlande s'étoit logé dans le château de Sales lors de cette expédition. Je tiens cette rélation de Daniel ô Mulryan, Capitaine au Régiment de Mount-Cashel, qui m'a assuré l'avoir oui dire au Marquis de Sales, lorsqu'il étoit à table avec Milord Mount-Cashel, dont il étoit le prisonnier depuis la bataille de Marsaille." The Abbé is correct, as to a nobleman of the house of De Sales having been a prisoner to Justin Mac Carthy, Lord Mountcashel, in the war between Louis XIV. and Victor Amadeus, Duke of Savoy. He is only mistaken, as to the time and place he assigns for the fact, which occurred, *not* at the battle of Marsaille, or Orbassan, October 4, 1693, in Piedmont, but in Savoy, during the campaign of 1690, at an encounter where Lord Mountcashel and his regiment were present, fighting, under Saint Ruth, against a body of Mondovisiens, the subjects of the Duke of Savoy, commanded by De Sales. The Dutch Mercure Historique for October, 1690, thus relates the circumstance, on the Allied side, after noticing how Saint Ruth (the same who fell next year in Ireland at Aughrim) was employed in reducing Savoy:—"Il y a eu un combat entre un détachement de ce Général et douze cents hommes de Mondovi commandez par le Comte de Sales, qui furent rencontrez entre Saint Jean de Morienne et Constans"—or rather, Conflans. "Les Mondovisiens se défendirent d'abord avec beaucoup de courage, et tuerent un assez grand nombre de leurs ennemis, mais enfin ils furent obligez de ceder au nombre, après avoir perdu beaucoup de monde. Les Irlandois, commandez par Milord Moncassel,

lesquels se trouverent dans cette rencontre, se battirent parfaitement bien, et ayant vu que leur Chef étoit blessé, ils ne voulureut point abandonner leurs ennemis, qu'ils n'eussent pris le Comte de Sales, qui les commandoit. Ils le menerent en triomphe au Lord Moncassel, pour le consoler de la blessure qu'il avoit recuë." Lord Mountcashel, besides, was *not* in Italy at the battle of Marsaille in 1693, but serving as Lieutenant-General in Germany, under the Marshal de Lorges; and, among the 215 *names* of Allied Officers taken at that battle, by the French, the *name* of De Sales (or De Salles) is not to be found; so that it could only have been after the defeat in 1690, that the nobleman of that name mentioned the circumstance at table to Lord Mountcashel, in the presence of the Captain, who communicated the matter to his countryman, the Abbé.

With respect to the ancient supremacy of the Irish in the Isle of Man, Mr. Moore, in mentioning the defeat of the Ultonians, by the famous Irish Monarch, Cormac Ulfadha, in the third century, and the consequent banishment of numbers of them into that island, says: "That the island of Eubonia, as Man was then called, belonged in early times to Ireland, appears from Ptolemy, by whom it is marked as a dependency of that country; and, in a work attributed to the cosmographer, Æthicus, we are told, 'The Isle of Man, as well as Hibernia, is inhabited by the tribes of the Scots,'—'Menavia insula æque ac Hibernia a Scotorum gentibus habitatur.' In the time of St. Patrick, it was still an Irish island, and the favourite resort of such holy persons, as wished to devote themselves to a life of seclusion and prayer."

As to the balance of invasion between Ireland and England, the same historian considers, that, until Henry II.'s reign, the Irish were the aggressors. "Up to this period," he observes, "the tide of invasion appears to have been entirely from the Irish side of the channel[v]; and in all the struggles of Wales against English domination, troops were wafted over to her aid, in the corachs of her warlike neighbours. In the rebellion of Godwin and his sons against Edward the Confessor, Ireland furnished, as we have seen, men and ships in their cause; and, after the defeat at Hastings, three sons of the conquered King (Harold) sought refuge and succour in the same country, and were enabled to fit out from thence a large fleet, for the invasion of England"[w].

NOTE 58,

[v] This assertion of Mr. Moore should, nevertheless, be regarded rather as *generally* than *universally* true. In the seventh and eighth centuries especially, see the several instances of invasion that old Charles O'Conor refers to as made from Britain, which he speaks of, in connexion with Congal Claon and the battle of Moyrath, as then "the common asylum of the domestic mal-contents" of Ireland.—(Dissertations on the History of Ireland, sect. xv. pp. 210-215: Dublin, 1812.)

[w] Moore's History of Ireland, vol. i. pp. 128-130, 134-135, 147-149, 150-153, 229-231, and vol. ii. p. 206.—Keating's History of Ireland, vol. i. pp. x.-xv.; Halliday's translation.—O'Flaherty's Ogygia, pars iii. cap. 40, 52, 81, 85, 87, 88.—O'Donovan's Genealogies, Tribes, and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach, &c., pp. 19-25.—Kennedy's Chronological and Historical Dissertation of the Royal Family of the Stuarts, beginning with Milesius, the stock of those they call the Milesian Irish; and ending with his present Majesty King James the Third of England and Ireland, and of Scotland the Eighth, p. 137.—Mac Geoghegan, Histoire de l'Irlande, tome i. p. 155, et tome iii. pp. 745-747.—St. Ger-

NOTE 58, Pages 23, 24.

Misconception as to Ireland having been styled the "Island of Saints," for adhering to the Roman Catholic faith, when so many other nations embraced the Protestant religion.

Respecting the state of religion and learning in Ireland from the fifth to the ninth century, which procured for the island the title of "*Insula Sanctorum et Doctorum,*" consult Doctor Lanigan, Mr. Moore, and their authorities. On this subject, the learned Camden says:—"Patrick's disciples made such progress in the Christian doctrine, that, in the next age, Ireland was called the *Country of Saints*, and no men came up to the Scotch (i. e. Irish) monks in Ireland and Britain for sanctity and learning; and they sent forth swarms of holy men all over Europe, to whom the monasteries of Luxueil in Burgundy, Bobbio in Italy, Wurtzburgh in Franconia, St. Gall in Switzerland, Malmsbury, Landisfarn, and many others in Britain, owed their origin. For from Ireland came Celius Sedulius, the presbyter, Columba, Columbanus, Colman, Aidan, Gall, Kilian, Maidulph, Brendan, and many more, eminent for their life and doctrine. Of these monks, we are to understand Henricus Antisioderensis, before quoted, when he writes thus to Charles the Bald (grandson of Charlemagne): 'Why should I mention almost all Ireland, with its crowd of philosophers, despising the dangers of the sea, and flocking to our coasts?' . . . . . The Saxons, also, at that time, flocked to Ireland, from all quarters, as to a mart of literature; whence we frequently read in our writers of the lives of Saints, 'such a one was sent over to Ireland for education.' . . . . . From thence, too, our old Saxon ancestors seem to have had the form of their letters, as they plainly used the same characters, which are at present in use amongst the Irish. It is not," he adds, "to be wondered at, that Ireland, which is now (A. D. 1607) for the most part, rude, half barbarous, and ignorant of polite literature, should have so abounded in that age with holy, pious, and illustrious personages, when the cultivation of learning was neglected, and almost lost throughout the Christian world; since the divine Providence scatters the seeds of religion and learning sometimes in one nation, sometimes in another, as so many beds at different periods, whose produce, being transplanted from one place to another, yields a new and continual increase, to the glory of God, and the good of mankind."

Colgan observes:—"In those golden days, immediately subsequent to the first dissemination of the faith in our land, and for some ages following, it was regarded not only as a kind of

vais, Mémoires et Correspondence du Maréchal de Catinat, tome ii. pp. 219-229, 516-520: Paris, 1836. — Histoire du Prince Eugène de Savoye, Généralissme des Armées de l'Empereur et de l'Empire, tome i. pp. 169-178: Amsterdam, 1740.— Mercure Historique et Politique, tome ix. pp. 358-359, et tome x. p. 171: La Haye, 1690-1691. — Quincy, Histoire Militaire du Regne de Louis le Grand, tome ii. pp. 292, 303-306, 456-462, 646, 652, 656-657, 682-685: Paris, 1726.

of training institution for missionaries to Heathen lands, but likewise as a second Thebais for cherishing the exercises of ascetic life, and a general school of the west, for the cultivation of the study of philosophy, and of the Holy Scriptures: so that I can scarce tell whether it has attained to greater glory, from having produced, and sent forth into the world, Doctors and Apostles, almost without number, or from the circumstance, that the countless instances of the arrival, settlement, and sepulture, in our land, of Italians, Gauls, Germans, Britons, Picts, Angles, or Saxons, and persons from other nations, who flocked here, desirous of the benefits of strict discipline or improvement in learning, have been such, that the place might well be called a general institute of polite literature for Europe, and a general retreat for the followers of the ascetic life."

Lord Lyttelton remarks:—"We learn from Bede, an Anglo-Saxon, that, about the middle of the seventh century, numbers, both of the nobles and of the second rank of English, left their country, and retired out of England into Ireland, for the sake of studying theology, or leading there a stricter life. And all these (he affirms) the Irish, whom he calls *Scots*, most willingly received, and maintained *at their own charge*, supplying them also with books, and being their teachers *without fee or reward*. A most honourable testimony, not only to the learning, but likewise to the hospitality and bounty, of that nation. Great praise is likewise due to the piety of those Irish ecclesiastics, who (as we know from the clear and unquestionable testimony of many foreign writers) made themselves the Apostles of barbarous Heathen nations, without any apparent inducement to such hazardous undertakings, except the merit of the work. By the preaching of these men, the Northumbrians, the East Angles, and the Northern Picts, were converted. Convents also were founded by them in Burgundy, Germany, and other foreign countries, where they distinguished themselves by the rigid integrity and purity of their manners; so that Ireland, from the opinion conceived of their sanctity, was called *the country of saints*."

Mr. O'Conor adds:—"The (Irish) monks set up schools, in which they educated the youth, not only of the island, but of the neighbouring nations. They sent their missionaries in shoals into the Continent, converting its Heathen and confirming its Christian inhabitants: set up schools in those parts, and laid the foundation of the most flourishing universities in Europe. They taught the Saxons and Normans (i. e. Danes or Northmen) the use of letters, and they converted the Cruthneans or Picts to Christianity by the preaching of Columb-Kille, who quitted his right of succession to the throne of Ireland to reign over the hearts of a foreign people, enemies to his own nation. When Europe groaned under the servitude of Gothic ignorance, Ireland became the prime seat of learning to all Christendom. Hither the sciences, such as they were in those ages, fled for protection; and here their followers and professors were amply supported. For the converted Saxons, the nation erected, in the west, the college of Mayo, to this day called *Mayo of the Saxons*. . . . . In the city of Ardmacha, it is affirmed, that no fewer than 7000 scholars studied, at the same time, within its university; although the kingdom, at that time, contained several other academies equally celebrated, if not equally numerous. On such foundations, did they cultivate Christianity, at home

home and abroad; and thus did they fulfil the glorious commission of our Saviour to his Apostles: *Go ye and teach all nations*"[x]. See, also, Notes 1, 4, 14.

From this condition of ecclesiastical and literary Ireland in ancient times, and *not*, as is said in the text, from any thing connected with the state of religion amongst her inhabitants at a more recent period, or since the Anglo-Norman invasion, and the great doctrinal revolution of the sixteenth century, has Ireland been designated "The Island of Saints." The last generally-recognised Irish Saint was Lorcan O'Tuathal, or Laurence O'Toole, Archbishop of Dublin[y], who died at Eu, in Normandy, November 14, 1180[z].

NOTE 59,

[x] Nevertheless, the above accounts, though so honourable to those to *whom* they applied, and so far to the *country* with which such piety and learning were connected, are not to be received in the enlarged or general sense with respect to the Irish, in which some would have those accounts understood. Mac Geoghegan, the substance of whose observations on this point will be found confirmed by a general perusal of the *native* annals of the times in question, remarks of his countrymen, in the ages referred to: "Les sciences qui éclairent et qui ornent l'esprit florissoient *plus qu'ailleurs* chez eux. La morale chrétienne, qui régle les mouvemens du cœur, formoit parmi eux des hommes d'une haute réputation, pour la sainteté de leurs mœurs. Cependant, malgre ces avantages, on voyoit chez eux *une mélange étonnante de vertu et de vice*, et comme dit un certain auteur, ils étoient ardens en tout, soit dans le bien, soit dans le mal: *In omnes affectus vehementissimi.* Pendant qu'une partie de ce peuple se consacroit entièrement à Dieu par un renoncement parfait au monde, et servoit en cela de modèle aux nations voisines, l'esprit de discorde fut toujours nourri chez eux, soit par la tyrannie de leurs princes, soit par l'ambition de leurs nobles, soit par les fréquentes révoltes de leurs sujets." See, also, the last paragraph of Note 64.—(Mac Geoghegan, Histoire de l'Irlande, tome i. pp. 370-371.)

[y] By "generally-recognised," however, is *not* to be understood "papally-canonized;" St. Malachy of Armagh, deceased in 1148, and St. Laurence of Dublin above-mentioned in 1180, having been the only two of all the Irish Saints so canonized; Alexander III., who was Pope from 1159 to 1181 (and the same who confirmed Adrian IV.'s bull granting Ireland to Henry II.) being reckoned the first Pontiff who assumed an exclusive right of canonizing for the See of Rome. "This country was heretofore," says Archbishop Ussher, of ancient Ireland, "for the number of holy men who lived in it, termed the Island of Saints:" yet, he adds, "Of that innumerable company of Saints, whose memory was reverenced here, what one received any solemn canonization from the Pope, before Malachias, Archbishop of Armagh, and Laurence of Dublin? who lived, as it were, but the other day." The circumstance of the rest of the Irish Saints not having been canonized by the Popes is explained by the learned Charles Butler, in his Account of the Life and Writings of the Rev. Alban Butler, prefixed to his Lives of the Saints. In that account, mentioning how "Pope Alexander III. is supposed to have been the first Pope, who reserved the exclusive privilege of canonizing Saints to the Holy See," Mr. Butler observes,—"Originally, every Bishop had the privilege of *canonizing* Saints, or declaring them entitled to the honours which the Catholic Church bestows on her Saints."—(Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, vol. iv. pp. 88-102, 132-135.—Sir Harris Nicolas's Chronology of History, p. 189—Dr. Elrington's edition of Archbishop Ussher's Works, vol. iv. pp. 319-320.—Dr. Doyle's edition of Rev. Alban Butler's Lives of Saints, vol. i. p. xxii.)

[z] Dr. Kennedy's Chronological and Historical Dissertation of the Royal Family of the Stuarts, preface, pp. 32-34. — Gough's Camden's Britannia, vol. iii. p. 467: London, 1789. — Colgan's Acta Sanctorum, &c. tom. i. p. 539.—Lord Lyttelton's Life of Henry II., vol. iii. pp. 17-18: Dublin, 1772. — O'Conor's Dissertations on the

Note 59, Page 24.

The period of the fall of Ireland arrives, after its alleged existence, as a kingdom, for upwards of 2000 *years.*

In the period that is here assigned for the "alleged existence" of Ireland as an independent kingdom, till its fall, by the Anglo-Norman invasion, in the twelfth century, our author would appear to have had in view O'Flaherty's system of chronology. And, in connexion with the statement of above 2000 years, for the destined duration, as it were, of that kingdom, the writer alludes, perhaps, to the lines in the latter, or poetical portion of O'Flaherty's work:—

"Omnia labuntur ; nihil immortale sub astris
Tardius, aut citius, meta statuta venit."
—(*Ogygia*, pp. 457-458.)

Note 60, Page 24.

Henry II.'s invasion of Ireland, though invited by Dermod Mac Murrough, King of Leinster, when driven from his kingdom, yet not immediately occasioned by Dermod's having carried off the wife of O'Rourke, Prince of Brefny.

"The abduction of the wife of O'Ruarc by the King of Leinster, which took place so early as the year 1153, has, by the majority of our historians, been advanced in date, by no less than thirteen years, for the purpose of connecting it with Dermod's expulsion from his kingdom, A. D. 1166, and his consequent flight, as we shall see, into England, to solicit aid from Henry II. The ready adoption of so gross an anachronism, by not a few even of our own native historians, may be cited as an instance of that strong tendency to prefer showy and agreeable fiction to truth, which has enabled Romance, in almost all countries, to encroach upon, and even sometimes supersede, History"[a].

Note 61, Pages 24, 25.

Groundless idea that the native Irish, when driven, in Roman Catholic times, from their lands, by the Anglo-Normans, were generally worse used, than when, in similar times, the native English, or Saxons, were treated in like manner by the Normans.

The superficial exclamation of the writer in the text, against what *he* so erroneously supposes to have been the *peculiar* injustice suffered by the native Irish, when they were stripped of

History of Ireland, pp. 201-203 : Dublin, 1812.— pp. 244-245.)
Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, vol. iv.

[a] Moore's History of Ireland, vol. ii. p. 201.

of their lands by the Anglo-Norman invaders, though Roman Catholics as well as themselves!—is sufficiently refuted by an acquaintance with what the native or Saxon population of England had likewise to endure from their Norman invaders under William the Conqueror, although no religious differences had a part in their enmity to each other.

Of the conduct of the Normans to the English Saxons, after the battle of Hastings, fought October 14, 1066,—or a century previous to the expulsion and flight of Dermod, King of Leinster, from Ireland,—Thierry, in his valuable History of the Conquest of England by the Normans, writes as follows:—"On s'enquérait des noms de tous les Anglais morts en combattant, ou qui avaient survécu à la défaite, ou que des retards involontaires avaient empêches de se rendre sous les drapeaux. Tous les biens de ces trois classes d'hommes, terres, revenus, meubles, étaient saisis: les enfants des premiers étaient déclarés déshérités à tout jamais; les seconds étaient également dépossédés sans retour; et eux-mémes, disent les auteurs normands, sentaient bien qu'en leur laissant la vie, l'ennemi faisait assez pour eux; enfin les hommes qui n'avaient point pris les armes furent aussi dépouillés de tout, pour avoir eu l'intention de les prendre: mais par une grâce spéciale, on leur laissa l'espoir qu'après de longues années d'obéissance et de dévouement à la puissance étrangère, non pas eux, mais leurs fils, pourraient peut-être obtenir des nouveaux maîtres quelque portion de l'héritage paternel. . . . . L'immense produit de cette spoliation universelle fut la solde des aventuriers de tous pays qui s'étaient enrôlés sous la bannière du duc de Normandie. Leur chef, le nouveau roi des Anglais, retint premièrement pour sa propre part, tout le trésor des anciens rois, l'orfèverie des églises, et ce qu'on trouva de plus précieux et de plus rare dans les magasins des marchands. Guillaume envoya une portion de ces richesses au pape Alexandre, avec l'étendard de Harold en échange de la bannière qui avait triomphé à Hastings[b]; et toutes les églises d'outre-mer où l'on avait chanté des psaumes et brûlé des cierges pour le succès de l'invasion, reçurent, en récompense, des croix, des vases et des étoffes d'or. Après la part du roi et du clergé, on fit celle des hommes de guerre, selon leur grade et les conditions de leur engagement. Ceux qui, au camp sur la Dive, avaient fait hommage pour des terres, alors à conquérir, reçurent celles des Anglais dépossédés; les barons et les chevaliers eurent de vastes domaines, des châteaux, des bourgades, des villes entières: les simples vassaux eurent de

[b] A consecrated banner, with a bull against the English King, Harold, and a diamond ring, said to contain a hair of St. Peter, were sent by Pope Alexander II. to the Duke of Normandy, as an approval of his invasion of England: "Une bulle d'excommunication, lancée contre Harold et tous ses adhérents, fut remise au messager de Guillaume, et l'on joignit à cet envoi une bannière de l'église romaine, et un anneau contenant un cheveu de Saint Pierre, enchâssé sous un diamant de prix. C'était le double signe de l'investiture militaire et ecclésiastique." By a bull in *his* favour, accompanied with another ring, containing, appropriately enough, "a valuable *emerald!*" Henry II. was, in the following century, likewise empowered by Pope Adrian IV. to take possession of Ireland, and had that country subsequently confirmed to him by Pope Alexander III., as William had England granted to him by Pope Alexander II. This analogy has not been noted by our Irish historians. —(Thierry, *ut infrà*, tome i. livre iii. pp. 226-229, and Notes 62 and 63.)

de moindres portions. Quelques-uns prirent leur solde en argent; d'autres avaient stipulé d'avance qu'ils auraient une femme saxonne, et Guillaume, dit la chronique normande, leur fit prendre, par mariage, de nobles dames, héritières de grands biens, dont les maris étaient morts dans la bataille."

To give, by an enumeration of particular cases, a clearer idea of the unscrupulous rapacity and oppression with which the Normans acted towards the conquered English or Saxons, M. Thierry adduces such facts as these; taken, he says, indiscriminately from amongst thousands of others, that it would be tiresome to enumerate:—" Par exemple, à Pevensey, lieu de débarquement de l'armée, les soldats normands partagèrent entre eux les maisons des vaincus. Ailleurs ce furent les habitants eux-mêmes qu'ils se distribuèrent corps et biens; et, dans le bourg de Lewes, selon un régistre authentique, le roi Guillaume prit soixante bourgeois produisant chacun trente-neuf sous de rente; un certain Asselin eut plusieurs bourgeois payant seulement quatre sous de rente, et Guillaume de Caen eut deux bourgeois de deux sous (ce sont les propres mots du régistre). La ville de Douvres, a demi consumée par l'incendie, devint le partage d'Eudes, évêque de Bayeux. . . . . Il en distribua les maisons à ses guerriers et à ses gens: Raoul de Courbespine en reçut trois avec le champ d'une femme pauvre; Guillaume, fils de Geoffroy, eut aussi trois maisons et l'ancien hôtel-de-ville, ou la halle commune des bourgeois. Près de Colchester, dans la province d'Essex, Geoffroy de Mandeville occupa seul quarante manoirs ou habitations entourées de terres en culture; quatorze propriétaires saxons furent dépossédés par Engelry, et trente par un certain Guillaume. Un riche Anglais se remit, pour sa sûreté, au pouvoir du Normand Gaultier, qui en fit son tributaire; un autre Anglais devint serf de corps sur la glèbe de son propre champ. . . . . La cité de Norwich fut réservée tout entière pour le domaine privé du conquérant: elle avait payé aux rois Saxons trente livres et vingt sous d'impot; mais Guillaume exigea par an soixante-dix livres, un cheval de prix, cent sous au profit de sa femme, et en outre vingt livres pour le salaire de l'officier quy y commandait en son nom. . . . . Dans la province de Hertford, un Anglais avait racheté sa terre par le paiement de neuf onces d'or; et cependant pour échapper à une dépossession violente, il fut obligé de se rendre tributaire d'un soldat appelé Vigot."

The general consequences of such a ruinous conquest for the disinherited English, and such a gainful one for their French invaders, are thus represented by the same able historian:—" Tel qui avait passé la mer avec la casaque metelassée et l'arc de bois noirci du piéton, parut sur un cheval de bataille, et ceint du baudrier militaire, aux yeux étonnés des nouvelles recrues qui passèrent la mer après lui. Tel était venu pauvre chevalier, qui bientôt leva bannière, comme on s'exprimait alors, et conduisit une compagnie, dont le cri de ralliement était son nom. Les bouviers de Normandie et les tisserands de Flandre, avec un peu de courage et de bonheur, devenaient promptement, en Angleterre, de hauts hommes, d'illustres barons; et leurs noms, vils ou obscurs sur l'une des rives du détroit, étaient nobles et glorieux sur l'autre. . . . . Depuis que la conquête prospérait, ce n'étaient plus seulement de jeunes soldats ou des vieux chefs de guerre, mais des familles entières, hommes, femmes et enfants qui

qui émigraient de presque tous les coins de la Gaule, pour chercher fortune en Angleterre; ce pays était devenu, pour les gens d'outre-mer, comme ces terres nouvellement découvertes, que l'on va coloniser, et qui appartiennent à tout venant."

The little regard paid at this conquest to the commandment, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's goods," alluded to in the text, may be judged of by the fact that, of those Norman or other French invaders of England, who, says the historian: "soit clercs, soit laïcs, ne différaient que par l'habit," showing whether "sous la cotte de mailles ou sous la chape, c'était toujours le vainqueur étranger, insolent, dur, avare,"—of *those* lay and clerical spoliators of the English, there were "soixante mille, tous possesseurs au moins d'une portion de terre suffisante pour l'entretien d'un cheval et d'une armure complète." Out of so many of the subjects or followers of William, who made their fortunes in every capacity from the ruin of the native English, there are mentioned to have been only *two* strictly conscientious or honest men; namely, Guilbert, son of Richard, a layman, possessed of a small patrimony in Normandy, and Guimond, a monk of the Convent of the Cross of St. Leufroi, in the same country, who were found to act on the principle of "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's goods," by refusing to have anything to do with the spoils of the English. *Two* out of *sixty thousand!*[c]

The language of the native English, or Saxons, it should be remarked, was *also* proscribed by their conquerors as a barbarous jargon, unworthy of notice; the Norman or French tongue being made that of the court, the higher classes, the law, and education, in England. Speaking of the period from the Conquest to the reign of Edward III., "Boys in the schools," says Mr. Anderson, "were instructed in the French idiom; after this, in some instances, came Latin; and *there was no regular instruction of youth in English.* The children of the nobles were even sent abroad, to secure correctness of pronunciation,"—that is, in *French!* Thus, he observes, it is "not a little remarkable, that THE EVIL UNDER WHICH THE NATIVE IRISH HAVE LABOURED FOR SO MANY AGES, AND UP TO THE PRESENT HOUR, IS THE PRECISE EVIL UNDER WHICH ENGLAND GROANED FOR 300 YEARS, FROM THE TIME OF THE NORMAN INVASION![d]"

NOTE 62,

[c] Compare this merciless rapacity of the Norman conquerors of England towards the native Saxons, or English, with the oppressions and cruelties of the ancestors of the same conquerors in France, towards the native French peasantry of Normandy, and also with the miserable servitude imposed upon the native Saxons, or English, by their Danish masters, as set forth in Note 56. See, likewise, for more of such barbarities perpetrated in England, long after its Norman or *second* conquest by men of Scandinavian origin, and their followers, Note 55. In one respect, however, the early Anglo-Norman invaders of Ireland are allowed by their own historian, Cambrensis, to have been *peculiarly* culpable; or in not having been contented with taking away merely the property of the Irish who opposed them, but even seizing, in violation of agreement, upon the lands of the Irish, who had, from the commencement, assisted them. — (Rev. Matthew Kelly's Cambrensis Eversus, vol. i. pp. 358-359.)

[d] Histoire de la Conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands, par Augustin Thierry, tome i. introduction, p. 20, livre iv. pp. 268-270, 273, 274, 276, 278, 331, et tome ii. livre v. pp. 25-27, livre vi.

Note 62, Page 25.

Pope Adrian IV.'s bull, granting Ireland to Henry II. of England, a genuine document, notwithstanding the impeachment of its authenticity by some writers.

Of this grant of Ireland to Henry II., by Adrian IV., the following account is given by Dr. Lanigan: "Henry II., who became King of England about the same time that Adrian was placed on the chair of St. Peter, on being informed of his promotion, wrote to him a complimentary letter of congratulation; and, having thus opened the way for obtaining favours, applied to him, in the year 1155[e], by means of John of Salisbury, then Chaplain to Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, for a really important one. John, addressing the Pope in the King's name, asked him for permission of his master to take possession of Ireland, for the purpose of extending the boundaries of the Church, of announcing to unlearned and rude people the truth of the Christian faith, and extirpating the weeds of vices from the field of the Lord. What an apostolical and exemplary sovereign was Henry Plantagenet! It is strange, that the Pope could have listened to such stuff, while he knew that palliums had been sent, only three or four years before that time, to Ireland, by his patron and benefactor, the good Pope Eugenius III.; and must have been informed by Cardinal Paparo, who was, as St. Bernard states, a very worthy man, that many good regulations had been made; that there were excellent Bishops in this country, such as Gelasius of Armagh, and Christian of Lismore; and that the Irish Church was not then in so degenerate a state, as to require the intervention, or the pious exertions, of such a King as Henry. But the love of his country (England), his wish to gratify Henry, and some other not very becoming reasons, prevailed over every other consideration; and the condescending Pope, with great cheerfulness and alacrity, took upon himself to make over to Henry all Ireland, and got a letter or Bull drawn up to that effect, and directed to him, in which, among other queer things, he wishes him success in his undertaking, and expresses a hope, that it will not only conduce to his glory in this world, but likewise to his eternal happiness in the next. He founds his right for making this grant on the notable principle, that Ireland and all the islands, which have received the Christian faith, undoubtedly belong to St. Peter, and the holy Roman Church. Adrian requires of Henry to preserve the rights of the churches inviolate, and that, as he had promised to do, he would take care that a *denarius* should be annually paid from every house to St. Peter. He sent to him, by John of Salisbury, a gold ring, adorned with a valuable *emerald*, as a token of investiture of his right to govern Ireland; which ring, it was ordered, should be kept in the public archives." The Doctor adds, that "this charge of a *denarius*, vulgarly called a *penny*, was in imitation of the Peter-pence, which

p. 113, livre vii. p. 141: Bruxelles et Liege, 1841. —The Native Irish and their Descendants, by Christopher Anderson, section vi. pp. 156-157: 3rd edition, 1846.

[e] Misprinted 1115 in Dr. Lanigan's text, though, by his annexed Note 14, the true year is specified from Matthew Paris and others, as having been 1155.

which used for centuries to be paid by England. As to its origin there, and to the then value of the *denarius*," he remarks, "it is not my business to inquire. Let it suffice to say, that it was worth a good deal more than our present penny."

Respecting the value of this *denarius*,—into which, as the coin that was to be sent from every house in *Ireland* to Rome, in consideration of the Papal transfer of the island to Henry, Doctor Lanigan, as an *Irish* ecclesiastical historian, should certainly *not* have asserted, "it is not *my* business to inquire,"—Doctor Henry has been more explicit. In his learned History of Great Britain, having premised that the piece of money in question was that at the time most commonly in use, he thus, in 1777, defines its value:—"Every Tower pound of silver was coined into 240 of these pennies, each weighing 22½ Troy grains. Twelve of these pennies, weighing 270 grains, were paid for one shilling. In a word, the Anglo-Norman penny was the same, in weight, with the Anglo-Saxon. Many of the former, as well as some of the latter, are still preserved, and have been published. Though the silver penny of this period was but a small coin, yet it was of considerable value; and," concludes the Doctor, "*would have purchased as much provisions as four or five of our shillings will do at present.*" Hence the tribute of a *denarius*, stipulated by the Papal bull to be sent yearly, in the name of St. Peter, from every house in Ireland, to Rome, would form no inconsiderable annual remittance from Ireland to Italy.

As to the authenticity of Adrian IV.'s bull to Henry II., which some Irish writers, on account of what *they* considered the gross injustice of the document with respect to Ireland, have attempted to treat as a forgery, Dr. Lanigan says: "Gratianus Lucius (Lynch) greatly exerted himself (*Cambr. Evers. cap.* 22) in striving to show, that the Bull is spurious, and Mac Geoghegan would fain make us believe the same thing. It has not, indeed, been published in the *Bullarium Romanum*, the editors of which were ashamed of it. But there was a copy of it in the Vatican library, as is clear from its being referred to by Pope John XXII., in his Brief to Edward II. of England, written in 1319, which Brief is in the Bullarium, and may be seen in Wilkins' *Councils, vol.* 2, *p.* 491, in Brodin's *Descriptio Regni Hiberniæ*, printed at Rome in 1721, and in Mac Geoghegan's *Histoire*, &c., *tome* 2, *p.* 116. In said Brief, the Pope not only refers to Adrian's Bull or letter by name, but says that he joins to the Brief a copy of it, for the use of the King. And Baronius, who has published the Bull in his *Annales*, &c., at 1159 (not because he thought it was issued in that year) tells us, that he took his copy of it from a *Codex Vaticanus*. Then we have the testimony of the very intriguer employed in procuring this Bull, John of Salisbury. . . . . 'Ad preces meas illustri regi Anglorum Henrico II. concessit (Adrianus) et dedit Hiberniam jure haereditario possidendam, *sicut litterae ipsius testantur in hodiernum diem.* Nam omnes insulae de jure antiquo, ex donatione Constantini qui eam fundavit et dotavit, dicuntur ad Romanam ecclesiam pertinere.'" . . . . . Doctor Lanigan, then, showing that this passage of John of Salisbury, which Lynch denied to be John's, as not finding it in his *Polycraticus*, is to be found in his *Metalogicus*, thus proceeds: "Adrian's grant of Ireland to Henry is expressly mentioned and confirmed by Pope Alexander III., in his letter to him of the year 1172. Giraldus Cambrensis (*de rebus a se gestis, pars* 2, *cap.* 11,

and Hibern. Expugn. l. 2, *c.* 6.), Matthew Paris (*Historia Major &c., ad A.* 1155), and others, give not only an account of said Bull, but the Bull itself; and Ussher states (*Sylloge Not. on No.* 46) that he saw copies of it in the registers of the dioceses of Dublin and Lismore. What has been now said," concludes the Doctor, "is surely more than enough to set aside the doubts of Lynch, or of any other writer."

In the above observations, however, Dr. Lanigan has fallen into an error, by asserting that Adrian IV.'s bull is not to be found in the Bullarium; Adrian's being in it, though Alexander III.'s, on the same subject, is *not*. The Doctor, amongst his citations respecting the genuineness of Adrian's bull, might also have mentioned, that it is given at length in the *Ymagines Historiarum* of Henry's contemporary, Radulfus de Diceto, Dean of London; a copy of it is likewise prefixed to the famous remonstrance of the native Irish to Pope John XXII., against the English in the reign of Edward II., in Fordun's *Scoti-Chronicon;* and Roger de Wendover, the historical predecessor of Matthew Paris, in his *Chronica* or *Flores Historiarum,* (printed since Dr. Lanigan's time), also included it in his compilation. Cardinal Baronius, after the insertion, in his great work, of other documents of the Popedom of Adrian IV., says,—"Ad hæc insuper, ne quid excidat de tanti Pontificis memoriâ, hic *describemus ex codice Vaticano* diploma datum ad Henricum Anglorum Regem, de rebus Hiberniæ in meliorem statum religionis restitutis." Of that production, which Matthew Paris mentions, as having been applied for, and issued to Henry II. in 1155, "ut sibi liceret *Hyberniæ* insulam hostiliter intrare, et terram subjugare, atque homines illos bestiales ad fidem et viam reducere veritatis, extirpatis ibi plantariis vitiorum," the Cardinal then supplies the following copy:

"Hadrianus Episcopus seruus seruorum Dei charissimo in Christo filio illustri Anglorum Regi salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem.

"Laudabiliter et fructuosè de glorioso nomine propagando in terris, et æternæ fælicitatis præmio cumulando in cœlis tua magnificentia cogitat, dum ad dilatandos Ecclesiæ terminos, ac declarandam indoctis et rudibus populis Christianæ Fidei veritatem, et vitiorum plantaria de agro Dominico extirpanda, sicut Catholicus Princeps, intendis, et ad id conuenientius exequendum, consilium Apostolicæ Sedis exegis et fauorem. In quo facto, quanto altiori consilio et maiori discretione procedis, tanto in eo feliciorem progressum te, præstãte Domino, confidimus habiturum, eò quod ad bonum exitum semper et finem soleant attingere, quæ de ardore Fidei, et de religionis amore principium acceperunt. Sanè Hiberniam, et omnes Insulas, quibus sol Iustitiæ Christus illuxit, et quæ documenta Fidei Christianæ cœperunt, ad ius beati Petri, et sacrosanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ (quod tua et nobilitas recognoscit) non est dubium pertinere. Vnde tanto in eis libentius plantationem fidelem, et germen gratum Deo inserimus, quando id à nobis interno examine districtius prospicimus exigendum. Significasti siquidem nobis, fili in Christo charissime, te Hiberniæ insulam, ad subdendum illum populum legibus et vitiorum plantaria inde extirpanda, velle intrare, et de singulis domibus annuam vnius denarij beato Petro velle soluere pensionem, et iura ecclesiarum illius terræ illibata et integra conseruare.

HIBERNIA SVB DOMINIO S. PETRI.

"Nos

"Nos itaque pium et laudabile desiderium tuum cum fauore congruo prosequentes, et petitioni tuæ benignum impendentes assensum, gratum et acceptum habemus, vt pro dilatandis Ecclesiæ terminis, pro vitiorum restringendo decursu, pro corrigendis moribus, et virtutibus inserendis, pro Christianæ religionis augmento Insulam illam ingrediaris, et quod ad honorem Dei, et salutem illius terræ spectauerit, exequaris: et illius terræ populus honorificè te recipiat, et sicut dominum veneretur: iure nimirum ecclesiastico illibato et integro permanente, et salua beato Petro et sacrosanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ de singulis domibus annuâ vnius denarii pensione. Si ergò quod concepisti animo, effectu duxeris complendum, stude gentem illam bonis moribus informare, et agas tàm per te, quàm per illos quos adhibes, quos fide, verbo, et vitâ idoneos esse perspexeris, vt decoretur ibi Ecclesia, plantetur et crescat Fidei Christianæ religio, et quæ ad honorem Dei, et salutem pertinent animarum, per te taliter ordinentur, vt à Deo sempiternæ mercedis cumulum consequi merearis, et in terris gloriosum nomen valeas in sæculis obtinere."

DENARIVS S. PETRI EX HIBERNIA.

The Abbé Mac Geoghegan, after giving in his history this bull of Adrian IV., exclaims: —"Voilà un arrêt prononcé contre l'Irlande, par lequel le droit des gens et les lois les plus sacrées sont violées, sous le spécieux prétexte de religion, et de réformation des moeurs. Les Irlandois ne doivent plus avoir une patrie: cette nation qui n'avoit jamais subi un joug étranger, *nunquam externæ subjacuit ditioni*, est condamnée, sans être entendue, à perdre sa liberté." Then, having endeavoured to impugn the authenticity of the production, on the grounds above refuted by Dr. Lanigan, the Abbé adds:—"Quoi qu'il en soit, on peut dire, que jamais Pape, ni avant, ni depuis Adrien IV., n'a puni si séverement une nation, sans l'avoir merité. . . . On a vû des excommunications lancées contre des Empereurs et des Rois, et des interdits, prononcés contre leurs états, pour crimes d'hérésie ou autres causes; mais on voit ici l'Irlande innocente, livrée à des tyrans, sans avoir été citée devant aucun tribunal, ni convinçue d'aucun crime."

According to Dr. Lingard, the Michaelmas after the arrival of Adrian IV.'s bull in England, a great council was held by Henry to deliberate upon the enterprize against Ireland, for which the papal permission had come from Rome. But a strong opposition was made, by Henry's mother and barons, to such an undertaking; and other events arising to engage the royal attention, the papal document was consigned to the records in the castle of Winchester, until the application from Dermod Mac Murrough, thirteen years after, gave Henry an opportunity for acting upon the grant of Adrian IV.[g]

[g] Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, vol. iv. pp. 158-159, 164-166, 188-189. — Dr. Henry's History of Great Britain, vol. iii. book iii. chap. vi. p. 540: Edinburgh and London, 1777.—Bullarium Romanum, tom. ii. pp. 351-352, 369-467: Romæ, 1739. — Radulfus de Diceto, Ymagines Historiarum ap. Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X. pp. 529-530: Londini, 1652.—Johannes de Fordun, Scoti-Chronicon, tom. iii. pp. 906-908: edit. Hearne, Oxon. 1722.—Rogerus de Wendover, Chronica sive Flores Historiarum, vol. i. preface; and vol. ii. pp. 281-283: edit. Coxe, Londini, 1841. —Math. Paris, Historia Major, pp. 79-80: edit. Wats, Londini, 1684.—Baronius, Annales Ecclesiastici, tom. xii. p. 531: Moguntiæ, 1608.—Mac Geoghegan, Histoire de l'Irlande, tom. i. pp. 439-441.—Lingard, History of England, vol. ii. chap. v. pp. 252-254.

NOTE 63, Pages 25, 26.

The Papal right to transfer Ireland to England alleged to have been derived through a forged grant of the Roman Emperor, Constantine the Great, to the Roman See, though Ireland, as never having been included in the Roman Empire, could not be given away by a Roman Emperor.

Upon the famous apocryphal "donation of Constantine," on which the request of Henry II.'s envoy for a grant of Ireland from Adrian IV. was based, Gibbon, who assigns the date of that fabrication to the latter end of the eighth century, says:—"This memorable donation was introduced to the world by an epistle of Adrian the First, who exhorts Charlemagne, to imitate the liberality, and revive the name, of the great Constantine. According to the legend, the first of the Christian emperors was healed of the leprosy, and purified in the waters of baptism, by St. Silvester, the Roman bishop; and never was physician more gloriously recompensed. His royal proselyte withdrew from the seat and patrimony of St. Peter; declared his resolution of founding a new capital in the East; and resigned to the Popes the free and perpetual sovereignty of Rome, Italy, and the provinces of the West." Then, after remarking, amongst other matters, how, "so deep was the ignorance and credulity of the times, that the most absurd of fables was received, with equal reverence, in Greece and in France, and is still enrolled among the decrees of the canon law," the historian adds:—"In the revival of letters and liberty, this fictitious deed was transpierced by the pen of Laurentius Valla, the pen of an eloquent critic, and a Roman patriot. His contemporaries of the fifteenth century were astonished at his sacrilegious boldness; yet such is the silent and irresistible progress of reason, that before the end of the next age, the fable was rejected by the contempt of historians and poets, and the tacit or modest censure of the advocates of the Roman Church"[h]. Though the demand of Ireland from the Pope was made in the name of this forgery, yet, in his bull granting that country to Henry, says Dr. Lanigan, "Adrian IV., without mentioning Constantine, laid down a much larger plea, comprising all islands, whether they had formed parts of the Roman empire, or not." The Doctor cites and comments upon the following passage in the bull:—"'Sane Hiberniam et omnes insulas quibus sol justitiae Christus illuxit, et quae documenta fidei Christianae ceperunt, ad jus beati Petri et sacro-sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiae (quod tua etiam nobilitas recognoscit) non est dubium pertinere.' By the words in the parenthesis," remarks the Doctor, "the Pope probably meant to hint to Henry, that also his kingdom of England, as being in an island, belonged to the Holy See; and we find, that, in the year 1173, Henry declared

[h] This fabrication was refuted at Rome, about the middle of the last century, "by F. Gius. Agostino Orsi, Master of the Sacred Palace," in his treatise, "Della origine del dominio e della sovvranità de' Romani Pontefici sopra gli stati loro temporalmente soggetti."—(Nugent's translation of Voltaire's Essay on Universal History, the Manners and Spirit of Nations, from the Reign of Charlemaign to the Age of Louis XIV., vol. i. pp. 65-66: 3rd edit. Dublin, 1759.)

declared himself a vassal of Pope Alexander III. This nonsense, of the Pope's being the head owner of all Christian islands, had been partially announced to the world in a bull of Urban II., dated A. 1091, in which, on disposing of the island of Corsica, he said, that the Emperor Constantine had given the islands to St. Peter, and his vicars. (*See Fleury*, l. 64, § 8.) But Constantine could not give what did not belong to him, and accordingly, as Keating argues (*book* 2, p. 3), could not have transferred the sovereignty of Ireland to any Pope." Nevertheless, this bull of Adrian,—" by the tenour of which," says Mr. O'Conor of Belanagare, " Henry was commissioned, like another Joshua, to enter Ireland in a hostile manner, and put the inhabitants to the sword, for the good of religion, and the reformation of manners,"—was confirmed by another bull from Adrian's successor, Alexander III., which runs as follows:

" *Alexander Episcopus, servus servorum Dei, charissimo in Christo filio, illustri Anglorum Regi, Salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem.*

" Quoniam ea quæ à decessoribus nostris rationabiliter indulta noscuntur, perpetuâ merentur stabilitate firmari ; venerabilis *Adriani* Papæ vestigiis inhærentes, nostrique desiderij fructum attendentes, concessionem eiusdem super Hibernici regni dominio vobis indulto (salva beato *Petro* et sacrosanctæ *Romanæ* Ecclesiæ; sicut in *Angliâ*, sic et in *Hiberniâ*, de singulis domibus annuâ unius denarij pensione) ratum habemus et confirmamus, quatenùs eliminatis terræ ipsius spurcitijs, barbara natio, quæ Christiano censetur nomine, vestrâ indulgentiâ morum induat venustatem: et redacta in formam hactenùs informi finium illorum Ecclesiâ, gens ea per vos Christianæ professionis nomen cum affectu de cetero consequatur."

Dr. Lanigan, after noting how the attempts to disprove the authenticity of Alexander's, as well as Adrian's bull, have been equally unsuccessful,—how Alexander, in his bull, confirms his predecessor's grant of Ireland, " under the former condition of the payment of the Peter-pence," —and, likewise, how Alexander's bull expresses the wish " that, on eradicating the dirty practices of Ireland, the nation may, through Henry's exertions, become polished, and its Church be brought to a better form," observes of Alexander—" He seems to have known nothing of the state of the Irish Church, except what he heard from the lying accounts of the enemies of Ireland; and as to ecclesiastical or other dirt," continues the Doctor, " I believe he might in those times have found enough of it, and I fear more, nearer home, without looking for it in this country. I dare say he would have been hard set to meet with, in any equal portion of the Church of that period, so many excellent Bishops as Gelasius, Laurence O'Toole, Christian of Lismore, Catholicus of Tuam, &c. There is nothing in the brief concerning any letters or other papers sent by Irish Archbishops and Bishops to the Pope," concludes the Doctor, "and the only authority alleged for Henry's right to Ireland is the Bull of Adrian." However, that it was *not* from the mere " lying accounts of the enemies of Ireland," but from no less authorities than those " excellent Bishops," Gelasius of Armagh, Laurence of Dublin, Christian of Lismore, and Catholicus of Tuam, accounts WERE dispatched to the Papal court, respecting the existence of a state of demoralization, that would *tend* to excuse the notions of the Popes,

as

as to a necessity for *some* strong hand to correct or alter the disorderly condition of society attested by the existence of such demoralization, will be made evident in the next note, by official documents, which have not been generally brought forward, as they should have been, by our Irish *historians,* in their accounts of the Anglo-Norman invasion[1].

Note 64, Page 26.

Character of Ireland for religion in the twelfth century, and connexion between the Papal Court, the Irish Prelacy, and the Council of Cashel, through which the dominion over Ireland was transferred to Henry II., and his successors.

Were we to judge of the general state of religion amongst the Romans of the twelfth century by the historical accounts given of their conduct, it would appear to be no great compliment to the Irish in general to say, there was not, "at that time, in all the globe, not *even Rome itself,* a spot where the heavenly powers were more religiously adored, and the Roman Catholic rites more purely and sincerely celebrated, than in the island of Ireland." Gibbon, after observing of those numerous strangers who visited Rome for religious purposes, how "their expenses, sacred or profane, circulated in various channels for the emolument of the Romans," and how "such powerful motives should have firmly attached the voluntary and pious obedience of the Roman people to their spiritual and temporal father," nevertheless relates, "that the shrine of St. Peter was profaned by the thoughtless Romans, who pillaged the offerings and wounded the pilgrims, without computing the number and value of similar visits, which they prevented by their inhospitable sacrilege." He further remarks, that "among the nations who revered the apostolic throne, the tumults of Rome provoked a general indignation," and that, "in a letter to his disciple Eugenius III., St. Bernard, with the sharpness of his wit and zeal, has stigmatised the vices of the rebellious people." He then subjoins this character of the Romans by St. Bernard. "Who is ignorant," says the monk of Clairvaux, "of the vanity and arrogance of the Romans? A nation nursed in sedition, cruel, untractable, and scorning to obey, unless they are too feeble to resist. When they promise to serve, they aspire to reign; if they swear allegiance, they watch the opportunity of revolt; yet they vent their discontent in loud clamours, if your doors, or your counsels, are shut against them. Dexterous in mischief, they have never learnt the science of doing good. Odious to earth and heaven, impious to God, seditious among themselves, jealous of their neighbours, inhuman to strangers, they love no one, by no one are they beloved; and while they wish to inspire fear, they live in base and continual apprehension. They will not submit; they know not how to govern; faithless to their superiors, intolerable to their equals, ungrateful to their benefactors, and alike impudent

[1] Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, chap. xlix. pp. 844-845: one vol. London, 1831.—Doctor Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, vol. iv. pp. 160-161, 223-224. — Charles O'Conor's Dissertations on the History of Ireland, sect. xx. p. 262.—Archbishop Ussher's Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge, Epist. 47, p. 80: Paris, 1665.

dent in their demands and their refusals. Lofty in promise, poor in execution: adulation and calumny, perfidy and treason, are the familiar arts of their policy."

Gibbon, in connexion with this "dark portrait," of which, he says, "the features, however harsh and ugly, express a lively resemblance of the Romans of the twelfth century," observes, that "Gregory VII., who may be adored or detested as the founder of the papal monarchy, was driven from Rome, and died in exile at Salerno." He adds, that "six and thirty of his (Gregory's) successors, till their retreat to Avignon, maintained an unequal contest with the Romans," in which "their age and dignity were often violated, and the churches, in the solemn rites of religion, were polluted with sedition and murder." Then, after affirming, that, as "a repetition of such capricious brutality, without connexion or design, would be tedious and disgusting," it would suffice to give "some events of the twelfth century, which represent the state of the Popes and the city," he commences with instancing the barbarous violence of the Romans towards Paschal II., who occupied the papal chair from 1099 to 1118. "On Holy Thursday, while Paschal officiated before the altar, he was interrupted by the clamours of the multitude, who imperiously demanded the confirmation of a favourite magistrate. His silence exasperated their fury: his pious refusal to mingle the affairs of earth and heaven was encountered with menaces and oaths, that he should be the cause and the witness of the public ruin. During the festival of Easter, while the bishop and the clergy, barefoot and in procession, visited the tombs of the martyrs, they were twice assaulted at the bridge of St. Angelo, and before the Capitol, with volleys of stones and darts. The houses of his adherents were levelled with the ground: Paschal escaped with difficulty and danger: he levied an army in the patrimony of St. Peter; and his last days were embittered, by suffering and inflicting the calamities of civil war." The historian then mentions, how "the scenes that followed the election of his (Paschal's) successor, Gelasius the Second," who was Pope from 1118 to 1119, "were still more scandalous to the church and city. Cencio Frangipani, a potent and factious baron, burst into the assembly, furious and in arms: the cardinals were stripped, beaten, and trampled under foot; and he seized, without pity or respect, the vicar of Christ by the throat. Gelasius was dragged by his hair along the ground, buffeted with blows, wounded with spurs, and bound with an iron chain, in the house of his brutal tyrant. An insurrection of the people delivered their bishop: the rival families opposed the violence of the Frangipani; and Cencio, who sued for pardon, repented of the failure, rather than of the guilt, of his enterprize. Not many days had elapsed, when the Pope was again assaulted at the altar. While his friends and enemies were engaged in a bloody contest, he escaped in his sacerdotal garments. In this unworthy flight, which excited the compassion of the Roman matrons, his attendants were scattered or unhorsed; and, in the fields behind the Church of St. Peter, his successor was found alone, and half dead with fear and fatigue." Gibbon adds, that "shaking the dust from his feet," Gelasius "withdrew from a city, in which his dignity was insulted, and his person was endangered;" and, in reference to Lucius II., who was Pope from 1144 to 1145, and Lucius III., who was Pope from 1181 to 1185, he says:—"The former, as he ascended in battle array to assault the Capitol, was struck on the temple by a

 stone,

stone, and expired in a few days. The latter was severely wounded in the persons of his servants. In a civil commotion, several of his priests had been made prisoners; and the inhuman Romans, reserving one as a guide for his brethren, put out their eyes, crowned them with ludicrous mitres, mounted them on asses with their faces to the tail, and extorted an oath, that, in this wretched condition, they should offer themselves as a lesson to the head of the Church." Respecting such scenes, the historian adds: "Hope or fear, lassitude or remorse, the characters of the men, and the circumstances of the times, might sometimes obtain an interval of peace and obedience; and the Pope was restored with joyful acclamations to the Lateran or Vatican, from whence he had been driven with threats and violence. But the root of mischief was deep and perennial; and a momentary calm was preceded and followed by such tempests, as had almost sunk the bark of St. Peter."

In the same century, in which Rome was the seat of such outrages as these, the general condition of the Irish, moral as well as political, was so low, that with reference to the manner in which St. Bernard speaks of the state of Ireland, in his life of her celebrated Primate, St. Malachy O'Morgair, Mr. O'Conor has observed: "It is no wonder if the holy Abbot should denominate such a people a nation of barbarians. They were, in a great degree, what he represents them." On this head, Dr. Lanigan states: "We find terrible oppressions and cruelties perpetrated in said times by Irish kings or dynasts, who did not scruple to plunder, devastate, and burn churches and religious places. For instance, the church of Ardbraccan was, together with a number of people therein, burned and pillaged in 1109 by the Hy-Briuns, who destroyed also the adjacent village. The Dalcassians of Thomond plundered and laid waste the monastery of Clonmacnois in 1111, at, it is said, the instigation of Murtogh O'Brian; and they, or some other party of Momonians, pillaged it again in 1115. Aedh O'Rourke and the Hy-Briuns killed Maelbrigid, abbot of Kells, and many others, on the last Sunday of summer in 1117. We have seen above, that Turlogh O'Conor burned Cashel and Lismore in 1121, and that Emly was plundered in 1123. Conor O'Lochlin, an Ulster prince, having marched with a great army into Meath, amidst other depredations, burned in 1127 the steeple of the church of Trim, in which a very considerable number of people was shut up at the time. Thus, it appears, that several of the Irish princes and chieftains had imbibed the spirit of the Danes, sparing neither churches, nor monasteries, nor ecclesiastics, according as suited their views; a system, which was held in abhorrence by their ancestors, and which often excited them to unite, in defence of their altars, against the Scandinavian robbers. This was one of the sad effects of the contests between various powerful families aspiring to the sovereignty of all Ireland, and again between divers members of said families quarrelling among themselves for precedency. In these contests, the respective parties and their adherents stopped at nothing, while endeavouring to establish their claims, and harassed and persecuted without distinction all those, whom they looked upon as their opponents." Again, under the year 1134, "I find it stated," adds the Doctor, "that, in the same year, the cathedral of Tuam was stormed and forcibly entered by the Dalcassians, and that Derry, the churches of Rath-luirg (Rathlure), Raphoe, and Clonard, part of Cong and Eithne, Roscommon,

mon, Rossmor, and several other principal churches, were burned and plundered by the Momonians, headed by their king, Conor O'Brian. These devastations must have been a part of those committed by the great army, composed of Irish and Danes, which he and other princes led in that year against Leth-cuinn, or the northern half of Ireland. In the following year Cumea-mor Maconmara (Macnamara), King of Ibh-Caisin, (in Thomond,) the chief plunderer of the cathedral of Tuam, was killed by the Desmonians, under Cormac Mac-Carthy, who ravaged Thomond. Other instances of this disgraceful mode of warfare and want of respect for churches occur in those times. Thus Kildare was plundered by Dermod O'Brian and others in 1136; and, in the same year, Clonard was pillaged and destroyed by the people of Breffny and Fermanagh. Even Cormac Mac-Carthy is said to have burned a place called *Maighe Deiscirt*, both houses and churches."

With the desire to refute the disadvantageous representation given by Adrian IV. of the general state of religion and morals in Ireland, for some time previous to the Anglo-Norman invasion,—a state, alleged to have been so bad by the Pope, as to make him not ashamed to avow, that even the conquest of the country by a foreign power, on condition of suppressing such evils, ought to be authorized by a Papal bull,—with the desire to refute such a discreditable picture of the religious and moral condition of the Irish people in those days, Doctor Keating says[j]:—"I wonder here at the condition in the bull of Adrianus IV., by which he bestowed Erin on the second Henry. This was the condition, according to the Chronicle of Stowe, viz., Henry was bound to restore the Catholic religion, which was fallen in Erin; but it is not likely that the Pope would have inserted this condition in the bull, if he had not been satisfied, that the religion had fallen into decay. But whoever palmed this upon the Pope, they told him a lie; for it is clear that, until this time, no decay came upon the religion, which Patrick brought into Erin; and there are many trust-worthy foreign writers, who bear witness to this, from time to time; for although, according to Beda in the history of Saxon-land, there was a dispute between the clergy of Erin and the clergy of Saxon-land concerning the celebration of Easter, and that some of the clergy of Erin were tainted with the Pelagian heresy, still the greater part of the Gaels were pure from both. And with respect to the religion, from the time of Brian to the period of the invasion of the Galls, it is clear, that it flourished throughout Erin; and, therefore, that it was not true for the people who palmed upon the Pope, that the religion was down in Erin, when the island was bestowed upon Henry by the Pope.

"In

[j] The passage of Keating here given is translated by Mr. O'Donovan from a copy of the honest Doctor's work in MS., which Mr. O'Donovan considers as amongst the oldest and best copies extant. To avoid what the writer of this note would consider an unwarrantable interference with the antique air and peculiar local colouring of Keating's style, the old proper names used by him have been as much as possible retained, instead of being, after the usual mode of translation, entirely modernized. Thus "Erin, Saxon-land, Gaels and Galls," have been retained, instead of *our* modern equivalents for them, or "Ireland, England, Irish, English." Of the word "*Galls*," it may be observed, that it is, as opposed to "*Gaels*," the general name of the old natives for any *foreigners*, or *strangers*, the Danes, for instance, as well as the English. See Note 56.

"In testimony of this, I set down here the following arguments:

I. "It is clear, from the number of the true nobility of Erin, who, in the end of their lives, entered into the chief churches, to finish their career in penitence, from the time of Brian to the invasion of the Galls, that the faith was alive in Erin. These were some of them. Flaherty O'Neill, called Flaherty *an Trostan*[k], who first applied himself to penance in Erin, and afterwards went to Rome on his pilgrimage, in the year of the age of the Lord 1073; Donough, son of Brian Borumha, who went on his pilgrimage to Rome, and ended his life penitently in the monastery of St. Stephen; Teige, son of Lorcan, King of Hy-Kinselagh[l], who ended his life penitently at Glendalough; Cahal, son of Rory, King of Iar-Connaught[m], who ended his life penitently at Ardmacha; Murtough O'Brian, King of Erin, who went to Ardmacha, and spent five years penitently there, where he died; and, in like manner, many others of the true nobility of Erin, who spent their lives piously and catholicly, from the time of Brian to the invasion of the Galls; according to which, it is a lie for the people who palmed upon Pope Adrianus, that the Catholic faith was not alive in Erin, before the Galls came into it.

II. "Another proof which I give, that the religion was alive in Erin before the Galls came into it is, that many monasteries were raised therein, shortly before the coming of the Galls, by the nobility of the Gaels. First, the monastery of Mary at Athcliath[n] was raised by Maelsaechlainn, King of Midhe[o] and of all Erin, in the year of the Lord 1139. The monastery of Mellifont, in the County of Louth, was raised by Donough O'Cearbhaill, King of Oirgialla[p], at the request of Malachaias, Bishop of Dun Patruic. The hoary Malachaias, Bishop of Dun Patruic, raised the monastery of Iubhar Chinntragha[q], in the County of Down, A. D. 1144. The monastery of Buill[r] was raised in the year 1161. Dermod Mac Murrough, King of Laighin[s], raised the monastery of Bealach[t] in the year of the Lord 1151. The race of Maelseachlainn, King of Midhe, raised the monastery of Bectiff, or *De Beatitudine*, in Midhe, in the year of our Lord 1151. The monastery of the Maigue[u], in the County of Limerick, was raised in the year of our Lord 1151. The monastery of Odtorna[v], in the County of Kerry, was raised in the year of the Lord 1154. Donald O'Brian, King of Luimneach[w], erected the monastery of the Holy Cross, in the year of the Lord 1169. The monastery of Fearamaighe[x], in the County of Cork, was raised in the year of the Lord 1170; and many other churches and monasteries, not mentioned by us here, were raised in Erin, at this time; whence it is plain, that the Catholic faith was living in Erin, at the coming of the Galls into it.

III. "A third proof, that the faith was living in Erin at the coming of the Galls, is, that three General Synods were held in Erin by the prelates and nobility of Erin, from the time of Donough,

[k] That is, *of the pilgrim's staff.*
[l] County Wexford.
[m] West-Connaught.
[n] Dublin.
[o] Meath.
[p] Louth, Armagh, and Monaghan.
[q] Newry.
[r] Boyle.
[s] Leinster.
[t] Baltinglass.
[u] Mannisteranenagh, near Bruff, co. Limerick.
[v] Odorney.
[w] Limerick.
[x] Fermoy.

Donough, son of Brian, to the coming of the Galls, whereat ecclesiastical and civil laws were enacted and established. The first Synod at Fiadh Mac Naongusa[y], in the first year of the reign of Murtough O'Brian, A. D. 1105, where rules aud laws were ordained, and the religion improved. Another General Synod in Erin *was held* at Rath Breasail[z], in the fifth year of the reign of the said Murtough, A. D. 1110; whereat attended the nobility and clergy of Erin, and whereat dioceses, with their boundaries, were defined. The third General Synod *was held* at Ceannanus na Midhe[a], at which were present Christianus, i. e., Gille-Christ O'Conarchy, Bishop of Lismor[b], and the Legate of the Pope in Erin at that time, together with Cardinal Joannes Papiron, to distribute four *pallia* to the four Archbishops, to check simony and usury, to cause tithes to be paid, to check theft, and rape, and adultery, and every other evil from that out. It is plain, from the above examples, that the Catholic faith was living in Erin, at the coming of the Galls into it. And, as to the evil customs of the Gaels, before the coming of the Galls among them, it is certain that there came, at the invasion of the Galls, five chiefs, who committed more evil deeds than all the Gaels had committed, from the time of Brian to the invasion of the Galls; such as plundering of churches, with treacherous deeds of blood, and other tyranny"[c].

Such are the views that have hitherto prevailed amongst the Irish, as to the *false* or *hostile* nature of the intelligence respecting the religious and political state of the island, with which the Pope's grant of it to Henry II. was connected. But, that the intelligence regarding the too generally immoral and disorderly condition of Ireland, which the Popes represent as *their* principal reason for transferring the country to England, was not of a merely foreign or hostile description[d], but derived from the correspondence of those very prelates, spoken of by Dr. Lanigan

[y] The grove of the son of Aengus, near the hill of Usneach, County Meath.

[z] Breasail's Fort, situation unknown.

[a] Kells, of Meath.

[b] Lismore.

[c] See, however, the last extract from Dr. Lanigan, and still more, the native annals, in general, of those times, for the church-plunderings, &c., of the Gaels, or Irish, among themselves, before the coming of the Galls, or Anglo-Norman invaders. The dates of the various religious foundations, &c., spoken of by Keating, will be found more correctly given, under the proper heads, by Lanigan; Keating being only cited here, on account of the line of argument he adopts, and in which he has hitherto been generally followed, with reference to the supposed grant of Ireland to Henry by the Pope, *merely* on information, furnished to the Court of Rome, by parties *inimical* to the Irish nation.

[d] There can be *little* reasonable doubt, that, from about the end of the eleventh, or the commencement of the twelfth, century, when Gille or Gillebert, Bishop of Limerick, was made first Papal Legate in Ireland, the Court of Rome *must* have had, through him, sufficient native information respecting the state of Ireland, and its Church. There can be *no* doubt, from about the year 1139, or in the pontificate of Innocent II., when the celebrated friend of St. Bernard, St. Malachy O'Morgair, then Bishop of Down, visited Rome with other Irish ecclesiastics, and was appointed by Innocent to be the successor of Gillibert, as Legate in Ireland, that the Papal Court had the best native Irish information, or that of the Saint and his companions, respecting the moral, political, and ecclesiastical condition of their country. St. Bernard, speaking of his friend's visit to Rome, says:—" *Mensem integrum fecit in Urbe,* loca sancta perambulans, et

Dr. Lanigan as the ornaments of the Irish Church, is attested by the following bulls or letters of Alexander III., which, though on that account of such great historical value, have not been duly noticed, in connexion with the important period to which they belong, by Irish historians! They were first published at Oxford, in 1728, by the learned Thomas Hearne, in his *Liber Niger Scaccarii.* In reference to these, and a fourth bull of Alexander in that work, but unconnected with the present subject, Hearne gives it as his opinion, "Epistolas hasce quatuor Alexandri III. Pontificis Romani, subsequentes non viderat Usserius Armachanus, alioqui proculdubio in Sylloge sua Epistolarum Hibernicarum inserturus. Hinc etiam colligo," he adds, "neque ad ipsius conspectum unquam pervenisse Scaccarii librum nostrum nigrum insignem"[e]. Those bulls have been also inserted in the last edition of the Fœdera, printed in 1816, from which they are inserted here; the copies of them from the *Liber Niger Scaccarii* being likewise given in an Appendix at the end of these notes[f], for the satisfaction of such as may wish to compare and reconcile the differences, occasioned by transcribers or printers, in the two versions. Dr. Lingard, who, with his usual erudition,

frequentans, causa orationis. *Cumque per id temporis sæpe ac diligenter ab eo, et ab his qui cum eo erant, summus Pontifex inquisisset esse patriæ, mores gentis, statum ecclesiarum,* et quanta in terra Deus per eum operatus fuisset: paranti jam repatriare commisit vices suas, per universam Hiberniam legatum illum constituens," &c. This information, respecting Ireland, was given at Rome about fifteen years before Adrian IV. ascended the papal throne, which he did in December, 1154, and about sixteen years before he issued the bull regarding Ireland, which was done a few months after his elevation to the tiara, or in 1155. And, as to Adrian himself, we find him to have had such an intercourse with ecclesiastics, natives of Ireland, at different periods of his life, that he was not without good means, to acquaint himself with the general condition of Ireland. Thus, in mentioning the coming to Rome of "an Irishman of great merit, named Gregory," in order to be confirmed there, as third Abbot of the Irish monastery of St. James at Ratisbon in Germany, Dr. Lanigan, after stating how this circumstance is related to have occurred in Adrian's pontificate, observes of Gregory:—"His journey to Rome could not have taken place before 1155, whereas Adrian's pontificate began on the 3rd of December, 1154. *Among other subjects of conversation, the Pope inquired of him concerning Marianus, who was then a monk of the Irish house of Ratisbon, and who had taught the liberal arts at Paris, where* HE HAD AMONG HIS SCHOLARS, NICHOLAS BRECSPERE, AFTERWARDS ADRIAN IV. The Pope was very glad to hear that *his old master* was well, and spoke of him in the highest terms of commendation." Nevertheless, adds Dr. Lanigan,—"Although Adrian IV. had such a regard for his old master, he was *then* concerned in hatching a plot against that good man's country, and in laying the foundation of the destruction of the independence of Ireland." But, in whatever light this matter of Adrian's bull concerning Ireland may be regarded, *can* it be supposed, that he who was the pupil of this Marianus, (not, however, to be confounded with our more celebrated and learned countryman, Marianus Scotus,) as well as acquainted at such a period with Gregory, both of them Irishmen, could have acted as he did, in *ignorance* of Ireland?—(Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, vol. ii. pp. 70-72; vol. iii. pp. 446-447, 467; and vol. iv. pp. 2-5, 7-9, 23-30, 35, 59, 108-114, 154-158.—Lingard's History of England, vol. ii. pp. 189, 192, 193, 252. — Sir Harris Nicolas's Chronology of History, p. 189.—S. Bernardi Abbatis de Vita et Rebus Gestis S. Malachiæ, Hiberniæ Episcopi Liber—Opera, tom. i. pp. 1491-1494: ed. Mabillon, Paris, 1839.)

[e] Lib. Nig. Scac., tom. i. p. 41.

[f] Appendix, No. I.

tion[g], shows that these documents were not unknown to him, in his history of the reign of Henry II. alludes to them, as dated September 20th, 1172, or but a few months after the return of the King from his expedition to Ireland.

I.

Bulla Alexandri III. Papæ ad Henricum II. Anglorum Regem, quâ monet ut gentem Hybernorum, plurimis spurcitiis atque abominationibus contaminatam, ad cultum Christianæ Fidei per potentiam suam revocet et conservet.

A. D. —— An. — Hen. II. ——

Lib. Nig. Scac. Westm.

ALEXANDER episcopus, servus servorum DEI, karissimo in CHRISTO filio, H. illustri Anglorum Regi, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Celebri famâ et veridicâ relatione plurimum non sine multâ mentis alacritate, comperimus, quomodo, sicut pias Rex et magnificus princeps, de gente illa Hybernicâ, quæ, Divino timore postposito, tanquam effrenis passim per abrupta deviat vitiorum, et Christianæ fidei religionem abjicit et virtutis, et se interimit mutuâ cede[h], et de regno illo, quod Romani principes, orbis triumphatores, suis temporibus inaccessum, sicut accepimus, reliquerent, faciente Domino, cujus intuitu, sicut indubitanter credimus, adversus ipsam gentem, incultum et indisciplinatam, potentiam tuæ serenitatis extenderas, mirabiliter ac magnificè triumphasti.

Nam, ut alias enormitates et vitia, quibus eadem gens, omissâ religione Christianæ fidei satis irreverenter deservit, presentialiter omittamus; sicut *venerabiles fratres nostri Christianus Lesmorien' episcopus, apostolicæ sedis legatus, archiepiscopi et episcopi terræ, suis nobis literis intimarunt*, et dilectus filius noster R. Landaven' archidiaconus[i], vir prudens et discretus, et regiæ magnitudini vinculo præcipuè devotionis astrictus, qui hæc occulatâ fide perspexit, vivâ vobis voce, tam sollicitè quam prudenter, exposuit, prædicta gens sic forte plenius ad notitiam regiæ serenitatis pervenit: *novercas suas publicè introducunt, et ex eis non erubescunt filios proceare; frater uxore fratris, eo vivente, abutitur; unus duabus se sororibus concubinis immiscet; et plerique illorum, matre relictâ, filias introducunt: et omnes passim in quadragesimâ vescuntur carnibus, nec solvunt decimas*[j], *nec sacras* DEI *ecclesias et personas ecclesiasticas, prout debent, aliquatenus reverentur*[k].

Unde

[g] M. Thierry, in the preface to the eighth edition of his eloquent and interesting history of the Norman Conquest, says, with reference to other able historical writers whom he mentions, that "Docteur Lingard se distingue de toutes les précédentes par des recherches approfondies, et une rare intelligence du moyen âge."

[h] Compare Notes 53 and 55.

[i] Thus mentioned by Hoveden, in his account of the Synod of Cashel, amongst the Anglo-Norman clergy, sent there by Henry. "Rex Angliae misit Nicolaum capellanum et Radulphum archidiaconum de Landaff, clericos suos, una cum archiepiscopis et episcopis Hiberniae, usque ad Casselensem civitatem, ad celebrandum concilium de statutis ecclesiae."—(Hoveden, ap. Wilkins' Concilia, tom. i. pp. 471-472. Cambrensis, Hibern. Expug., lib. i. cap. 34.)

[j] With respect to what Pope Alexander III. states on this point, Benedict, the contemporary

Unde quia, sicut *eisdem archiepiscopis et episcopis significantibus*, et præfato archidiacono plenius et expressius nobis referente, comperimus, coadunato magnifico tuo navali et terrestri exercitu ad subjugandam tuo domino gentem illam, et ad extirpandam tantæ abhominationis spurcitiam, divinâ inspirante clementiâ, tuum animum erexisti, gratum, sicut debemus, gerimus omnimodis et acceptum; et exinde ei, à quo omne bonum procedit, et qui pios fidelium suorum

Abbot of Peterborough, in speaking of the decrees, for the observance of the Irish, passed by the Synod of Cashel, says: "Præceperunt etiam in illo concilio decimas dari viris ecclesiasticis de omnibus quæ possidebant. Plerique enim illorum nunquam decimas dederant, *nec etiam sciebant, si dare deberent.*" Cambrensis speaks of the Irish in terms of great severity, as connected with the charge of their not paying tithes, &c.: "Gens enim hæc, gens spurcissima, gens vitiis involutissima, gens omnium gentium in fidei rudimentis incultissima:—Nondum enim decimas vel primitias solvunt." On the accusation of being "uninformed in the very rudiments of faith," thus associated by Cambrensis with the conduct of the Irish in not paying the impost in question, Doctor Lanigan says: "This was, according to him, and the clergy of his country and times, a violation of an article of faith! I allow that the ancient Irish did not pay those dues, nor were they in general paid in Ireland during his time, except where the English influence predominated, notwithstanding the decrees of the Councils of Kells and Cashel. Giraldus did not know, that such dues were not paid in the best times of the Church, and that it was not until very long after the days of St. Patrick that they were introduced, and indeed first of all into France, where they are now extinct. In Italy they are scarcely known; and yet the Italians cannot be said to be *uninformed in the very rudiments of faith.*"—(Benedictus, Abbas Petroburgensis, de Vita et Gestis Henrici II. et Richardi I., tom. i. pp. 30-31; edit. Hearne, Oxonii, 1735.—Giraldus Cambrensis, Topog. Hibern. dist. iii., cap. 19.—Doctor Lanigan, Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, vol. iv. pp. 282-283.)

[k] With respect to the objection made against the Irish by Cambrensis, partly connected with *this* charge in the papal bull, that "nec sacras Dei ecclesias et personas ecclesiasticas, prout debent, *aliquatenus* reverentur," Doctor Lanigan says: "As a proof of the Irish being rude in the principles of faith, he (Cambrensis) states, that they do not frequent the church of God with due reverence." But, replies the Doctor, "They entertained, I believe, as much respect for churches as any of their neighbours, and he (Cambrensis) himself gives us a proof of it, in relating a custom followed by them in forming confederacies, and pledging each other to maintain mutual friendship. They meet, he says, in some holy place, and go round the church three times; after which, entering the church, they present themselves before the altar, on which the reliques of saints are placed, and while mass is celebrated, and holy priests praying on the occasion, become indissolubly united. This practice shows," continues the Doctor, "that they *had* a great veneration for churches, as they made use of them, and of the church service, for sanctioning their solemn obligations." The Doctor adds: "Another proof of the respect paid by the Irish to churches is, that they used to consider them as sanctuaries, and inviolable places." Thus far Doctor Lanigan. It is nevertheless equally true, as the Doctor, in passages previously extracted from his work, has related and lamented, that, in the rage of war, the Irish, like other nations, sometimes profaned; pillaged, and burned edifices dedicated to religion, though not, as the Doctor remarks, until after the exercise of such demoralizing practices amongst them, by the Heathen Danes. Some such considerations as these would, indeed, appear to have caused the remark against the Irish in the bull, as regards the "sacras Dei ecclesias et personas ecclesiasticas," to have been accompanied with the qualifying term, "aliquatenus."—(Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, vol. iii. pp. 491-492, and vol. iv. pp. 55, 56, 98, 284-285.)

suorum actus et voluntates in suo beneplacito salutis disponit, devotas gratiarum referimus actiones, Omnipotentem DEUM votivis precibus exorantes, ut sicut per potentiam tuæ magnitudinis, ea, quæ tam illicitè in scriptâ terrâ fiunt, incipiunt jam desistere, et pro vitiis virtutum germina pullulare, ita etiam, cooperante Domino, per te prædicta gens ad tuæ sempiternæ gloriæ coronam inmarcescibilem, et suæ salutis profectum, abjectâ spurcitiâ peccatorum, omnimodam Christianæ religionis suscipiat disciplinam.

Rogamus itaque regiam excellentiam, monemus et exhortamur in Domino, atque in remissionem tibi peccatorum injungimus, quatinus in eo quod laudabiliter incepisti, tuum propensius animum robores et confortes; et gentem illam ad cultum Christianæ fidei per potentiam tuam revoces et conserves; ut sicut, pro tuorum veniâ peccatorum, adversus eam tantum laborem, ut credimus, assumpsisti, ita etiam de suæ salutis profectu coronam merearis suscipere sempiternam.

Et quia, sicut tuæ magnitudinis excellentia, Romana ecclesia aliud jus habet in insulâ quam in terrâ magnâ et continuâ, nos eam de tuæ devotionis fervore spem fiduciamque tenentes, quod jura ipsius ecclesiæ non solum conservare velis, sed etiam ampliare, et ubi nullum jus habet, id debes sibi conferre, magnificentiam tuam rogamus et sollicitè commonemus, ut in præscriptâ terrâ jura beati Petri nobis studeas sollicitè conservare; et si etiam ibi non habet, tua magnitudo eidem ecclesiæ eadem jura constituat et assignet: ita quod exinde regiæ celsitudini gratias debeamus exsolvere copiosas, et tu primitias tuæ gloriæ et triumphi DEO videaris offerre[1].

Dat' Thuscul, xii. kal'. Octobr'.

II.

[1] How far success attended what the Pope mentions, as to Henry's entitling himself to the pardon of his sins, by reviving and strengthening Christianity in Ireland, and by not only *preserving* but *increasing* the privileges of the Irish Church, may be partly judged of, by the following statements of some of the results of the royal mission to Ireland. Dr. Lingard, having noted how, after the long and barbarizing warfare with the Danes, the establishment of tranquillity was prevented in Ireland by the struggles of its different princes for supremacy, observes: "It was in vain that the pontiffs repeatedly sent, or appointed, legates to establish the discipline of the canons, and reform the immorality of the nation; that the celebrated St. Malachy added the exertions of his zeal; and that the Irish prelates, in their synods, published laws and pronounced censures. The efficacy of these measures," he says, "was checked by the turbulence of the princes and the obstinacy of the people: it was," he adds, "*entirely suspended by the subsequent invasion of the English.*" Dr. Lanigan, after he remarks that, though the English (or rather the *Anglo-Normans*) founded some monasteries in Ireland, yet notes, that Cambrensis represents many of their leaders, such as Robert Fitz-Stephen, Herve de Monte Marisco, Raymond le Gros, John de Courcy, and Meyler Fitz-Henry, as church-plunderers; and the Doctor thus translates and cites the Welsh writer, as speaking of the wretched condition, in which the Irish Church was consequently placed. "The miserable clergy," says Cambrensis, "is reduced to beggary in the island. The cathedral churches mourn, having been robbed by the aforesaid persons, and others along with them, or who came over after them, of their lands and ample estates, which had been formerly granted to them, faithfully and devoutly. And thus the *exalting of the Church* has been changed into the *despoiling or plundering of the Church.*" And, in endeavouring to account for some losses suffered by the invaders, the same writer, according to the Doctor, observes:

II.

Bulla Alexandri III. Papæ ad Reges et principes Hiberniæ destinata, quâ monet eos, quatinus fidelitatem quam Henrico II. Regi Angliæ sub juramenti religione fecerunt, ei cum debitâ subjectione firmam et inconcussam servare curent.

A. D. —— An. — Hen. II.

ALEXANDER episcopus, servus servorum DEI, dilectis filiis, nobilibus viris, regibus et principibus Hyberniæ, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Lib. Nig. Scac. Westm.

Ubi communi famâ et certâ relatione plurimum nobis innotuit, quod vos karissimum in CHRISTO filium nostrum H. Regem Anglæ illustrem, in vestrum Regem et dominum suscepistis, et ei fidelitatem jurâstis, tanto ampliorem lætitiam in corde concepimus,

"The greatest disadvantage of all was, that, while we conferred nothing on the Church of Christ in our new principality, we not only did not think it worthy of any important bounty, or of due honour, but even, having immediately taken away its lands and possessions, have exerted ourselves, either to mutilate or abrogate its former dignities and ancient privileges." On these passages of Cambrensis, Doctor Lanigan exclaims: "Thus it was, that the English adventurers fulfilled the expectations of the Popes Adrian IV. and Alexander III.!" Upon this head, it should be noted, that what was done in England and Wales, at the expense of the Saxons and Welsh, by the Normans, in the reign of William the Conqueror and his immediate descendants, was done in Ireland, at the expense of the Milesian or aboriginal population, by the Anglo-Normans, wherever they were able, in and subsequent to Henry II.'s reign. In *both* islands, the needy and rapacious foreign adventurers, who came over, in order to make the fortunes of themselves and their connexions and followers, at the cost of the plundered natives, at first laid hands, as far as they could, on *ecclesiastical* as well as *lay* property. Of this spoil, those foreigners or their heirs, in Ireland as well as in England and Wales, from time to time, indeed, gave back a portion for Church purposes, in the shape of monastic foundations, &c.; doing this, however, as far as possible, for the creation of a conqueror's ascendancy in *Church* as well as in *State*, by substituting for, or elevating over, the native clergy, ecclesiastics of foreign birth or descent, though too often of very inferior morals. But, from the narrow limits of the Anglo-Norman power in Ireland, or that of the Pale and the settlements connected with it, this ecclesiastical policy could not be acted upon by the Anglo-Norman *settlers*, or their posterity, to such an extent in this country, as it was by the Norman *conquerors* in the neighbouring island. Thus, Sir John Davies, Attorney-General to James I., the first REAL, or universally and peaceably acknowledged, British Sovereign in Ireland, says: "The Abbies and religious Houses in *Tirone*, *Tirconnell*, and *Fermannagh*, though they were dissolued in the 33 of *Henry* 8. were neuer surueied nor reduced into Charge, but were continually possest by the religious Persons, vntil his Maiestie that now is, came to the Crowne." This, with another circumstance, or that of certain Irish Sees not having been filled up by the Sovereigns of England until the time of James I., Sir John comments upon, as "an Argument eyther of great Negligence, or of great Weaknesse in the State and Gouernours of those Times." These observations are the more necessary to be made, as our Irish writers do not hitherto seem to have generally understood, on what *leading* principle to reconcile the various examples of "robbing Peter to pay Paul," displayed by the conduct of our Anglo-Norman invaders, in plundering churches and religious houses on the one hand, and founding them on the other. But, in any view of the case, the invaders did *not* act in accordance with the alleged object, for which Ireland was given over to Henry II. by the Popes,—or that of not only *preserving* but *enlarging* the privileges of the Irish Church.

concepimus, quanto per ejusdem Regis potentiam in terrâ vestrâ, cooperante Domino, major pax erit atque tranquilitas; et gens Hybernica, quæ per enormitatem et spurcitiam vitiorum adeo videbatur longius recesisse, divino cultu propensius informabitur, et melius Christianæ fidei suscipiet disciplinam.

Unde super eo, quod tam potenti et magnifico Regi, et tam devoto ecclesiæ filio, vos voluntate liberâ subdidistis, providentiam vestram dignâ laudis commendatione prosequimur, cum exinde vobis, ecclesiæ, et toti populo illius terræ, utilitas speretur non immodica proventura; monemus itaque nobilitatem vestram attentius et mandamus, quatinus fidelitatem quam tanto Regi sub juramenti religione fecistis, ei cum debitâ subjectione firmam et inconcussam servare

That those privileges were not *preserved* has been sufficiently shown from Cambrensis. That they were not *enlarged* appears to be equally evident from the Irish manifesto of Donald O'Neill, &c., to Pope John XXII. in the reign of Edward II. In this document, after mentioning the number of Christian Kings, who, "without any mixture of foreign blood," ruled in Ireland, till the time of Henry II., the Irish observe: "And those Kings were not Englishmen, nor of any other nation but our own, who, with pious liberality, bestowed ample endowments in lands, and many immunities, on the Irish Church, though in modern times our churches are most damnably plundered by the Anglicans, by whom they are almost entirely despoiled." And, amongst their other reasons for their taking up arms under Edward de Bruce, the Irish assert, that they do so, to "restore to the Church those properties, of which it has been so damnably and inhumanly despoiled." Again, concerning the conduct of the Anglo-Normans, with regard to the lands of the Irish Church, it is said: "As to the Church lands, so far from extending them, they have confined them, retrenched them, invaded them on all sides; so that some cathedral churches have been, by open force, notoriously plundered of half their possessions." Hence, too, with reference to some ecclesiastical occurrences in the following reign, or the nineteenth year of Edward III., we find Mr. Moore remarking: "Even at that period, when all were of one faith, the Church of the *government*,"—or, in other words, of the Anglo-Norman *settlers*,—"and the Church of the *people*, in Ireland, were almost as much separated from each other by difference in race, language, political feeling, and even ecclesiastical discipline, as they have been, at any period since, by difference in creeds. The attempt made by the Synod of Cashel, in the year 1172, to assimilate the Irish Church, in its rites and discipline, to that of England, entirely failed of its object; and the native clergy and people continued to follow their own ecclesiastical rules, as if the decrees of that memorable Synod had never been issued. Disheartening," he adds, "as may be some of the conclusions too plainly deducible from this fact, it clearly shows, at least, that the establishment of the reformed Church, in that kingdom, was *not* the first or sole cause of the bitter hostility between the two races." Nor are we without traces of the difference here alluded to in ecclesiastical matters down to the reign of Henry VIII., in which the great religious revolution, called the Reformation, commenced in these islands. Under the year 1521, says Cox, "Cardinal *Wolsey*, who was Legate *de latere* in *England*, sent over Bulls and Dispensations into Ireland, by his Factor and Register, *John Allen;* but it seems they did not turn to account, for *Allen*, in his Letter to the Cardinal, complains, they went off but slowly, because the Irish had so little sense of Religion, that *they married within the Levitical Degrees, without Dispensations*, and also because *they questioned his Grace's Authority in Ireland*, ESPECIALLY OUT OF THE PALE." And, as to the very narrow limits to which any English ecclesiastical authority or discipline would be confined in those times, when not acknowledged beyond the Pale, compare the facts in Note 71 of this volume,

servare curetis: et ita vos sibi in humilitate et mansuetudine exhibeatis obnoxios et devotos, quod ejus semper gratiam possitis uberiorem percipere, et nos inde prudentiam vestram dignè debeamus commendare[m].

Dat' Tusculan', xii. kal'. Octob'.

III.

respecting the very superior power of the native Irish and their Chiefs to that of the Pale, with the statement of Henry's own Viceroy in the above-mentioned year 1521, on the same point, and the strong attachment of the natives to their own ancient habits, &c. Cox gives that statement, as from the English Viceroy's "notable Letter to the King on the thirtieth of June to this effect, That *the Irish were not to be reduced but by Conquest;*" and, moreover, that, as to Ireland, "when it is conquered, it must be inhabited by a new Colony of English, FOR THE IRISH WILL RELAPSE, DO WHAT YOU CAN."—(Lingard's History of England, vol. ii. chap. v. pp. 245, 250-252.—Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, vol. iv. pp. 238, 241-243, 247-258, 261-265, 270-273, 277, 319-322, 335, 337-339.—Translated extract from old MS. copy of Keating, *ut sup.* — Histoire de la Conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands, &c., par Augustin Thierry, tome i. livre iii. pp. 255-256; livre iv. pp. 269, 270, 275, 276, 278, 279, 281-283, 292, 293, 299, 300, 302-305, 307, 308, 318, 319, 322, 324-326, 328-332, 334-336; tome ii. livre v. pp. 10-30, 32-34, 36-38, 69, 75; livre vi. pp. 80, 83, 85-89, 90-101, 104-106, 119-122, 123-125; livre vii. pp. 137-143, 165-168, 183-184; livre viii. pp. 204-211; livre ix. pp. 325-333; livre x. pp. 335-349; tome iii. livre xi. pp. 81-94; and conclusion, sect. iv. pp. 264-274, &c.: Bruxelles et Liege, 1841.—Hardiman's Statute of Kilkenny, Introduction, *passim*, and pp. 45-57, and Dr. Todd's Introduction to the Book of Obits and Martyrology of Christ Church, pp. viii. xxxiv. in Transactions of Irish Archæological Society.—Sir John Davies's Discoverie, &c., pp. 174-175: Dublin, 1761. — Dr. O'Conor's Memoirs of Charles O'Conor of Belanagare, vol. i. pp. 31, 59-77. — Moore's History of Ireland, vol. ii. pp. 307-311, and vol. iii. pp. 113-114. — Authorities in Note 71 above referred to.— Cox's Hibernia-Anglicana, vol. i. p. 212.)

[m] Mr. O'Conor, speaking of Henry II.'s conduct towards those Irish Princes who submitted to him, in making them "repeated promises of his protection," or, as Stanihurst says, "promises to provide not only for their safety, but, moreover, for their dignity," adds respecting Henry,—"Far from acting such a part, he made grants of the several countries of those chieftains to his Norman adventurers, and raised them to the rank of feudatory princes. The natives, disappointed of their expectations, and stripped of property, endeavoured to re-enter their several countries by force. Thus was *the kingdom reduced to a more grievous state of warfare, and anarchy, than it had ever suffered;* and England, which must have gained infinitely by the accession of such a country, governed by equal laws, was a real sufferer by it, for 400 years, and gained nothing, through so long a period, but alarm and dishonour." The results that might be expected from what would seem a system of policy so much more obvious, natural, and profitable, for Henry or his successors to have adopted towards Ireland, than that which ever was attempted, until the lapse of so many centuries after the Anglo-Norman invasion, are thus set forth by Sir John Davies, in opposition to the complete division and ruinous hostilities, so long kept up between the "Irish Countries," and the "English Colonies," in Ireland. "If," says the Attorney-General of James I., "there had been no Difference made betweene the Nations in point of Iustice and Protection, but al had beene gouerned by one Equall, Iust, and Honourable Lawe, as *Dido* speaketh in *Virgill; Tros, Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine habetur.* If upon the first Submission made by the Irish Lordes to King *Henry* the Second; *quem in Regem et Dominum receperunt*, saith *Matth. Paris;* or vpon the

III.

Bulla Alexandri III. Papæ ad Christianum Lesmoren' episcopum apostolicæ sedis legatum, et ad archiepiscopos Hiberniæ, de adsistendo Anglorum Rege catholico et principe christianissimo.

A. D. —— An. — Hen. II. —— Lib. Nig. Scac. Westm.

ALEXANDER episcopus, servus servorum DEI, venerabilibus fratribusc. *Lesmoren' episcopo, apostolicæ sedis legato, et Gel' Ardmachen', Donato Casilien', Lawr' Duflinen', et Catholic'* Tuanen' archiepiscopis[n], et eorum suffraganeis, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Quantis vitiorum enormitatibus gens Hibernica sit infecta, et quomodo DEI timore et Christianæ fidei religione postpositâ, ea sequatur quæ pericula pariunt animarum *ex vestrarum serie literarum* nobis innotuit, et aliorum etiam veridicâ relatione nichilominus ad notitiam apostolicæ sedis plerumque pervenit.

Inde est utique quod nos, *ex vestris literis intelligentes,* quod per potentiam karissimi in CHRISTO filii nostri H. illustris Anglorum Regis, qui divinâ inspiratione compunctus, coadunatis viribus suis, gentem illam barbaram, incultam, et divinæ legis ignarum, suo dominio subjugavit, ea quæ in terrâ vestrâ tam illicitè committuntur, cooperante Domino, incipiunt jam

second Submission made to King *Iohn*, when, *Plusquam viginti Reguli maximo timore perterriti homagium ei & fidelitatem fecerunt*, as the same Author writeth; or vpon the third general Submission made to King *Richard* the Second; when they did not only do Homage & Fealty, but bound themselves by Indentures and Oaths (as is before expressed) to becom and continue loyall Subiects to the Crown of *England;* if any of these three Kings, who came each of them" [or rather the latter two of whom came] "twice in Person into this Kingdome, had vpon these Submissions of the Irishry, receiued them all, both Lords and Tenants, into their mediate Protection, deuided their seueral Countries into Counties; made Sheriffs, Coroners, and Wardens of the Peace therein: sent Iustices Itinerants halfe yearely into euery Part of the Kingdome, aswell to punish Malefactors as to hear and determine Causes betweene Party and Party, according to the Course of the Lawes of *England;* taken Surrenders of their Lands and Territories, and graunted Estates vnto them, to holde by English Tenures; graunted them Markets, Fayres, and other Franchises, and erected Corporate Townes among them; (all which hath bin performed since his Maiesty came to the Crowne,) assuredly, the Irish Countries had long since beene reformed and reduced to Peace, Plenty, and Ciuility, which are the Effects of Lawes and good Gouernment: they hadde builded Houses, planted Orchards and Gardens: erected Towne-shippes, and made Prouision for their Posterities; there had been a perfect Vnion betwixt the Nations, and consequently, a perfect Conquest of *Ireland.* For the Conquest is neuer perfect, till the War be at an End; and the War is not at an End till there be a Peace and Vnity; and there can neuer be Vnity & Concord in any one Kingdom, but where there is bvt *one* King, *one* Allegiance, and *one* Law."—(O'Conor's Dissertations on the History of Ireland, sect. xx. pp. 267-268.—Sir John Davies's Discoverie, &c., pp. 85-86.)

[n] That is, Christianus or Gilla-Criost O'Conairche, Bishop of Lismore and Papal Legate; Gelasius or Gilla Mac Lieg or Mac Liag, Archbishop of Armagh; Donatus or Donald O'Hullucan, Archbishop of Cashel; Laurence or Lorcan O'Tuathal or O'Toole, Archbishop of Dublin; and Catholicus or Cadla O'Dubhai or O'Duffy, Archbishop of Tuam.—(Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, vol. iv. pp. 102, 103, 137, 168, 172, 204, 220.)

jam desistere, gaudio gavisi sumus; et ei, qui jam dicto Regi tantam victoriam contulit et triumphum, immensas gratiarum actiones exsolvimus; prece supplici postulantes, ut per vigilantiam et sollicitudinem ipsius Regis, vestro cooperante studio, gens illa indisciplinata et indomita cultum divinæ legis, et religionem Christianæ fidei, per omnia et in omnibus incitetur, et vos ac cæteri ecclesiastici viri, honore et tranquillitate debitâ gaudeatis.

Quoniam igitur decet vos ad ea persequenda, quæ tam pio sunt inchoata principio, sollicitam adhibere diligentiam et favorem, fraternitati vestræ per apostolica scripta mandamus atque præcipimus, quatinus memorato Regi, sicut viro magnifico, et devotissimo ecclesiæ filio, ad manutenendam et conservandam terram illam, et ad extirpandam inde tantæ abhominationis spurcitiam, quantum (salvo vestro ordine et officio) poteritis, diligenter et viriliter assistatis.

Et si quis Regum, principum, vel aliorum hominum ipsius terræ, contra juramenti debitum, et fidelitatem prædicto Regi exibitam, ausu temerario venire temptaverit, si ad commonitionem vestram celeriter, sicut debet, non resipuerit, eum auctoritate apostolicâ freti, omni occasione et excusatione postpositâ, censurâ ecclesiasticâ percellatis: ita mandatum nostrum diligenter et efficaciter executuri, ut sicut præfatus Rex, tanquam catholicus et christianissimus princeps, nos tam in decimis quam in aliis ecclesiasticis justitiis vobis restituendis, et in omnibus quæ ad ecclesiasticam pertinent libertatem, pié et benignè dicitur exaudisse, ita etiam vos sibi ea quæ ad regiam respiciunt dignitatem conservetis firmiter, et, quantum in vobis est, faciatis ab aliis conservari[o].

Dat' Tusculan', xii. kal'. Octob'.

The apparent effects of such a demoralized and disorderly condition as that of the mass of their countrymen on the conduct of the Irish clerical body towards Henry II., and of Henry's conduct towards their order in return, have been thus related by the *contemporary* Anglo-Norman chroniclers.

Benedict, Abbot of Peterborough, affirms, that, soon after the King's landing at Waterford, there came to him "omnes Archiepiscopi et Episcopi *Hyberniæ* et Eum in Regem et Dominum susceperunt, et Fidelitates ei juraverunt contra omnes Homines. Et inde recepit ab unoquoque Archiepiscopo et Episcopo Literas suas in modum Cartæ extra Sigillum pendentes, et Confirmantes Ei & Heredibus Regnum *Hyberniæ*, et Testimonium perhibentes ipsos (in *Hibernia*)

[o] Mr. Hardiman, in alluding to the "sound policy," with which he considers that the Anglo-Norman Kings, and their Deputies here, showed themselves "goodly benefactors to the clergy," remarks, that if those Monarchs and their Viceroys had been "equally attentive to the interests of the people in general, most of the national disorders, which afterwards occurred, might have been prevented, and this country long since have become prosperous and happy." What little influence spiritual censures or denunciations were likely to have had, in making the Irish Princes and their people submit to such a "government" as Henry's in this country, may be seen from the account, in the preceding Note, of the unfortunate circumstances under which those Princes and their people were placed, with reference to that "government," if so it can be called?—(Hardiman's Statute of Kilkenny, p. 28.—Earl of Castlehaven's Memoirs, pp. 8-10: Dublin, 1815.)

bernia) Eum et Heredes suos sibi in Reges et Dominos constituisse, in perpetuum." Then, having mentioned, in detail, how Gelalius (i. e., Gelasius), Donatus, Laurentius, and Catholicus, Archbishops of Armagh, Cashel, Dublin, and Tuam, with their respective Suffragans, and Christian of Lismore, the Apostolic Legate, swore fidelity to Henry, the same authority says: "Cum autem hoc factum fuisset, prædictus Rex *Angliæ* misit Nuncios suos ad *Alexandrum,* Summum Pontificem, cum litteris Archiepiscoporum et Episcoporum *Hyberniæ*, ad Confirmandum Sibi et heredibus suis Regnum *Hyberniæ :* sicque factum. Nam," adds the Abbot, "Summus Pontifex autoritate Apostolica confirmavit ei et heredibus suis Regnum illud, et eos inde in perpetuum Reges constituit."

Roger de Hoveden, who is supposed to have been, for some time, Chaplain to Henry himself, after relating how the King arrived at Waterford, and stopped there for *fifteen* days, says, in his Annals, that "venerunt ibidem ad regem Angliae omnes archiepiscopi, episcopi, et abbates totius Hiberniae, et receperunt eum in regem et dominum Hiberniae, jurantes ei et haeredibus suis fidelitatem, et regnandi super eos potestatem in-perpetuum." Hoveden next asserts, it was "exemplo clericorum," that the different "reges et principes Hiberniae,"—or "rex Corcensis, & rex de Limerich, & rex de Oxerie, & rex de Mida, et *Reginaldus* de Waterford, et *fere* omnes potentes Hiberniae," as he observes,—"receperunt simili modo Henricum, regem Angliae, in dominum et regem Hyberniae, et homines sui devenerunt, et ei et haeredibus suis fidelitatem juraverunt contra omnes homines." He then, along with the names of the four Irish Archbishops, Gelasius, Donatus, Laurentius, and Catholicus, gives an enumeration of their respective Suffragans, alleging that "hi omnes, tam archiepiscopi quam episcopi, receperunt sibi Henricum, regem Angliae, et haeredes suos, in reges et dominos inperpetuum, quod et chartis suis confirmaverunt." Finally, after the Synod of Cashel, Hoveden adds: "Rex vero Angliae misit transcriptum chartarum universorum archiepiscoporum et episcoporum Hiberniae ad Alexandrum papam, et ipse auctoritate apostolica confirmavit illi et haeredibus suis regnum Hiberniae, secundum formam chartarum archiepiscoporum et episcoporum Hiberniae."

Radulfus de Diceto, Dean of London, says of the conduct of the Irish Prelacy towards Henry, when he was in Ireland: "*Lismorensis* episcopus et apostolicæ sedis legatus, archiepiscopi et episcopi receperunt eum in regem et in dominum, et fidelitatem ei juraverunt."

Gervase, the monk of Dover or Canterbury, having related how Henry, on his landing in Ireland, was, "summo cum honore ab incolis terræ *Anglis* et aliis receptus," informs us, that "post tempus parvulum regum et principum terræ, archiepiscoporum simul [et] episcoporum suscepit fidelitates." The monk adds: "Cum regibus cæteris juraverunt archiepiscopus *Armachensis*, et *Hiberniæ* primas, et cum eo suffraganei sui," set forth at length; "archiepiscopus *Casselensis* et hi suffraganei ejus," stated in the same way; "archiepiscopus *Duvelinensis* et hi suffraganei ejus," similarly enumerated; and "archiepiscopus Guaimensis, (i. e., Tuaimensis) et hi suffraganei ejus," given like those of the other Archbishops. "Hi omnes," concludes the monk, "juraverunt fidelitatem regi *Henrico,* cum primo fuit in *Hibernia* post martyrium sancti martyris *Thomæ,*" that is, St. Thomas a Becket.

Of

Of the Synod of Cashel, held under the King's auspices, and from the very guarded language of whose decrees, until illustrated by the statements of Pope Alexander III., anything like the extent of the reformation, thus appearing to have been required by the Irish, could not be sufficiently understood, the following account, reckoned the best, is subjoined from Cambrensis. Those portions of it that seem most important are given in italics,—such as the allusion to the licentious practices, with which the Irish are charged by Alexander III., on the alleged authority of their Prelates,—and the enactments purporting to confer greater emoluments and immunities upon the Irish clerical body, under the new order of things, than they would appear to have possessed, under their native Princes—"Henry's policy leading him," says Dr. Lanigan, "to favour as much as possible that body in Ireland, that he might draw them over to his party."

After having related how Henry spent the Christmas holidays in Dublin, the Welsh historian writes thus:

"Silente igitur insula in conspectu regis, tranquilla pace gaudente, ecclesiae Dei decus Christique cultum in partibus illis magnificandi, ampliori desiderio rex accensus, totius cleri Hiberniae concilium apud Cassiliam convocavit. Ubi *requisitis et auditis publice terræ illius et gentis tam enormitatibus quam spurcitiis, et in scriptum, et sub sigillo legati Lismoriensis,* qui caeteris ibidem dignitate tunc praeerat, *ex industria redactis,* constitutiones sacras, quæ adhuc extant, de matrimoniis contrahendis, de decimis dandis, de ecclesiis debita devotione venerandis, et frequentandis, quamplures emisit; ecclesiae illius statum ad Anglicanae ecclesiae formam redigere modis omnibus elaborando. Quas constitutiones *sub eisdem verbis, quibus et promulgatae sunt,* hic interserere, non superfluum reputavi.

"*Constitutiones Cassiliensis Concilii.*

"Anno igitur dominicae incarnat. MCLXXII. primo autem anno, quo illustrissimus Anglorum rex et Hiberniae triumphator ipsam insulam acquisivit, Christianus, Lismoriensis episcopus, et apostolicæ sedis legatus, Donatus Cassiliensis, Laurentius Dubliniensis, et Catholicus Tuamensis, archiepiscopi, cum suffraganeis suis et coepiscopis, abbatibus quoque, archidiaconis, prioribus et decanis, *et multis aliis Hiberniensis ecclesiae praelatis*[p], ex ipsius triumphatoris mandato, in civitate Cassiliensi convenerunt, et de utilitate ecclesiae, et statu ejus in meliorem formam producendo, ibidem concilium celebrarunt. Huic concilio interfuerunt *isti a rege missi; venerabilis vir Radulphus, abbas de Buldewas, Radulphus, archidiaconus de Landaff, Nicolaus capellanus, et alii clerici, et nuncii domini regis*[q]. Concilii autem statuta subscripta sunt, et regiae sublimitatis auctoritate firmata.

"I. Primo

[p] Query, Prelates from Ulster? although not accompanied by its Primate, Gelasius; since, from what is previously said, as to the attendance of the Metropolitans of Munster, Leinster, and Connaught, and their subordinate Prelates, &c., it would be from Ulster *only*, that the Synod *could* have been attended by "*multis aliis* Hiberniensis ecclesiae *praelatis.*"

[q] Thus, contrary to what seems to have been usual in Ireland at Synods of importance before the Anglo-Norman invasion, we do not find, even from among those Princes who submitted to Henry, that

"I. Primo statutum est, quod universi fideles per Hiberniam constituti, repudiato cognatorum et affinium contubernio, legitima contrahant matrimonia et observent.

"II. Quod infantes ante fores ecclesiae catechizentur, et in sacro fonte in ipsis baptismalibus ecclesiis baptizentur.

"III. Tertio, quod *universi fideles Christi decimas animalium, frugum, caeterarumque proventionum ecclesiae* (*cujus fuerint parochiani*) *persolvant*[r].

"IV. In

a single Irish layman was present with the clergy at this memorable assembly! How, to Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1074, and to Pope Innocent II., in 1139, it seemed most suitable for such assemblies to be formed in Ireland, according to the intelligence those eminent churchmen had received of the state of the country, appears from what the former wrote to King Turlough O'Brien, and from what the latter said to St. Malachy O'Morgair at Rome. The Archbishop of Canterbury thus expresses himself to Turlough, in reference to the holding of a Council in Ireland for the abolition of certain abuses:—"Episcopos et religiosos quosque viros in unum convenire jubete," and "*sacro eorum conventui, presentiam vestram, cum vestris optimatibus, exhibete.*" The Pope observed to St. Malachy, with regard to Ireland, for which the Irish Saint had asked palliums,—"Convocatis episcopis et clericis, *et majoribus terræ*, celebrabis *generale concilium:* et *sic conniventia*, et *communi voto universorum*, per honestas personas requiretis pallium, et dabitur vobis." That Lanfranc and Innocent, in recommending the presence of laymen with churchmen at those assemblies, did what was consistent with the national usage, in this respect, on important occasions, would appear, from what Dr. Lanigan relates, of there having been such mixed attendances, at the most celebrated of our Synods, in the twelfth century, previous to this of Cashel. According to the Doctor, at the great Synod of Fiadh-mac-Ængussa, in 1111, there attended, in addition to the Archbishops of Armagh and Cashel, 50 bishops, 300 priests, and 3000 persons of the clerical order, "*Murtogh O'Brien, King of Lethmogha* (or the southern half of Ireland), and *the nobles of his kingdom.*" At the Synod of Rath-Breasail, about the year 1118, presided over by Gillebert, Bishop of Limerick, and Papal Legate, (as Christian, Bishop of Lismore, was afterwards in Ireland,) the assembly, says the Doctor, "was attended, like that of Fiadh-mac-Ængussa, not only by bishops and clergymen of various ranks, but *likewise by distinguished laymen from, it seems, all parts of Ireland.*" At the Synod of Kells, held in 1152, under the Papal Legate, Cardinal John Paparo, where Christian, Bishop of Lismore, sat likewise as a Papal Legate, and where, besides Archbishops and Bishops, Abbots and Priors, there were 3000 clergymen, we find, amongst those who were there, observes the Doctor, "*kings, dukes, and other distinguished laymen.*" At the Synod of Mellifont, in 1157, "attended by the Primate Gelasius, Christian, Bishop of Lismore and Apostolic Legate, 17 other Bishops, and innumerable clergymen, of inferior ranks, there were present also," adds the Doctor, "*Murchertagh or Murtough O'Loghlin, King of Ireland, O'Eochadha, Prince of Ulidia, Tiernan O'Ruairc, Prince of Breffny, and O'Kearbhaill, or O'Carrol, Prince of Ergal or Oriel.*" And yet, of how much more consequence to the *laity* as well as the *clergy* of Ireland was this Synod of Cashel, than any of those other Synods! — (Ussher, Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge, p. 50.—S. Bernardi Abbatis Opera, tom. i. p. 1494. — Lanigan, Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, vol. iii. pp. 473-484; vol. iv. pp. 37-38, 41-42, 108-114, 139-140, 145-146, 164-165, 382.)

[r] The Synod of Dublin in 1186, (held under the first Anglo-Norman Prelate appointed to that See,) by its nineteenth canon, says Dr. Lanigan,—"Provides, that tythes be paid to the mother churches out of *provisions, hay, the young of animals, flax, wool, gardens, orchards,* and out of *all things that grow and renew yearly,* under pain of an anathema, after the third monition; and that those, who continue obstinate in refusing to pay, shall be obliged

"IV. In quarto, quod *omnes terrae ecclesiasticae, et earum possessiones ab omnium secularium hominum exactione penitus sint immunes.* Et specialiter quod *nec reguli, nec comites, nec aliqui potentes viri Hiberniae, nec eorum filii cum familiis suis cibaria et hospitalitates in territoriis ecclesiasticis, secundum consuetudinem exigant, nec amodo violenter extorquere praesumant: et quod de villis ecclesiarum cibus ille detestabilis, qui quater in anno a vicinis comitibus exigitur, de caetero nullatenus exigatur.*

"V. In quinto, quod pro homicidio a laicis perpetrato, quoties inde cum suis inimicis componunt, *cleri videlicet eorum cognati nihil inde persolvant, sed sicut in homicidii perpetratione, sic in pecuniae solutione, sint immunes*[s].

"VI. Sexto, quod universi fideles in infirmitate positi, confessore suo et vicinis astantibus, cum debita solemnitate testamentum condant, bona sua mobilia, dummodo uxores et liberos habeant

to pay the more punctually, for the future." On which, the Doctor observes:—"This canon was certainly a plentiful sweeping commentary, in favour of the clergy, on the third of the Synod of Cashel." — (Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, vol. iv. pp. 257-258, 264-271, 274.)

[s] Dr. Keating, in the preface to his History of Ireland, gives an explanation of the reasons for the punishment of murder by an *eric*, or fine, rather than by death, in ancient Ireland, according to which explanation, the former system would seem to have been the best that could have been adopted, to deter from such a crime, under the existing circumstances of the country. For, in a country, divided as Ireland was, into so many independent and hostile communities, a person, who might commit a murder in one, could easily place himself out of the reach of capital punishment, by taking refuge in another. To execute, in *his* stead, any of his relatives, innocent of such a crime, would be but to add one murder to another; and, therefore, the most likely way that remained, of preventing such a crime, or the connivance at it, was, to impose an *eric* or fine, on the relatives of the person who should be guilty; to which penalty, as it appears by the fifth decree of this Council at Cashel, the clerical as well as the lay relatives of such a criminal had been equally subjected; but, from defraying *their* share of which, this fifth decree was, for the future, to free the clerical relatives, on the plea of their being innocent of such an offence, while the lay relatives, though equally innocent, would thus be worse off than before, in having the payment of the whole *eric* thrown upon them.

In reference "to the decree of this Synod, abovementioned, exempting lands and other property of the Church from all impositions exacted by the laity," and to the other decree, "relieving the clergy from any share in the *eric*, or blood-fine, which the kindred of a layman, convicted of homicide, were compelled to pay among them to the family of the slain," Mr. Moore observes, that "the extension of such favours and immunities to the Church, though by no means in accordance with Henry's general policy, appeared to him an expedient necessary to be adopted in Ireland, where the support of a strong party among the natives was indispensable towards the establishment of his power." Mr. Moore then alludes to the clergy, as being, for this object on Henry's part, "the most useful and legitimate instruments he could employ;" adding, that, "from the same motive, doubtless, the payment of tithes, which the Irish had never, during their unreformed state, observed, was now enjoined by Henry's council, with the hope, that they would serve as a lasting bribe to the Church." Could the design of making so many grants to the clergy, at the expense of the laity, of Ireland, have had *any* connexion with the circumstance of our not finding any of the Irish laity present at this, as they were at preceding, Synods?—(Keating's History of Ireland, preface, pp. lxxxii.-lxxxvii.: Halliday's translation.—Moore's History of Ireland, vol. ii., pp. 257-258.)

habeant (aere alieno et servientium mercede exceptis) in tres partes dividant; unam liberis, alterum uxori legitimae, tertiam *propriis exequiis* relinquentes. Et si forte prolem legitimam non habuerint, bona ipsa inter ipsum et uxorem in duo media dividantur. Et si legitima uxor decesserit, inter ipsum et liberos bipartiri debent.

"VII. Septimo, et cum bona confessione[t] decedentibus et missarum et vigiliarum exhibitione, et more sepeliendi obsequium debitum persolvatur. Item quod omnia divina ad instar sacrosanctae ecclesiae, juxta quod Anglicana observat ecclesia in omnibus partibus ecclesiae amodo tractentur."

On which decrees of the Synod, Cambrensis (as Doctor Lanigan has observed) exclaims: "Dignum etenim, et justissimum est, ut sicut dominum et regem ex Angliâ sortita est divinitus Hibernia; sic etiam exinde vivendi formam accipiant meliorem. Ipsi namque regi magnifico tam ecclesiam quam regnum Hiberniae debent, quicquid de bono pacis, et incremento religionis hactenus est assecuta. Nam ante ipsius adventum in Hiberniam multimoda malorum genera a multis retro temporibus ibidem emerserant; quae ipsius potentia et munere in desuetudinem abiere." Then, respecting the Irish Primate Gelasius, at that time in his eighty-fifth year, Cambrensis adds: "Ardmachiensis vero primas ob corporis imbecillitatem, et grandaevitatem, tum praesens non fuerat; sed postea Dubliniam venit, regiae dispositioni per omnia favorem praebens, vulgi opinione vir sacer vaccam candidam, cujus solum lacte vescebatur, secum quodcunque venerat, circumducens!" From the circumstance of Gelasius *not* being mentioned in this last and apparently best account of the Synod of Cashel as present there with his brother Archbishops of Cashel, Dublin, and Tuam, and the further statement of Cambrensis to the same effect, it would follow, that the previously-cited Anglo-Norman chroniclers, Benedict, Hoveden, and Gervase, though correct as to the *fact*, have been in error as to the *time*, of the Irish Primate's having personally submitted to Henry, which does not seem to have been until *after* the Metropolitans of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught had formally acknowledged the

[t] Dr. Lanigan, describing the labours of the famous St. Malachy O'Morgair in the diocese of Armagh, early in this, or the twelfth century,—when he "realized, as far as concerned that diocese, the plan of Gillebert of Limerick," the first Papal Legate in Ireland, "relative to the substitution of the Roman office for the Irish ones,"—states, that "the practice of confession had been much neglected, there not being as yet any general law of the Church prescribing the use of it at certain times." And, in another Ulster diocese, that of Connor, where the Doctor observes of Malachy, that, "instead of certain Irish practices of their's, he introduced the Roman ones," the Doctor adds, that the people "neglected confession, nor was there any one who asked for penances, or who was to prescribe them." This neglect of confession, Malachy is represented as having successfully struggled to remedy, in those parts of Ulster. And, through the provisions of the sixth and seventh decrees of this assembly at Cashel, in connexion with confessors and confession, any such neglect of confession would seem to be more specially provided against for the future; in accordance with the general spirit of the acts of that first Synod under the Anglo-Norman regime, by which, the practice of Ireland, in all spiritual matters, was thenceforward to be regulated according to the usage of the Church elsewhere in general, and to that of the Church of England in particular.—(Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, vol. iv. pp. 59-63, 86-87, 206-207.)

the Anglo-Norman King as their Sovereign, and, as having done so, had sat in *his* Synod of Cashel.

Such, at the period of the Anglo-Norman invasion, have been the representations given of the very rude and demoralized state of the mass of the Irish people, which led to and facilitated that invasion, and of the ecclesiastical policy resorted to for their reformation, in connexion with the Papal grant of the island to Henry II. That, partly from the imperfection of the Irish national institutions, which were but too much calculated to occasion internal feuds in the different septs, as well as wars with their neighbours,—partly owing to the want of a sufficiently strong power in the supreme monarchy of the country, even in its best days, to enforce a due obedience and tranquillity among the inferior states,—partly, on account of the horrible and demoralizing invasions of the Heathen Danes, by whose example, for above 200 years, in plundering and destroying churches, monasteries, libraries, and ecclesiastics over and over again, the nation was infected and debased,—partly, through the usurpation, by Brian Boru, of the monarchy from the O'Neill race, its possessors for above five centuries, which usurpation left the country, from the overthrow of the Danes to the coming of the Anglo-Normans, or upwards of another century and a half, a prey to contentions for the supreme royalty, so that the monarchs of those days are designated, "kings with reluctance or opposition,"—that, under the influence, for more than three centuries and a half, of such powerful causes for national deterioration, Ireland should have been placed in a state so low in point of civilization, as to render a very great moral, religious, and political reformation of the mass of her people, at the period of Henry's landing, absolutely requisite, is a circumstance *not* to be wondered at[u]. Nevertheless, that the rudeness and demoralization, instanced as

[u] With the extracts already cited from Dr. Lanigan, as to the very demoralizing effects of the Danish wars upon the Irish, and the statements of Pope Alexander III., respecting the extent of Irish demoralization, compare the gloomy representation of disorder, vice, weakness and misery, attending the Danish invasions in England, given by the learned historian of the Anglo-Saxons, Mr. Turner, from the contemporary sermon of the Anglo-Saxon Bishop, Lupus, in 1012. See, likewise, the description, by William of Malmsbury, of the comparative state of the Anglo-Saxons and Normans at, and for some time previous to, the Norman Conquest. The English historian infers, from the very inferior morals, habits, &c., of the Anglo-Saxons as a people, that they required to be conquered and reformed by the Normans. Gibbon says, of this passage of William of Malmsbury, that William "appreciates, like a philosophical historian, the vices and virtues of the Saxons and Normans;" and then adds, as his own opinion upon this account of the ecclesiastical writer, that "England was assuredly a gainer by the conquest." Yet, while giving such a bad account of the Anglo-Saxons, Malmsbury concludes this character of them, with the following reservation: "I would not, however, have these bad propensities universally ascribed to the English. I know, that many of the clergy, at that day, trod the path of sanctity by a blameless life; I know, that many of the laity, of all ranks and conditions, in this nation, were well-pleasing to God. Be injustice far from this account; the accusation does not include the whole indiscriminately. 'But, as in peace, the mercy of God often cherishes the bad and the good together; so, equally, does his severity include them both in captivity.' ".—(Doctor Lanigan and Pope Alexander III., *ut sup.*—Rev. Sharon Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons,

as constituting the necessity for such a reformation in Ireland, though spoken of as *general*, were certainly not *universal*, may be equally inferred, from Keating's above-cited enumeration (confirmed by other writers) of the different religious establishments founded, synods held, &c., before Henry's arrival in the country; from the high ecclesiastical character of several of the contemporary Irish Prelates; and from the character also of the subordinate clergy, which, even as spoken of by the hostile Cambrensis, is "altogether," says Mr. Moore, "such as, at any period, it would be honourable to a clerical body to receive." A similar inference may likewise be drawn from what the same historian, on this, as on other occasions, has particularly remarked, "that, at all periods of Ireland's course with which we are acquainted, so wide has been the interval, in civilization and social comforts, between her highest and lowest classes, that no conclusion founded solely on an acquaintance with one part of her population, can furnish any analogies by which to judge of the real condition of the other[v]. Giraldus himself," continues Mr. Moore, "appears to have been aware of this peculiarity in the structure of Irish society, or at least to have been puzzled by the contrasts resulting from it; and hence his summary of the character of the people is, that 'where they are good, you will find none better,—where they are bad, none worse.'—'Est enim gens hæc cunctis fere in actibus immoderata, et in omnes affectus vehementissima. Unde et sic mali, deterrimi sunt, et nusquam pejores: ita et bonis, meliores non reperies'"[w]. A similar opinion, as to the tendency of the aboriginal Irish character to run into the opposite extremes of very good or very bad, is expressed, four centuries after the time of Cambrensis, by the celebrated Jesuit, Campion. "The lewder sort," says he, "both clarkes and laymen, are sensuall and loose to leachery above measure, the same being vertuously bred up or reformed, are such mirrours of holinesse and austeritie, that other nations retain but a shewe or shadow of devotion in comparison of them." Then, under the head of "abstinence and fasting," he adds: "in which vertue and diverse other, how farre the best excell, so far, in gluttonie and other hatefull crimes, the vitious they are worse then too badde"[x].

NOTE 65,

book vi. chap. xiv. vol. iii. pp. 243-248: London, 1801.—William of Malmsbury, translated by the Rev. John Sharpe, B. A., pp. 319-321: London, 1815.—Gibbon's Decline and Fall, &c., chap. lvi. note 28.)

[v] By the *second* of Pope Alexander III.'s three last-cited Bulls, or that "ad Reges et Principes Hiberniæ destinata," is not, in fact, such a line of distinction sufficiently laid down between the different classes of the population in Ireland? See, also, the passage from Mac Geoghegan, in Note 58.

[w] Giraldus speaks of the Irish to the same effect *physically* as he does *morally*. "Sicut enim," he adds, "qui bene formantur exquisitissime, et nusquam melius: sic et qui male, nusquam peius."—(Topog. Hibern. distinct. iii. cap. 35.)

[x] Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, chap. lxix. pp. 1187-1189.—O'Conor's Dissertations on the History of Ireland, sect. xv. p. 205, sect. xviii. pp. 245, 250-251, sect. xix. pp. 252-254, 259-260: Dublin, 1812.—Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, vol. iii. pp. 236, 238, 240-243, 252-253, 255, 270-280, 326-327, 339, 346-347, 354-355, 365-367, 373-377, 380, 382-388, 390-391, 414-427, 437, 491-493, vol. iv. pp. 30-31, 34-36, 50-51, 55-56, 59, 63, 86-89, 98, 204-210, 220, 223-224, 265-269, 286-288.—Translated extract from Keating's History of Ireland, as before specified.—Lingard's History of England, vol. ii. chap. v. pp. 243-253, 259-260.—Fædera, Conventiones, Lit-

Note 65, Page 26.

Much larger land-force, than generally related, brought by Henry II. to Ireland.

If, according to the text, report in Ireland greatly exaggerated, history, as hitherto written, has much underrated, the amount of the force, with which Henry embarked for this country in October, 1171. The late learned Mr. William Lynch, after observing, in reference to the circumstances of the first "English settlement" effected in Ireland by Henry II., that "our information on this subject may be gathered from the well-considered language of legal records, instead of the imperfect, contradictory, and, indeed, too often erroneous, statements of annalists and historians," says: "Amongst the original muniments above alluded to, perhaps few now remain more illustrative of the principal laws of England than the ancient Pipe Roll of the year 1171 preserved in Somerset House. By this document we find, that King Henry the Second, when about making his voyage royal into Ireland in that year, proclaimed scutage throughout his dominions: in consequence, all those holding *in capite* under the Crown by military service were bound to accompany the King in his expeditions, and, if not proceeding in person, were bound to send so many knights, or to make pecuniary compensation, in proportion to the service due out of the estates, which they held under the Crown." Then, noting how the English clergy, as well as the laity, were subject to this tax, he adds: "The purposes to which this money was applied by the King, or, under his orders, by the venerable Randulph de Glanvilla, are set forth on the Roll, and the principal payments seem to have been made for *the arms, provisions, and shipping of the army, which, numerically, from those payments, we can perceive, far exceeded the force described in our printed historians.*"

As to the strength of Henry's *fleet*,—from which, if correctly given by the Anglo-Norman chroniclers, Mr. Lynch's suspicion, as to the amount of the king's *land-force* having been much greater than is generally represented, would appear still more probable,—Dr. O'Conor states: "Auctores Angli inquiunt in Hiberniam cum 400 navibus navigasse. Gervas, p. 1429, Diceto, p. 558, Brompton, p. 1070. Hovedeni verba sunt, 'Applicuit in Hibernia *cum* 400 *magnis navibus, onustis viris bellicosis, equis, et armis, et victu.*' p. 527. Eadem habet Gualterus Coventrensis in Antiq. Cantabrig. l. 1. p. 243."

From

teræ, et cujuscunque generis Acta Publica, inter Reges Angliæ et alios quosvis Imperatores, Reges, Principes, vel Communitates, vol. i. pars i. p. 45: fol. Londini, 1816.—Liber Niger Scaccarii, tom. i. pp. 42-48: ed. Hearne, Oxon. 1728.—Benedictus, Abbas Petroburgensis, de Vita et Gestis Henrici II. &c., tom. i. pp. 27-30.—Rogerus de Hoveden et Giraldus Cambrensis ap. Wilkins' Concilia Magnæ Brittaniæ et Hiberniæ, tom. i. pp. 471-473. —Radulphi de Diceto, Decani Londiniensis, Ymagines Historiarum, pp. 558-559, et Gervasii Doroberniensis sive Cantuariensis Chronica, pp. 1420-1421, ap. Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores x.: Londini, 1652.—Bishop Nicholson's English Historical Library, part i. pp. 48-50: London, 1776.—Moore's History of Ireland, vol. i. pp. 169-180, 232-234, vol. ii. pp. 8-14, 29, 31, 35, 99, 102, 119-122, 124, 126-127, 142-143, 146, 343-344.—Campion's Historie of Ireland, chap. i. p. 19: Dublin reprint, 1809.

From the new light which Mr. Lynch intimates that the Pipe Roll above-mentioned would give respecting Henry's force, the publication of such a document, with proper notes and illustrations, would seem to be very useful; even if it were not the more worth editing from the following observation of Mr. Wright, in his introduction to M. Michel's edition of the old French poem on the Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland under Henry II.: "It happens, unfortunately, that the rolls of the reign of the second Henry are nearly all lost. In the reign of John, they first begin to be numerous, and they then throw great light upon Irish history"[y].

NOTE 66, Page 26.

The lesser Irish Potentates alleged to have submitted to Henry II. from a superstitious dread of opposing the Sovereign Pontiff. Other reasons for the submission of many of the Irish to that Monarch.

According to Dr. Lanigan, the Bull of Adrian IV. was never made public in Ireland till the year 1175, when, in consequence of the resistance displayed by the Irish to the Anglo-Norman dominion, Henry's power there was reduced to a low state. Henry *then* sent over Adrian's Bull, as well as that of Alexander confirming it, for publication in Ireland, by Nicholas Prior of Wallingford, and William Fitzaldelm. The Doctor states those documents, to have been first publicly read, at a meeting of Bishops, in Waterford. Nevertheless, from the acknowledged correspondence between the Papal Court and the heads of the Irish Church, on the very bad condition of the mass of their countrymen,—from the alacrity with which the Irish churchmen in general are represented to have submitted to Henry,—and from some statements of Hoveden and Gervase,—it is probable, though the Bull is alleged *not* to have been published by Henry while he was in Ireland, yet that the *substance* of it would be more or less known to the Irish clergy, and that, through the influence of such a document upon the clerical order, and their influence upon the native Princes, that document may have so far contributed to the ready submission of many of those Princes. The passages on this head, from Hoveden and Gervase, have been given in Note 64.

Independently, however, of any share which Adrian's Bull may be supposed to have had in promoting the success of Henry in Ireland, there are other reasons assigned by contemporary Anglo-Norman chroniclers for that success. The King is alleged to have been invited over by several of the native Princes and their subjects, to protect them against the hostilities of Strongbow and his followers, and to assume the sovereignty of the island. Henry is likewise affirmed, from the period of his landing in the country, to have endeavoured, and to have been

[y] Moore's History of Ireland, vol. ii. p. 249.—Lynch's View of the Legal Institutions, Honorary Hereditary Offices, and Feudal Baronies established in Ireland during the Reign of Henry II., deduced from Court Rolls, Inquisitions, and other Original Records, chap. i. pp. 1-2: London, 1830.—O'Conor's Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores Veteres, tom. iii. pp. 839-840.—French Poem on the Anglo-Norman Invasion of Ireland, edited by M. Michel, introductory essay, p. vii.: London, 1837.

been so successful in his endeavours, to persuade the Irish of his having come amongst them rather as a redresser of grievances than a foreign invader, that the inhabitants of the districts through which he marched, induced by *his* friendly conduct, and *their* earnest desire of obtaining that relief from the numerous evils of internal anarchy and bloodshed which only a sufficiently strong power could afford them, acknowledged him, as the possessor of *such* power, for the supreme arbiter of their differences.

On the several points adverted to in this Note, compare Gervase and Diceto, under the proper heads, with the *second* of the three last-recited letters or bulls of Pope Alexander III.[z]

Note 67, Page 26.

Roderic O'Conor, relying on the strength of his original kingdom, and unawed by the Papal Bull, continues in arms.

Roderic or Rory O'Conor was the son of Tordelvach or Turlogh O'Conor, King of Connaught, sirnamed *More* or *the Great*, who, as the most powerful Prince in Ireland for several years, was considered to have had the best claim to the designation of Monarch of Ireland. Roderic, on his father's decease in 1156, succeeded to the crown of Connaught. But after a war with Murtogh O'Laughlin, or Mac Laughlin, of the Hy-Niall or O'Neill race, King of Ulster, he was compelled to give him hostages, and acknowledge him as Monarch of Ireland; till, on his death in 1166, the supremacy, amongst the Irish Princes, reverted to the house of O'Conor. Henry's historian, Cambrensis, having related the advance of the Anglo-Norman King to Dublin, and mentioned the several Irish Princes who attended on him as their Sovereign, gives *this* account of Roderic's conduct, in reference to the summons sent him by the invader to submit; and draws the following inferences, from *that* representation of the matter. "Rothericus vero Connactiensis nunciis regiis, Hugoni scilicet de Lacy, et Gulielmo Aldelmi filio versus aquam Sinnenensem, quæ Mediam Connactiamque disterminat, occurrit. Qui pace similiter impetrata regioque dominio constituto regni sui tributo firmissimus se fidelitatis et subiectionis innodauit. Sic itaque præter solos Vltonienses, subditi per se singuli. Sic et in singulari, Rotherico scilicet Connactiæ Principe, et tanquam Hibernensium capite et insulæ Monarcha: subditi redduntur vniuersi[a]. Nec alicuius fere in insula vel nominis erat vel ominis, qui Regiæ Maiestati, vel sui presentiam vel debitam Domino reuerentiam non exhiberat. Tunc impletum videtur vsitatum illud et vulgatum (quia de veritate

[z] Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, vol. iii. p. 222.—Authorities referred to in Note 64.

[a] "This," says Dr. Lanigan, "is a false conclusion; for Roderic was only an elective, and little more than nominal, King of Ireland, and the only consequence of his submission was, at most, that his hereditary kingdom of Connaught became feudatory to Henry. No act of his could be binding on the other Kings and Princes, no more than, according to the late German constitution, all Germany, including the Prussian States, &c. &c., could have been made over by an Emperor to a foreign power."—(Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, vol. iv. pp. 203-204.)

ritate nil asseuero) Merlini Ambrosii vaticinium, *Sextus Hiberniæ mænia subuertet.* Et illud eisdem. *Quinque* portiones in *unum* redigentur"—meaning, that the *five* old native kingdoms of Leinster, Ulster, Connaught, Munster, and Meath, were swallowed up in the *sixth* kingdom, or that of ALL Ireland, so *assumed* to have been acquired by Henry.

Dr. Leland, in opposition to *this* account of Roderic's conduct towards Henry by the Welsh writer, represents Roderic acting, as if "his fortune was not yet so totally desperate as to warrant an immediate resignation of his dignity and authority, while his own territory (Connaught) remained inviolate, and the brave and powerful chiefs of Ulster kept retired in their own districts, without any thought of submission"[b]. The Doctor thus controverts, on Irish as well as English authority, the alleged fact of Roderic's having ever made any such submission to Henry's envoys, Hugh de Lacy and William Fitz-Aldelm, as that mentioned by Cambrensis. "The Irish annalists acknowledge no such submission, and the Abbot of Peterborough declares ingenuously, that the King of Connaught still continued to maintain his independence; agreeing in this with the artless historical strictures of Ireland, which distinctly mark the extent of Henry's present acquisitions, without the least appearance of disguise or partiality, and represent their Monarch as still exercising an independent sovereignty, opposing the invaders, and at length treating with Henry, at the time, and in the manner, stated on record." In other words, about four years afterwards, or in 1175, by his ambassadors, with the Anglo-Norman King at Windsor; on which occasion he acted not merely as King of Connaught, but as Monarch, under Henry, over all Ireland, with the exception of the small portion occupied by the Anglo-Norman settlers, which was allowed to be under the administration of the Viceroy of Henry.

Dr. Leland's representation of Roderic's conduct with reference to Henry, while the latter was in Ireland, is justified by the general testimony of other Anglo-Norman contemporary chroniclers as well as Benedict, viz., by that of Hoveden, Diceto, and Gervase. Among these authorities, there is no mention whatever made of any terms of submission having either emanated from, or been agreed to, by Roderic; but, on the contrary, we find him affirming, and persisting, that he himself was the rightful Monarch of Ireland, and, as such, refusing to acknowledge or wait upon Henry; who is stated to have consequently resolved on attacking Roderic the next summer, (that of 1172,) and completing the reduction of the island; but to have been prevented from doing so, by being unfortunately obliged to depart for England and the Continent, in the spring. The application, under such circumstances, by Cambrensis, of the prophecy, "*Sextus* Hiberniæ mænia subuertet," to Henry's expedition to this country, is censured by King James I.'s Attorney-General for Ireland, Sir John Davies. Considering that prediction as, in every sense, more justly applicable to his royal master, who, before he ascended the English throne, and became the first universally-acknowledged British Sovereign of Ireland, was James the *Sixth* of Scotland, Sir John says of the prophecy—"which is performed,

[b] In mentioning De Courcy's expedition against Ulster in 1177, Cambrensis speaks of that kingdom, as "Vltoniam, armis Anglorum, hactenus incognitam."—(Hib. Expug., lib. ii. cap. 16.)

formed in the Time of Iames the *Sixt;* in that all the Paces," i. e. passes, "are cleared, and Places of Fastnesse laid open, which are the proper Wals and Castles of the Irish, as they were of the British in the Time of *Agricola;* and withal the Irish Countries," he adds, "being reduced into Counties, make but one entire and undeuided Kingdome."

Though Roderic is said *not* to have been intimidated by the unjust Bull of Adrian IV., because it was the production of an Englishman, there may, if the King knew of the document, have been another reason, for such an alleged disregard of that Bull, on his part. The famous Irish manifesto of Donald O'Neill, &c., to Pope John XXII., describes all the Milesian Monarchs of Ireland, from the introduction of Christianity, although great benefactors to their Church, yet as "nullum in *temporalibus* recognoscentes superiorem." But whatever may have been Roderic's ideas respecting the pretensions of the Court of Rome to *temporal* power in Ireland, he appears to have so far differed in *his* conduct from the churchmen of his nation, as to have refused to attend upon, and do homage to, Henry while he was in Ireland; notwithstanding the example previously related to have been given, in that respect, by the four Archbishops of Ireland and their suffragan Bishops—including even the Primate and subordinate Prelates of the kingdom of Connaught[c].

NOTE 68, Page 27.

Violation of the Treaty of Windsor, made in 1175, *between Henry II. and Roderic O'Conor, by the Anglo-Norman invasion, in* 1177, *of the kingdom of Connaught. Subsequent Anglo-Norman settlements acquired there, and fall of the O'Conors, through their own divisions, &c.*

The Anglo-Normans did *not* wait until Roderic O'Conor's decease to invade Connaught. Although Roderic is alleged not to have violated the treaty previously mentioned as having been concluded between him and Henry in 1175 at Windsor, yet, in 1177, under the viceroyalty of William Fitz-Aldelm, Miles de Cogan, on the invitation of Roderic's son, Morrogh (or Murtagh), who had rebelled against his father, marched, with a hostile force, from Dublin into Connaught. The inhabitants, however, remained loyal to their old King; Cogan, after advancing as far as Tuam, found himself obliged to retreat; Roderic, waiting for him, upon his return near a wood, attacked him; and, amongst the loss of the invaders, was Morrogh, who, being taken, was, according to a punishment then practised in Ireland, England, and on the Continent, condemned to lose his eyes[d]. Some time after, Roderic retired into the monastery

[c] Moore, History of Ireland, vol. ii. pp. 182-189, 194-198.—Cambrensis, Hibernia Expugnata, lib. i. cap. 32, 35, 36.—Leland, Hist. of Ireland, vol. i. pp. 72-73, 103-106.—Benedict, Hoveden, Diceto, Gervase, and Bishop Nicholson, as referred to in Note 64.—Sir John Davies's Discoverie, &c., pp. 55-56.—Lanigan's Eccles. Hist. of Ireland, vol. iv. pp. 160, 193, 194, 201, 202, 226, 227.—Fordun, Scoti-Chronicon, tome iii. pp. 909-910.

[d] One of the punishments, frequently used by Henry I., of England, was blinding. This he had inflicted, amongst others, on his own cousin, the Earl of Moretoil, and on a troubadour-knight, Luke de Barré, for satirising him in verse. Henry II.,

nastery of Cong, where he died in 1198, aged 82. The above instance of undutifulness and rebellion was, unfortunately, not the only one, against which Roderic had to struggle in his own family. In the subsequent frequent and sanguinary contentions of the O'Conors with each other for supreme power, the Anglo-Normans were invited as auxiliaries into Connaught, and obtained their settlements there, at the expense of the old inhabitants. According to Dr. Charles O'Conor, Turlough Don, who was slain December 4th, 1406, was the last of the O'Conors, that was styled King of Connaught. And thus, in the language of an old writer, cited by Mr. Dalton, "because they were not themselves steady to each other, they were crushed by lawless power, and the usurpation of foreigners. May God forgive them their sins!"

In connexion with the undutifulness of Roderic's children towards him, it is not a little remarkable, that it should have been by the wickedness and divisions of Henry's sons, HE was chiefly prevented from subduing Ireland. "This vnnatural Treason of his Sons," says Sir John Davies, "did the King expresse in an Embleme painted on his Chamber at *Winchester*, wherein was an Eagle, with three Eglets tyring on her Brest; & the fourth pecking at one of her Eyes"[e]. The bad feeling these four sons had towards each other, as well as towards their father, is thus conveyed in the curious anecdote related of one of them, Geoffroy, Count of Brittany, when requested to make peace with his father: "Des messagers," says my authority, "vinrent alors le trouver de la part du vieux roi, et le pressèrent de mettre fin à un débat, qui n'était avantageux qu'aux ennemis communs de sa famille. Entre autres envoyés, vint

when defeated by the Welsh in 1165, revenged himself on his Welsh hostages, consisting of the children of the noblest families of Wales, by having the eyes of the boys rooted out, as well as the ears and noses of the girls amputated. Henry's son, Richard I., or Cœur de Lion, and Philip Augustus, King of France, during the war between them, which commenced in 1194, frequently preferred putting out their prisoners' eyes to ransoming them. After the death of Donald O'Brien, King of Thomond, in 1194, the Anglo-Normans, having invaded his dominions and taken his son, Murtogh, prisoner, deprived him of his eyes. More than two centuries afterwards, under the reign of Henry IV. in England, an Act was passed to make that practice a felony, in which it is spoken of, as a crime that was "very frequent." On the other hand, we read of Dermod Mac Murrough, in 1140, having the eyes plucked out of several of the nobility of Leinster. Mac Gilla Patrick, Prince of Ossory, inflicted a similar punishment upon Dermod's son. Roderic O'Conor, to hinder two of his brothers from ever becoming his rivals for power, caused their eyes to be put out; besides afterwards condemning his son Morrogh to a like fate. In mentioning the blinding of the young Emperor of Constantinople, John Lascaris, in 1261, by Michael Palæologus, and, at the same time, alluding to the frequency of such a crime amongst the modern Greeks, or *Romans* as they styled themselves, Gibbon says—"The word *abacinare*, in Latin and Italian, has furnished Ducange (Gloss. Latin.) with an opportunity to review the various modes of blinding: the more violent were scooping, burning with an iron or hot vinegar, and binding the head with a strong cord, till the eyes burst from their sockets." — (Lingard's History of England, vol. ii. chap. iii. pp. 134, 147-148, chap. v. pp. 225-227, chap. vi. pp. 343-344. — Moore, History of Ireland, vol. ii. pp. 199, 200, 217, 298-299.—Lanigan, Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, vol. iv. pp. 234-235, 324-326.—Gibbon, Decline and Fall, &c., chap. lxii. note 22, p. 1094.)

[e] Sir John quotes for this expressive anecdote, "The Booke of *Howth. Manus.*" but should rather have cited Knighton, as subsequently referred to.

vint un clerc normand, qui, tenant une croix à la main, supplia le comte Geoffroy d'épargner le sang des chrétiens, et de ne point imiter le crime d'Absolon.—' Quoi! tu voudrais,' lui répondit le jeune homme, ' que je me dessaisisse de mon droit de naissance?'—' A Dieu ne plaise, mon seigneur,' répliqua le prêtre, 'je ne veux rien à votre detriment.'—' Tu ne comprends pas mes paroles,' dit alors le comte de Bretagne; '*il est dans la destinée de notre famille que nous ne nous aimions pas l'un l'autre. C'est là notre héritage, et aucun de nous n'y renoncera jamais.*' " The final melancholy results, to Henry, of such sentiments, in his children, are thus described, by the same learned historian, M. Thierry. " A ses derniers moments, on l'entendait proférer des paroles entrecoupées qui faisaient allusion à ses malheurs, et à la conduite de ses fils: ' Honte,' s'ecriait-il, 'honte à un roi vaincu! Maudit soit le jour où je suis né, et maudits de Dieu soient les fils que je laisse.' Les evêques et les gens de religion qui l'entouraient firent tous leurs efforts pour lui faire rétracter cette malédiction contre ses enfans; mais il y persista jusqu'au dernier soupir"[f].

NOTE 69, Page 27.

The Irish generally asserted, to have been obliged to take refuge in forests, mountains, and other inaccessible places, in order to preserve a remnant of their liberty. How far was that notion true?

In this statement respecting the old Irish, and that introductory to it, the writer seems to have had his eye upon the Latin manifesto, presented, in the name of Donald O'Neill, King of Ulster, and the native Irish in general, to Pope John XXII., in Edward II.'s reign, when Edward de Bruce, brother to Robert de Bruce, King of Scotland, was invited over to Ireland, to become its Sovereign, and to expel the Anglo-Normans. Having complained to Pope John, that his predecessor, Adrian IV., by his agreement with Henry II. respecting the Irish, " crudelioribus omnium bestiarum dentibus tradidit lacerandos," and having mentioned that " qui ex nobis dolosarum vulpium & gulosorum luporum excoriati dentes mortiferos infeliciter semivivi evaserunt, in dolorosæ servitutis violenter descenderunt abbissum," this Irish manifesto adds: "Ab illo enim tempore, quo Anglici, occasione collacionis prædictæ, sub quadam exteriori sanctitatis ac religionis specie, regni nostri fines nequiter intrarunt, totis viribus omnique perfidia, qua poterant arte, nostram gentem delere penitus & extirpare radicitus sunt conati, & per turpes & fraudulentas hastucias in tantum contra nos prævaluerunt, quod, ejectis nobis violenter, sine superioris autoritate, de spaciosis habitationibus nostris

[f] Cambrensis, Hibernia Expugnata, lib. ii. cap. 17.—Annals of the Four Masters at 1177, &c.—Moore, History of Ireland, vol. ii. pp. 298-299, 339-340.—Lanigan, Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, vol. iv. pp. 234-235. — Lingard, History of England, vol. ii. chap. v. pp. 260-263.—Dr. O'Conor's Memoirs of Charles O'Conor of Belanagare, pp. 23-87, &c.—Dalton's Annals of Boyle, vol. i. pp. 133, 134.—Sir John Davies's Discoverie, &c., p. 56.—Henrici Knighton, Canonici Leycestrensis, Chronica de Eventibus Angliæ, &c., ap. Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X., p. 2393.—Histoire de la Conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands, livre x. tome iii. pp. 54, 55, 78, &c.

nostris & hereditate paterna, montana, silvestria ac paludosa loca et inutilia, eciam petrarum cavernas, pro salvanda vita nos petere, & longo tempore ad instar bestiarum in eisdem habitare, coëgerunt. Sed & in talibus locis nos incessanter inquietant, &, quantum possunt, nituntur nos eicere de eisdem, & omnem locum nostri habitacionis sibi indebite usurpare, ex profundæ cæcitatis insania mendaciter asserentes, nullum locum habitacionis liberum nobis in Hibernia deberi, sed sibi ipsis dicta terra totaliter & tota de jure debetur[g]. Unde, propter hæc & multa alia similia, inter nos & illos implacabiles inimiciciæ & guerræ perpetuæ sunt exortæ. Ex quibus secuti sunt occisiones mutuæ, deprædaciones assiduæ, rapinæ continuæ, fraudes & perfidiæ detestabiles, & nimis crebræ."

The manifesto gives this account of the principles, which, it affirms, that the "settlers," both lay and clerical, maintained, as to the existence of a *right,* on their part, to exercise a constant system of destruction and spoliation upon the native Irish; and (at this period, of about 200 years *previous* to the Reformation,) the same document classes the professors of such principles with *heretics.*

"Dogmatizent enim *hæretice* non solum illorum laici & seculares," observes this document, "sed eciam quidam religiosi ipsorum, quod non magis est peccatum interficere hominem Hiberniacum, quam unum canem, aut quodlibet aliud animal brutum. Et, in hujusmodi opposicionis *hæreticæ* assercionem, quidam illorum monachi affirmant intrepide, quod si contingeret ipsos, sicut sæpe contingit, quod hominem Hiberniacum interficerent, ob hoc non desisterent a celebracione[h] eciam uno die. Et sicut indubitanter monachi Cistersiensis ordinis de Granardo Ardmacanensis diocesis necnon & monachi de insula ejusdem ordinis Dunensis diocesis

[g] This doctrine, as to the original Irish, in general, having NO claim at all to Ireland, *may* have been deduced, by the Anglo-Norman and their subordinate Saxon or English settlers, from the double circumstance of the sovereignty over Ireland having been transferred to *their* King Henry, and his successors, by the Popes, or Heads of the Church, and from the manner in which Henry himself acted upon this sovereignty, by the grants which he made to his principal Anglo-Norman followers in Ireland—in equal contempt of his engagements with the Irish Princes who submitted to him, and disregard of *any* title of the original inhabitants of Ireland to their own country. Respecting those grants of Henry, Sir John Davies, after specifying the few Anglo-Norman chiefs, among whom they were made, says: "Thus was ALL *Ireland* cantonized among *tenne* Persons of the English Nation; and thogh they had not gained the Possession of one third Part of the whole Kingdom, yet *in Title they were Owners and Lords of all, so as Nothing was left to bee graunted to the Natives!*" The Anglo-Norman patentees, or English adventurers under them, hence assuming that *they* had acquired a right to the whole island, and the old Irish naturally acknowledging *no* such right at their expense, the sword should necessarily decide the matter between them, as it accordingly *did,* for several successive centuries. The question of the ownership of the land of England was much sooner settled *there* by its Norman or other French conquerors, than that of the land of Ireland was by its Anglo-Norman or English invaders.—(Sir John Davies's Discoverie, &c., pp. 95-96, 100-101.—Notes 61-64, &c.—O'Sullivan Beare's Historiæ Catholicæ Iberniæ Compendium, pp. 116-117.—O'Conor's Dissertations on the History of Ireland, pp. 53-54.—The Book of Obits and Martyrology of Christ Church, Dublin, preface, p. xxxiv. — Rev. Matthew Kelly's Cambrensis Eversus, vol. i. p. 216.)

[h] "Celebracione divinorum eciam." — Manuscript, Harl.

diocesis, quod verbis prædicant, invericundo opere complent. Nam Hibernicos publice armati invadunt, & occidunt & nichilominus suas celebrant missas. Et similiter frater Simon de ordine Minorum, Coverensis episcopi frater germanus, istius *hæresis* præcipuus est dogmatizator, qui anno proximo præterito, in curia nobilis Domini, Domini Edwardi de Broyse (Bruce) Comitis de Carrik, ex maligni cordis habundancia, silere non valens, in præsencia dicti Domini, prout idem testatur, in hujusmodi prædicacionis verba impudenter prorupit viz. non est peccatum hominem Hiberniacum interficere, & si ipsemet idem commiteret, non minus ob hoc missam celebraret. Et ex ista *hæresi* prava in alium incidentes errorem, omnes indifferenter, tam seculares quam regulares, pertinaciter asserunt, sibi licitum fore vi & armis auferre de terris & possessionibus omnipharis quicquid possunt, nullam super hoc eciam in mortis articulo sibi conscienciam facientes"[i].

However, though but too many of the old Irish, belonging to the clans or septs in the vicinity of the Anglo-Norman or English settlements, would appear to have been reduced to a very low condition by such principles and hostilities on the side of the "settlers," still to suppose that ALL the native Irish were reduced to such a state, by anything that could have been effected against them, as a body, by the mere power of the colonists, would be to form but a one-sided, and, consequently, an erroneous, judgment on the subject. A broader, and, so far, a juster, view of the condition of the old Irish amongst themselves, and with reference to their colonial enemies, from the age of Henry II. to that of Elizabeth, is given by Mr. O'Conor of Belanagare.

"During the times of desolation," he observes, "from Henry II. to those of Elizabeth, the manners, customs, and condition, of the Irish, proceeded from bad to worse; seldom from bad to better. Their own ancient laws were, for the most part, useless, hurtful, or impracticable; and they were thrown out of the protection of those of England. *Political art, feeble in planning, and lazy in executing, the good of society, is generally successful in undertakings for its destruction.* The whole of this art, for 350 years, in this kingdom, was exhausted in schemes for oppressing the natives, without remorse or mercy: and this plan was carried on with so much rage, that all the purposes of dividing this devoted people were, for a long time, in a great degree, disappointed. The Irish re-entered most of the countries they had lost, and reduced the English Pale to narrow limits, wherein the possessors were straitened from the continued hostilities of the borderers[j], who became very expert soldiers, and, indeed, the best in the kingdom.

"During

[i] Compare Note 64, p. 259, and Note 279, *passim.*

[j] *Their* necessarily rude and wild way of life, may be illustrated by what Dr. Andrew Borde says, in Henry VIII.'s reign, of the condition of the Scotch population on the "border," or hostile frontier, of England. The Doctor, who tells us of his "beyng there," says,—"The Borders of Scotland toward England, as they the which doeth dwell by Nycoll Forest and so upward to Barwyke by-yonde the Water of Twede lyueth in much Pouerte & Penurye, hauyinge no Howses but suche as a Man may buylde wythin thre or iiii Houres, he and his Wyfe and his Horse standeth all in one Rome. In these Partyes be many Out-Lawes and strong Theues, for muche of their Lyuing standeth by Stelying and Robbyng. Also it is naturally

"During this long period, the spirit of ancient manners shot a gleam through the chaos of anarchy, in which it was enveloped. History can afford some such examples. The clergy and the bards had a mighty influence. It was impossible that they could preserve the people, nay themselves, from the consequences of a general degeneracy, in a state of lawless usurpations: but a retention of some ancient manners prevented them from sinking into absolute barbarism, much less a state of savageness, what a very able historian of our own time has repeatedly charged them with.

"The historian we mean is Mr. David Hume, who trusted to the accounts of avowed enemies, and recommended the abuse of this people, by the vigour of his style, and strength of his colouring. Stanihurst, a less embittered enemy, would inform him better; not to mention many other contemporary writers, who are still more impartial. 'A coarse and vulgar opinion is generally prevalent, (says Stanihurst) that these Irishmen have divested themselves of all humanity, and wander dispersed and scattered, through the thickest forests, that finally, they lead, uncontrolled, in brutal licentiousness, a horrid and uncultivated existence. But they, who defame them with such calumnious railings, are evidently partizans of falsehood, in opposition to the clearest truth.'

"The monasteries and schools," adds Mr. O'Conor, of the native Irish, during the middle ages, "kept the remains of learning and humanity alive among them. Their seminaries were unmolested in times of the fiercest hostilities between the chieftains: and no disgrace could prove more ruinous to any party at war, than the violation of those sanctuaries. This admirable prejudice prevailed over foreign violence and domestic depravity, at all times: and to its obstinacy we owe what *still* remains of their ancient history and literature"[k]. Mr. O'Conor, however, in this *last* paragraph, should have used less *general* and *absolute* terms.

Note 70, Page 28.

Many of the English settlers in Ireland being obliged to go over to England, to aid their friends there, in the civil war between the Houses of York and Lancaster, this proves of great service to the Irish.

We see, from what Davies mentions respecting the condition of the English in Ireland in the reign of Henry VI., under whom the war above alluded to between the rival houses of York and Lancaster broke out, that, though this war was one cause for diminishing the strength of the English settlers here, yet that their own weakness, and the successes of the Irish against

geuen or els it is of a deuyllyshe Dysposicion of a Scotysh Mā not to loue nor fauour an Englishe Mā," &c.—(The Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge by Andrew Borde: London reprint, R. & A. Taylor, Shoe Lane, 1814.)

[k] Moore's History of Ireland, vol. iii. pp. 51-77, 109-111, 124-125.—Fordun, Scoti-Chronicon, tom. iii. pp. 906, 909, 912, 914, 926.—Cox's Hibernia-Anglicana, vol. i. pp. 128-129, 131.—Froissart ap. Moore as above-cited.—Grace's Annals of Ireland, by the Rev. Richard Butler, M. R. I. A., pp. 154-155.—Sir John Davies's Discoverie, &c., pp. 83-84.—O'Conor's Dissertations on the History of Ireland, sect. xi. pp. 148, 149, 150.—Campion's Historie of Ireland, chap. x. pp. 187, 193-196, 197-203: Dublin, 1809.

against them *before* the commencement of that contest, were also causes for many of those colonists having preferred to seek their fortune in England, rather than remain at home. "Dvring the Minority of Henry the sixt," says Sir John, "and for the Space of seuen or eight Yeares after, the Lieutenants and Deputies made only a bordering Warre vpon the Irish, with small and scattered Forces; howbeit, because there came no Treasure out of *England* to pay the Soldier, the poore English Subject, did beare the Burthen of the Men of Warre in euery Place, & were thereby so weakned and impouerished, as the State of Thinges in Ireland, stood very desperate." Sir John adds, that "the natiue Subiects of *Ireland* seeing the Kingdome vtterly ruined, did passe in such Numbers into *England*, as one Law was made in *England*, to transmit them backe againe; and another Law made heere, to stop their Passage in euery Port and Creeke." He afterwards tells us, that "when the ciuil Warre betweene the two Houses was kindled; the Kings of *England* were so farre from reducing al the Irish vnder their Obedience, as they drew out of Ireland (to strengthen their Parties) al the Nobility and Gentry descended of English Race: which gaue Opportunitie to the Irishry, to inuade the Lands of the English Colonies, and did hazard the Losse of the whole Kingdom." Finally, in reference to the great rival Anglo-Irish races of the Fitzgeralds, or Geraldines, and the Butlers, or Ormondes, he states, that "those two noble Houses of *Ireland*, did seuerally follow the two Royall Houses of England; the *Giraldines* adhering to the House of *Yorke*, and the *Butlers* to the House of *Lancaster*. Whereby it came to passe, that not onely the principall Gentlemen of both those Surnames, but all their Friendes and Dependants, did pass into *England*, leaving their Lands and Possessions to be ouer-run by the Irish"[1].

Note 71, Page 28.

During the wars between the White and Red Roses in England, the Irish attack and recover, or reduce to tribute, most of the territory that had been taken from them, &c.

The Attorney-General of James I., in speaking of the fastnesses in which the bordering Irish defended themselves, until they found means to reconquer so much of the country, which had been wrested from them by the Anglo-Norman colonists, or their successors, says: "The first Adventurers intending to make a full Conquest of the Irish, were deceiued in the Choyse of the *fittest Places for their Plantation.* For they sate down, and erected their Castles and Habitations in the *Plaines and open Countries;* wher they found most fruitfull and profitable Lands, and turned the Irish into the *Woods & Mountains:* which, as they were proper Places for Out-lawes and Theeues, so were they their naturall Castles and Fortifications; thither they draue their Preyes and Stealths: there they lurkt and lay in Waite to doe Mischiefe. These Fast-places they kept vnknowne, by making the Wayes and Entries thereunto empassable; there they kept their Creaghts or Heardes of Cattle, liuing by the Milke of the Cowe, without Husbandry or Tillage; there they encreased and multiplied vnto infinite Numbers, by promiscuous Generation among themselues; there they made their Assemblies and Conspiracies without Discouery:

[1] Sir John Davies's Discoverie, &c., pp. 41-43, 64-65.

Discouery: but they discouered the Weaknes of the English dwelling in the open Plaines, and thereupon made their Sallies and Retraites with great Aduantage."

Thus, was a state of things existing, to a certain extent, in Ireland, between the ancient or Celtic Irish driven into the fastnesses, and the Teutonic colonies established by the Anglo-Norman government in the plains, resembling that which existed in Scotland between its Highland or Celtic population (the descendants of the old Irish) and the Teutonic Scotch of the Lowlands, planted there by the Scottish Kings, to the exclusion of the more ancient or Celtic population of the country. Referring to the Scottish Celtæ, or Highlanders, M. Thierry says of that population, in connexion with the recollections, which it retained of such a dispossession: "Elle le savait, et se souvenait que les plaines occupées par ces nouveaux venus avaient été jadis la propriété de ses aïeux: elle les haïssait comme usurpateurs, et ne leur donnait point le nom de Scots, sous lequel les étrangers les confondaient avec elle, mais celui de *Sassenachs*, c'est-à-dire Saxons, parce que, de quelque origine qu'ils fussent, tous parlaient la langue anglaise. Longtemps les enfans des Gaels regardèrent comme de simples représailles les incursions de guerre et de pillage faites sur les basses terres d'Ecosse: 'Nous sommes les héritiers des plaines,' disaient-ils, 'il est juste que nous reprenions nos biens.' Cette hostilité nationale, dont les habitants de la plaine redoutaient vivement les effets, les rendait toujours disposés à provoquer, de la part des rois d'Ecosse, toutes sortes de mesures arbitraires et tyranniques, pour ruiner l'indépendance des montagnards."

Concerning the recovery, by the original Irish, of those territories of which the text speaks of the natives as having been "so unjustly deprived," the Anglo-Irish annalist, Cox, with very opposite feelings on the matter, observes, in his account of the transactions of Henry VI.'s reign: "The Publick Revenue was but very low, because the whole Kingdom was in Possession of the Irish, except the Pale, and some few places on the Sea-Coast in *Ulster;* and even that was so far from being quiet, that they were fain to buy their Peace by yearly Pensions to the Irish, and to pay Tribute and Contributions to them for Protection; which nevertheless was but very ill observed to the English. It cannot be expected I should give the Reader an exact List of all that did pay this scandalous Contribution, and yet I am not willing to conceal from him the Account I have met with, which is as follows:

	lib.
The Barony of *Lecale*, to *O Neal* of *Clandeboy* per annum . .	20
The County of *Uriel*, to *O Neal*	40
The County of *Meath*, to *O Connor*	60
The County of *Kildare*, to *O Connor*	20
The King's Exchequer, to *Mac Morough*, 80 *Marks*.	
The County of *Wexford*, to *Mac Morough*	40
The Counties of *Kilkenny* and *Typerary*, to O Carol	40
The County of *Limerick*, to *O Brian*	40
The County of *Cork*, to *Mac Carty* of *Muskry*	40."
	300

 The

The causes, to which, under *such* circumstances, English power has been considered as indebted for existing at all in Ireland, are thus explained by Dr. Leland, under the reigns of Henry V. and Henry VI., or between 1413 and 1471. Having noted, under the former reign, respecting the old Irish Chieftains and their clans, that "they were contented, in the distant quarters of the island, to rule their petty septs, to maintain their state and consequence against their neighbours, to enjoy the honour and advantage of trifling victories, to execute their revenge, or to pursue their local interests,"—that "their aversion to the English was, by this time, scarcely more national, than their aversion to the rival septs of their own race,"—and that, "had the whole Irish race arisen as one man against the subjects of the crown of England, they must have instantly destroyed them," &c.—the Doctor says of those English subjects: "But the truth is, this little handful of men, for such they were, when compared to the body of original natives, had the same ground of security with any of the particular Irish septs. They had enemies at all sides, but these were enemies to each other, nor were any concerned to espouse the quarrels of their neighbours, or mortified by their defeats. Sometimes, indeed, when a particular sept was in danger of total ruin from the victory of some English forces, their neighbours were persuaded to come to their rescue, '*for the sake of the Irish language*' (as the manuscript annals express it), but without engaging further, and without conceiving themselves bound by one general, permanent interest." Then, or under the next reign, having remarked of the English in Ireland, how their "only method to secure peace and protection was to treat with the turbulent Irish chieftains as superiors,"—and how consequently, in the North and South, such "chieftains received annual tributes from their English neighbours,"—the Doctor adds of those Irish potentates: "Their pride was fully gratified by what *they* deemed the great mark of sovereignty, and the English, as a particular sept, were suffered to live unmolested, under the protection of other particular septs, who pursued their own private contests undisturbed, with a fastidious disregard of the affairs of the Saxons (as they were called)."

Meantime, the English, first, in their long war against France, and, next, in that between the two roses, were occupied, with about as little policy as profit on their part,—the former contest, or that to place their King on the throne of France, only tending, if successful, to render England subordinate to France, since there, as being the *larger* kingdom of the *two*, a Sovereign of *both* should reside,—the latter contest, or that between the rival dynasties of York and Lancaster, so far resembling the hostilities of the Irish against one another, as to be one of English against English, for mutual destruction.

That the power of the Pale, which (to speak in general terms) was supposed to consist of the districts of Louth (or Uriel), Meath, Kildare, and Dublin, continued to decline, while the tributes paid to the Irish Chieftains increased, until a later period, or the year 1515, appears by the State Papers of the reign of Henry VIII. "Ther is," observe those documents, "no Folke dayly subgett to the Kinges Lawes, but Half the Countye of Uryell, Half the Countye of Meath, Half the Countye of Dublyn, Half the Countye of Kyldare." Of these, it is noted,—"All the comyn Peoplle of the said Halff Countyes, that obeyeth the Kinges Laws, for the more Part ben of Iryshe Byrthe, of Iryshe Habyte, and of Iryshe Langage."

Of

Of the number and power of the native Irish Chieftains it is remarked: "And fyrst of all, to make His Grace understande that there byn more then 60 Countryes called Regyons, in Ireland, inhabytyd with the Kinges Irishe Enymyes: some Region as bygge as a Shyre, some more, some lesse, unto a Lytyll; some as bygge as Halffe a Shyre, and some a Lytyll lesse; where reygneith more then 60 Chyef Capytaines, wherof some callyth themselffes Kynges, some Kynges Peyres, in their Langage, some Prynceis, some Dukes, some Archedukes, that lyveyth onely by the Swerde, and obeyeth to no other temperall Person, but onely to himself that is stronge: and every of the said Capytaynes makeyth Warre and Peace for hymself, and holdeith by Swerde, and hathe imperiall Jurysdyction within his Rome [realm], and obeyeth to noo other Person, Englyshe ne Iryshe, except only to suche Persones, as may subdue hym by the Swerde"[m]. On the tributes paid to the Irish Chieftains from so many districts formerly in subjection to the Anglo-Norman settlers, or their successors, it is added:

"Here folowith the names of th Englyshe Countyes, that bere Trybute to the wylde Irish.

"The Baronye of Lecchahill[n] in the Countye of Wolster[o] to the Capytayne of Clanhuboy[p], payeth yerely 40£, orells to O'neyll, whether of them be strongeist.

"The Countye of Uryell payeth yerely to the great Oneyll[q] 40£.

"The Countye of Meathe payeth yerely to O'Chonour[r] 300£.

"The Countye of Kyldare payeth yerely to the said O'Chonour 20£.

"The Kinges Excheker payeth yerely to McMurho[s], 80 markes.

"The Countye of Wexford payeth yerely to McMurho and to Arte Oboy[t] 40£.

"The Countye of Kilkennye and the Countye of Tipperarye payen yerely to Okerwyll[u] 40£.

"The Countye of Lymbrik payeth yerely to Obroyne Arraghe[v], in Englyshe Money, 40£.

"The same Countye of Lymbrik payeth yerely to the great Obroyne[w], in Englyshe Money, 40£.

"The Countye of Corke to Cormoke McTeyge[x] payeth yerely, in Englyshe Money, 40£.

"Summa 740£."

Thus

[m] It is alleged, that there were *likewise* in Ireland "30 greate Captaines of the Englishe noble Folke," observing "the same Iryshe Ordre," of making peace and war at will! Above 90 "greate Captaines," or in the proportion of about 3 to each of our present 32 Counties, between three and four centuries *after* what has been styled the "Conquest" of Ireland!

[n] Lecale, County Down.

[o] Ulster!

[p] A Chieftainship of one of the O'Neills, in the south-west of the County Antrim, and north of the County Down.

[q] Of Tyrone, the head of all his name, and, as distinguished from the "Captayne of Clanhuboy," or Claneboy, most probably also alluded to in the previous paragraph.

[r] O'Conor of Offaley, King's County.

[s] Or O'Kavenagh of Idrone, in the west of the County Carlow.

[t] A junior branch of the Mac Moroughs, settled at Enniscorthy, County Wexford.

[u] O'Carrol of Ely, the present Barony of English, in the south of the King's County.

[v] O'Brien of Ara, a territory to the east of the Shannon, County Tipperary.

[w] O'Brien of Toybrien, in the Barony of Ibrikin, County Clare.

[x] Otherwise Mac Carthy of Muskerry, County Cork.

Thus, these tributes to the Irish Chieftains, which, in the reign of Henry VI., were but £300 *per annum*, besides the eighty marks a year from the Anglo-Irish Exchequer to Mac Morough, had increased in 1515, or under Henry VIII., to considerably above twice as much, or £740 a year of the money of that age, besides the same pension to Mac Morough! Such exactions would appear to have been generally continued until the year 1536, when Cox mentions the Anglo-Irish or Pale Parliament, as passing "An Act to suppress all Tributes, Pensions, and Irish Exactions, claimed by the Irish, from Towns or Persons, for Protection." Even still later, or until 1543, tributes of this kind seem to have been paid in some districts. For, in an Indenture cited from the Red Book of Henry's Privy Council for Ireland, dated September 26th of that year, or the thirty-fourth of that Monarch's reign, and concluded with "*Dom. Barry, alias* Great Barry, *Mac Carty more, Dom. de Rupe alias* Lord Roch, *Mac Carthy Reagh, Thadeum Mac Cormock Dom. de Muskry, Barry Oge, alias* the young Barry, *O'Sullevan Bear. suæ Nation. Capit. Donald. O Sullevan suæ Nation. Primum, Barry roe, alias* the Red Barry, *Mac Donough de Allow suæ Nation. Capit. Donaldum O Callaghane Nationis suæ primum*"[y], &c., the eighth article agreed to, with the King's government, by those

[y] Till the fall of the old system of society in Ireland, a man's tribe or clan was considered his *nation*, and the rulers or chiefs, even of subordinate clans, were known as the *captains* or *heads* of their respective *nations*. The O'Callaghans, according to Charles O'Conor of Belanagare, in his letter to Bryan O'Conor Kerry, were one of the Munster clans, that used to march, under Mac Carthy More, into the field, at the call of the Earl of Desmond; and of those clans, and the others, appointed to do so likewise, under Mac Carthy Reagh, Mr. O'Conor remarks: "There was a spirit of rivalship among those ancient families, which excited among them great enthusiasm on the day of battle, and no power which the English could send against them could have availed, if they had not been fatally split into different factions, which prepared an easy conquest for an united enemy, and made a wide breach, long before there was an attack." The Barony of Cineal-Aedha, now Kinelea, in the south of the County Cork, was, previous to the Anglo-Norman intrusion of Robert Fitzstephen and Milo de Cogan, in the twelfth century, the seat of the O'Callaghans. In later times, Pobble O'Callaghan, situated west of Mallow, along both sides of the Blackwater, and comprehending the present Parishes of Kilshannick and Clonmeen, was the territory of the chief branch of the O'Callaghans in the County Cork, where they built several castles, the ruins of which still remain. The O'Callaghans survived the Elizabethean or Tyrone war, and, at the period of the Parliamentarian or Cromwellian contest, appear as one of the most wealthy, powerful, loyal, and gallant races in Munster. The head of the name, Donat or Donough O'Callaghan, who was possessed of large estates and several castles, was distinguished as a member of the Sovereign Council of Kilkenny, and in other posts of the civil magistracy, amongst his countrymen; while, in the national army, of which his brother, Colonel Callaghan O'Callaghan, was a brave and skilful officer, there were, according to Dr. Callaghan, above 500 of the name, of the rank of gentlemen. The Doctor's words, writing in France, in December, 1652, are: "De la seule branche des Callaghans de Muskry dont je suis, il s'est trouué plus de deux cens gentilshommes sous les armes en 1641, & de l'autre plus de trois cens, tous combattans pour la foy catholique,"—of whom, he adds, "sont morts vn tres grand nombre de mes proches parents, mesme de mes neveux." By the fatal results of that contest, as well to the old Irish in general, as to the royal cause, almost all of the O'Callaghans, on this side of the Shannon, were

those Irish potentates is, "*That they will not exact any Black Rents, for the future, from the Inhabitants of* Cork, Youghal, *or* Kingsale."

It may be noted, in a work connected with the Revolution of 1688, that, in the history of these islands, we read, so late as the year 1691, of plans to pacify Celtic Chieftains by money, in

ruined. Amongst these, about Cashel, in the County Tipperary, (the old capital of the Kings of Munster, hence styled "Cashel," or more properly "Caiseal, *of the kings*," and whence the famous King of Munster, Callaghan, the first of the name, deceased in 954, is known in history as Callaghan *Cashel*,) the great-great-grandfather of the writer of this note was comfortably situated, when he, with others, was turned, from house and home, adrift on the world, by the usurper, Oliver Cromwell. Hence, in the reign of King James, and the next Irish war, or that of the Revolution, the comparatively small number of gentlemen of the name, to be found in the national army. According to the spelling of the documents containing them, they were as follows:—

Infantry.—Donogh O'Callaghan was Lieutenant-Colonel in the Regiment of Colonel John Barrett; Thady (or Thadeus) Callaghan was Captain in the Regiment of the Honourable Nicholas Brown, afterwards second Earl of Kenmare; Dermot O'Callaghan was Captain in the Regiment of the Honourable Charles O'Brien, afterwards fifth Lord Clare; Dennis Callahan was Lieutenant in the Regiment of Alexander Mac Donnell, third Earl of Antrim; Cornelius Callaghan and Callaghan Mc Callaghan were Lieutenants in the Regiment of the Honourable Nicholas Brown; Charles Callaghane and Auliffe Calahan were Ensigns in the Regiment of Lieutenant-General Justin Mac Carthy, Lord Mountcashel; Owen Callahane and John Mc Callaghan were Ensigns in the Regiment of the Honourable Nicholas Brown; John Callahane was Ensign in the Regiment of Colonel John Barrett; Calla O'Callaghan was Ensign in the Regiment of the Honourable Charles O'Brien; and Callagh Mac Callaghan was likewise an Ensign, though in what Regiment is not specified.

Horse.—Cornelius Callaghan was Captain in the Regiment of Colonel Hugh Sutherland; and Callahan Macallahan, Cornet in the Regiment of Vere Essex, Earl of Ardglass.

Dragoons.— —— Callaghane was Major in the Regiment of Major-General Thomas Maxwell.

These make sixteen commissioned officers of the name in the King's army; of whom thirteen were in the *infantry*, two in the *horse*, and one in the *dragoons*.

After the conclusion of that contest by the Treaty of Limerick in October, 1691, and the consequent departure of such of the Irish to the Continent, as would not acknowledge the legitimacy of the change of dynasty effected by the Revolution, we find the name of O'Callaghan in the Army, the Church, and at Court, honourably mentioned in Spain, France, and Germany. At home, the head of a branch settled at Shanbally, County Tipperary, and that, as being of the established religion, adhered to the Protestant succession in the House of Hanover, was, towards the end of the last century, enrolled amongst the few representatives of the *ancient* royal names of the country, to be found in its *modern* Peerage. After being several years Member for the Borough of Fethard, County Tipperary, in the Irish House of Commons, Cornelius O'Callaghan, Esq., was ennobled, under King George III., by privy seal, at St. James's, May 5th, by patent, at Dublin, June 27th, 1785, and, on the 30th, took his seat in the Irish House of Lords, as "Lord Baron Lismore of Shanbally, in the County of Tipperary." The second and present Lord Lismore, likewise named Cornelius, and born October 2nd, 1775, succeeded his father July 20th, 1797. His Lordship's brother, the late Lieutenant-General, the Honourable Sir Robert William O'Callaghan, G. C. B., born in October, 1777, and deceased in June, 1840, was the greatest modern military representative of the name. From November, 1794, when he entered the army, he spent 46 years in the service, during which he highly signalized himself

in the case of William III.'s government in Scotland, and the heads of the Highland clans, who were the adherents of James II. Having mentioned how, with the "winter" of that year, the Highlanders "recommenced their hostilities," upon which, Lord Breadalbane, a member of William's government in Scotland, set on foot "a scheme for settling the Highlands," Dalrymple says:" The scheme was, that a pardon and £12,000 should be given to the Highlanders in arms, most of which money was to be applied to discharge the claims of the Earl of Argyle upon their estates; and that pensions should be given to all the Highland chieftains in Scotland, under a condition of their *holding* 4000 *of their people disciplined for war, and ready at a call, to serve at home or abroad:* a plan of much wisdom," adds this writer, "and by which, had it been carried into execution, the rebellions in the years 1715 and 1745 might have been prevented, with the five hundredth part of the expense, which it cost the English nation to subdue them"[z].

NOTE 72,

in the wars against Napoleon, and was finally Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Scotland and India. His Military Honours were a Cross for the battles of Maida, Vittoria, the Pyrenees, and the Nivelle, with two Clasps for the battles of the Nive and Orthes. His private character as a man was not less esteemed than his professional one as a soldier.

Subordinate off-shoots of the O'Callaghan race may be found, in our days, in the legislature, the magistracy, the army, the law, and business; and, *since* Dr. Callaghan's time, the name has not been unknown in Irish literature.—(The Remains of William Phelan, D. D., vol. ii. p. 62.—Dr. O'Conor's Memoirs of Charles O'Conor of Belanagare, pp. 226-233.—Rev. Matthew Kelly's Cambrensis Eversus, vol. i. pp. 267-268.—Dr. O'Brien's Irish-English Dictionary, p. 356: Dublin, 1832.—Dr. Smith's History of Cork, vol. i. pp. 34, 294-300.—Revelations of Ireland, by Daniel Owen Madden, Esq., p. 185.—Lieutenant-General Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 91: Edinburgh, 1751.—Documents in French, &c., cited amongst the authorities to Note 20.—Family Information.—Dr. Lanigan's Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, vol. i. pp. 279-280.—O'Donovan's Book of Rights for the Irish Celtic Society, p. 15, &c.—O'Donovan's Circuit of Ireland, &c., for the Irish Archæological Society, pp. 41-45, 64.—List of the Officers of King James II.'s Irish Army in MSS. of Trinity College, Dublin, as specified in Note 2.—Secretary of State's Manuscript Book of Correspondence for Ireland, in State Paper Office, London.—Dr. Smith's History of Kerry, pp. 45-48.—Archdall's Lodge's Peerage of Ireland, vol. i. pp. 211-212, vol. ii. pp. 33-34, vol. vii. pp. 243-246.—Harris's Life of King William III., appendix, p. vii.—King's State of the Protestants of Ireland, &c., p. 277.—Mac Geoghegan's Histoire de l'Irlande, tome iii. pp. 680-681, 748-749.—Chevalier de Bellerive's Histoire des Dernieres Campagnes de Son Altesse Sérénissme, Monseigneur le Duc de Vendosme, &c., pp. 226-227.—O'Conor's Military History of the Irish Nation, pp. 353-354.—Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick, tome ii. pp.220-221.—Burke's Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Peerage and Baronetage of the British Empire, pp. 618-619.—United Service Journal, vol. xxxiii. pp. 530-533.)

[z] Sir John Davies's Discoverie, &c., pp. 112-113.—Histoire de la Conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands, par Augustin Thierry, livre viii. tome ii. pp. 187-193, &c.: Bruxelles et Liege, 1841.—Cox's Hibernia Anglicana, vol. i. pp. 137-139, 165-166, 249, 273-274.—Dr. Leland's History of Ireland, vol. ii. pp. 16-18, 44.—Sir Harris Nicolas's Chronology of History, pp. 303-304.—Taaffe's History of Ireland, vol. i. pp. 250-251, 274-275.—Hardiman's Statute of Kilkenny, introduction, pp. xxv.-xxviii.—State Papers, published under Her Majesty's Commission, vol. ii. King Henry VIII. part iii. pp. 1-4, 7-9.—Dalrymple's Memoirs, vol. iii. part ii. book vi. pp. 170-171: London, 1790.

Note 72, Page 28.

Those of Norman or English origin, established amongst, and intermarried with, the old Irish, become assimilated in names, language, and habits, with the ancient race of the country, &c.

The alteration, by the Anglo-Norman or English colonists in Ireland, of their names, habits, &c., for those of the people among whom they acquired settlements, and with whom so many connexions necessarily arose, began long before the period of the wars of York and Lancaster, to which the text would attribute the occurrence of such a revolution. *That* change is noticed, according to Mr. Hardiman, as having existed amongst the settlers so early after Henry II.'s visit to this country as in 1294–1295; in the latter of which years, Edward I.'s Lord Justice, the Chevalier Jean de Wogan, or Sir John Wogan, Knight, assembled a colonial Parliament, at Kilkenny, "to prevent or remedy these defections." But, in the next century, during the reign of Edward II., and for several years before the death of Edward III., such "defections" became "greater then when tenne of twelue Tribes departed, and fell away from the Kings of Iuda." The Pale, under Edward III., also became tributary to Irish Chiefs; and the constant increase of the above "defections," to the time of Henry VIII., appears from the preceding Note[a].

Note 73, Page 28.

The Irish of Norman, or English, as well as Milesian blood, being equally attached to the Roman Catholic faith, oppose the introduction of the Reformation, under Henry VIII., into Ireland.

On the religious changes in Ireland, begun in Henry VIII.'s reign, the first Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. George Browne, writes thus to the Lord Privy Seal, Cromwell, April 8th, 1538: "The People of this Nation be Zealous, yet Blind and Unknowing: Most of the Clergy (as your Lordship hath had from me before) being Ignorant, and not able to speak right Words in the Mass, or Liturgy; as being not skilled in the Latin Grammar, so that a Bird may be taught to speak with as much Sense as several of them do in this Country; these Sorts, though not Scholars, yet crafty to cozen the poor Common People, and to disswade them from following his Highness's[b] Orders," &c.

Further on, the Archbishop observes, in connexion with those changes: "The Romish Reliques and Images of both my Cathedrals, in Dublin, took off the Common People from the true Worship; but the Prior and the Dean find them so sweet for their Gain, that they heed not my Words; therefore send in your Lordship's next to me an Order more full, and a Chide

[a] Hardiman's Statute of Kilkenny, introduction, pp. v.-xiii. xxiv.-xxv. — Sir John Davies's Discoverie, &c., pp. 28-29, 127-128, 138. — Leland's History of Ireland, vol. i. pp. 315, 326.

[b] That is, the *King's* orders; the English Sovereigns not being then designated *Majesty*.

Chide to them and their Canons, that they might be removed: Let the Order be, That the Chief Governors may assist me in it"[c].

The Archbishop, the following month, informs the Lord Privy Seal, of the union, in opposition to the introduction of the Reformation, which was growing up, between those of English descent, and the old Irish race. "It is observed," he says, "That ever since his Highness's Ancestors had this Nation in Possession, the *Old Natives have been craving Foreign Powers*, to assist and rule them: and now BOTH ENGLISH RACE AND IRISH BEGIN TO OPPOSE YOUR LORDSHIP'S ORDERS, AND TO LAY ASIDE THEIR NATIONAL OLD QUARRELS; which I fear will (if anything will) cause a Foreigner to invade this Nation"[d].

NOTE 74, Pages 28–29.

The religious revolution, commenced in Ireland under Henry VIII., is finally confirmed there, by law, under Queen Elizabeth.

Don Philip O'Sullevan Beare, after mentioning how, in the reign of Elizabeth, "Angli veriti, ne Iberni iniurijs, et religionis oppugnatæ causa moti rebellarent, á multis eorum obsides extorserunt," draws this picture of the state of Ireland at the time the Queen began to carry out what he styles, "persecutio vehemens Anglorum contra fidem."

"Ita cum Ibernia miseré fuisset profligata nobilium discordijs & inter se, & cũ regia corona, Ecclesiasticorumque cruore per Anglos diffuso: nobilesque, quòd erant dissensionibus defessi, et opibus iã inualidiores, multorumque obsides apud Anglos, pro Catholica religione minus viderentur arma sumpturi: excepit statim contra Christi fidem persecutio, & tyrannis Elizabethæ reginæ iussu, vt omnes omnino Catholicã fidem desererent, sacerdotes reijcerent, à Ministris Hęreticis præcepta, doctrinamque caperent, Reginæ sectã amplecterentur, atque cæremonijs audiendis diebus festis in templis interessent: & ad id terrore, metu, pęna, vi cogerentur. Quæ dira Catholici fidei oppugnatio eò grauior, & periculosior erat, quó iam tunc erant Iberni magis quám vnquam post fidem receptã, rudes, Theologiæ, Philosophiæ, & Iuris imperiti, perinde ad disputandum, populumque conseruandũ in vera Christi Iesu religione imparati, quia præteritis dissidijs, rerum perturbatione, Hæreticorum barbaro furore gymnasia corruerunt: vixq; vllus munere docendi grauiores litteras publicè fungebatur: Religiosorum sacri conuentus erãt parte maiore dissipati & euersi, sacerdotes ad infantes aqua sacra abluẽdos in multis locis nõ facile reperiebãtur: in locis cõpluribus iuniores id tantũ fidei callebant, quòd a matribus, nutricibusque didicerãt. Ac aliqui certé tam erãt fidei

[c] Nevertheless, the Archbishop would seem to have been not unwilling to act slowly, or with moderation, in the *general* execution of the task that devolved upon him, to put an end to such observances; for, with reference to a report, June 20th following, of it having been his intention to abolish by force various images and pilgrimages, he writes,—"which in deade I never attempted, although my conscience wolde right well serve me to oppresse souch ydolles."—(The Book of Obits and Martyrology of Christ Church, preface, pp. xviii.-xix.: Dublin, 1844.)

[d] Harris's Ware, vol. i. pp. 348-349, &c.—Cox's Hibernia Anglicana, vol. i. pp. 256-258.

fidei documẽtis destituti, vt nihil cõfirmare, proferreque scirent, præterquam, quôd ipsi firmiter crederent, quidquid Ecclesia Catholica Romana crederet: penes eam esse veram Catholicæ fidei doctrinam, & Anglos malè de fide sentire: horumq; præceptis se minimé fidẽ habere. Qua fidei imperitia & ruditate magis oppida regia, quã optimatũ fines laborabant, quia regia oppida Angli magis frequentabant. Quod causæ est, vt pastores, & rustici, nedum nobiles Ibernici veteres, & noui sint in Catholicæ fidei synceritate magis puri, & candidi, quam Angloiberni, qui in regijs oppidis cõmorantur. In hac summa caligine, & ignoratione dubium non est, quin Iberni diuinitus Anglorum concionatores fugerint, luserint, respuerint, & errores fuerint auersati occulto quodam, & abstruso fidei lumine, quod ex eo solum multi mire ducebant, quòd penes Summum Pontificem erat vera fidei scientia, & ab eo nouè Angli defecerunt"[e]. Had the "*Anglorum* concionatores" a proper knowledge of the *Irish* tongue, for preaching to those, who knew *no* other?

Note 75, Page 29.

Great weakening of the Irish, in the war against Queen Elizabeth, through the support given to her by many Irish Roman Catholics, especially those of Anglo-Norman or English origin.

The editor of the *Pacata Hibernia*, in referring to the conduct of the Irish during the Elizabethean or Tyrone war, praises "the loyall fidelitie of the greater part to their lawfull Prince, though animated to disloyaltie by the strongest perswasions of their supreme Spirituall Pastor, with promises of heavenly reward." O'Sullivan Beare gives a list of the old, as well as the new, Irish (or those of Anglo-Norman or English descent), who assisted the Queen, in that war. He complains that, even in that contest, "minor pars Ibernorum ab Anglis defecit." He adds: "Si enim omnes Iberni in Anglos conspirassent, vllo sine negocio possent Hęreticorum iugum ceruicibus discutere: vt Angli ipsi communi assensione fatentur."

With respect to the operations against Kinsale at the end of the year 1601, the eventual success of which, on the side of the Queen, was the first of such importance, as to give the contest a decisive turn in her favour, Dr. Curry observes: "Sir George Carew's army, when it sat down before Kinsale, consisted of 3000 men, 2000 of whom were of Irish birth." He likewise alleges: "It is also certain, that more than one-half of that gallant army under Lord Mountjoy, which so successfully attacked, and at last entirely defeated, Tirone" (that is, Aodh or Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone), "was Irish." And, as an instance of the animosity alluded to in the text, as existing amongst the Irish of the more modern, against those of the ancient race, the Secretary of the English Lord Deputy Mountjoy, after his account of the defeat of O'Neill and O'Donnell at the battle of Kinsale, December 24th (O. S.), 1601, informs us, how, when the fight was over, "the Lord Deputy in the middest of the dead bodies, caused thanks to be giuen to God for this victory, and there presently knighted the

[e] Historiæ Catholicæ Iberniæ Compendium, p. 109.

the Earle of *Clanrichard* in the field, who had many fair escapes, his garments being often peirced with shot and other weapons, and with his owne hand killed aboue twenty Irish kerne, and cried out to spare no Rebell"[f].

Note 76, Pages 29–30.

The Irish Roman Catholics of English origin vigorously assist Queen Elizabeth against their countrymen of the old Irish race, for fear of being deprived of the lands they possessed for centuries, should the English power be overthrown in Ireland.

The Lord Deputy, Sir Arthur Chichester, referring, in 1613, to the Elizabethean or Tyrone war, says of "Tyrone and his Irish partakers in the late rebellion, when they thought to carry the kingdom from the Crown of England," that they declared, no persons whatever of English origin, "though they came in with the conquest, and were since *degenerated*, and become Irish by alteration of name and customs[g], should inherit or possess a foot of land within the kingdom, for that they had of the ancient Irish that could pretend justly to every foot of land which they possessed, who should enjoy the same."

On the other hand, O'Sullivan Beare treats such a representation of matters as an artifice of the English, in order to keep the Anglo-Irish on their side. "Finigaldæ vel Anglicæ prouinciæ, & principibus Ibernis noui generis," he observes, "toto studio persuadere conati sunt, illos fuisse possessionibus suis, atque finibus pellendos ab antiquis Ibernis, qui pro Catholica fide arma sumpserunt, si vincerent: qua fallacia faciles homines non modó sibi obedientes, sed multos Catholicis infensos reddiderunt"[h].

Note 77, Page 30.

The Spanish General, sent to aid the Irish, suspected of cowardice or treachery, for the capitulation he concluded with the English in Ireland, &c.

Don Juan del Aguila[i], on his return to Spain, was considered by his government to have misconducted himself in his expedition to Ireland; placed under arrest, by the command of his

[f] Pacata Hibernia, preface: London, 1633.—O'Sullivan Beare's Historiæ Catholicæ Iberniæ Compendium, pp. 74-75, 113-117, 174-181.—Dr. Curry's Review of the Civil Wars of Ireland, pp. 36, 37, 43: Dublin, 1810.—Fynes Moryson's Rebellion of Hvgh Earle of Tyrone, and the Appeasing thereof, pp. 176-178: fol. edit.—O'Donovan's Annals of the Four Masters, vol. iii. pp. 2267-2291, &c.

[g] When Chichester represents the Irish speaking of those of English origin who became Irish, as having thereby *degenerated*, he, of course, puts an English notion on the matter into the mouths of the Irish. *They* would not call that degenerating: nor did such as became Irish think they *degenerated*.

[h] Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica, vol. i. pp. 208-209.—Historiæ Catholicæ Iberniæ Compendium, p. 117.

[i] So spelled by O'Sullivan Beare, who, writing in Spain, was most likely to be correct, respecting a Spanish name.

his Sovereign, Philip III.; and, in that state, died of grief. Mac Geoghegan, having mentioned the return of Don Juan from Ireland to Corunna, says: "Sur un soupçon d'infidélité dans l'administration des affaires d'Irlande, il fût arrêté par l'ordre du Roi; il eut pour prison sa maison, où il mourut de chagrin quelque temps après. Le soupçon qu'on avoit contre ce Général étoit fondé sur la facilité avec laquelle il avoit livré aux Anglois Kinsale, & les autres places qu'il tenoit en Irlande; sur le commerce étroit des lettres qu'il entretenoit avec le Député[j] et le Président Carew, & les présens réciproques qu'ils se faisoient, et enfin sur les passeports qu'il accordoit libéralement à des Anglois qui passoient d'Irlande en Espagne, sous prétexte de commerce, & qui dans le fond étoient des espions qui rendoient compte chez eux de tout ce qui se passoit en Espagne, relativement aux affaires d'Irlande; en effet, on arrêta à la Corogne en ce temps un Officier Anglois, nommé Gautier Edney: cet Officier avoit fretté un navire à Cork pour l'Espagne, il étoit muni d'une lettre de recommandation & de présens de la part de Député pour Dom Juan; mais celui-ci étant déja en disgrace, il manqua son coup, le Comte de Caraçena profita des présens, dont cet Officier étoit chargé; il envoya ses lettres, passeports & autres papiers à la Cour"[k].

Note 78, Page 30.

The old Irish, compelled by necessity to terminate the war, which they had carried on so long, and under so many disadvantages, against Queen Elizabeth.

"Circumstanced as the Irish were," observes Dr. O'Conor respecting this war, "what surprizes is, *not* that they were conquered, but that they made such an obstinate resistance." A statement, justifying the correctness of this observation, is made by the Secretary of the Lord Deputy Mountjoy, Fynes Moryson, in his account of the loss suffered on both sides, near Benburb, by the forces of the Irish leader, Aodh or Hugh O'Neill, Chief of Tyrone, and those of the Lord Deputy, July 16th, 1601, or towards the end of the war. Having referred to the loss suffered by O'Neill, as considerably more than Mountjoy's, Fynes Moryson remarks: "And lest the disparitie of losses often mentioned by me, should sauour of a partiall pen, the Reader must know, that besides the fortune of the warre turned on our side, together with the courage of the rebels abated, and our men heartned by successes, WE HAD PLENTIE OF POWDER, *and sparing not to shoote at randome, might well kill many more of them, then they* ILL FURNISHED OF POWDER, *and* COMMANDED TO SPARE IT, *could kill of ours!*"

On the condition of the country, at the conclusion of the Elizabethean or Tyrone war, O'Sullivan Beare, under the heading, "Post bellum quis fuerit Iberniæ status?" says: "Ita bellum hoc confectum est, Ibernia pene tota deuastata & euersa, ingenteque inedia & fame omnes inuadente, qua multi compulsi sunt canes, atque catos edere: multi ne his quidem suppetentibus pereunt. Neque homines tantum, sed etiam bruta fames occupat. Lupi siluis, & montibus

[j] Lord Mountjoy. [k] Mac Geoghegan, Histoire de l'Irlande, tome iii. pp. 587-588.

& montibus egressi, homines inedia debiles inuadentes laniant. Canes fœtida cadavera partimque in cinerem versa sepulchris extrahunt." Amongst other examples of the "vnspeakeable extremities" to which the population were driven by famine, "the ample relating whereof," the previously-cited Secretary of the English Deputy, Mountjoy, says "were an infinite taske," he instances Sir Arthur Chichester, Sir Richard Moryson, and other English Commanders in Ulster, as witnessing "a most horrible spectacle of three children (whereof the eldest was not aboue ten yeeres old), all eating and knawing with their teeth the entrals of their dead mother, vpon whose flesh they had fed twenty dayes past, and hauing eaten all from the feete vpward to the bare bones, rosting it continually by a slow fire, were now come to the eating of her said entralls in like sort roasted, yet not diuided from the body, being as yet raw." He adds, that "no spectacle was more frequent in the Ditches of Townes, and especiallie in wasted Countries, then to see multitudes of these poore people dead with their mouthes all coloured greene, by eating nettles, docks, and all things they could rend vp aboue ground"[l].

The number of the Queen's army, according to Cox, as it stood March 28th, 1602, for the last year of the war[m], was "in List 16,950 Foot, and 1487 Horse;" making a total of 18,437 men.

From the summer of 1602 (but particularly from the death-blow given to the hopes of the Irish, of effectual assistance from Spain, after the arrival, in autumn, of the news of the decease of Hugh O'Donnell *the red* there), the following, according to Moryson and O'Sullivan, was the condition in which Hugh O'Neill held out, until his personal surrender on the

[l] A similar picture is given by Thierry, of the famine, and its attendant miseries, which the Norman Conquest spread through England; particularly in the north, where (as in Ireland) the best resistance was made by the natives. "La famine, comme une fidèle compagne de la conquête suivit leurs pas," says the historian, of the Norman forces: "dès l'année 1067, elle avait désolé quelques provinces, les seules qui alors eussent été envahies; mais en 1070, elle s'étendit sur l'Angleterre entière, et se montra dans toute son horreur sur les terres nouvellement conquises. Les habitants de la province d'York, et du territoire au nord d'York, après s'être nourris de la chair des chevaux morts, que l'armée normande abandonna sur les routes, mangèrent de la chair humaine. Plus de cent mille personnes de tout âge périrent de misère dans cette contrée. C'était un affreux spectacle, dit un vieil annaliste, 'que de voir sur les chemins, sur les places publiques, à la porte des maisons, les cadavres humains rongés de vers; car il ne restait personne pour les couvrir d'un peu de terre.' Cette détresse n'était que pour les indigènes, et le soldat étranger vivait dans l'abondance; il y avait pour lui, au sien de ses forteresses, de vastes amas de vivres et de blé, et on lui en envoyait d'outre-mer au prix de l'or enlevé aux Anglais. Bien plus, la famine l'aidait à dompter entièrement les vaincus, et souvent, pour les restes du repas d'un valet de l'armée normande, le Saxon, naguère illustre parmi les siens, maintenant flétri par la faim, venait se vendre, lui et toute sa famille, en servitude perpetuelle. L'acte de vente s'inscrivait sur les pages blanches de quelque missel, où l'on peut retrouver aujourd'hui à demi-effacés, et servant de thème à la sagacité des antiquaires, ces monuments des misères d'un autre âge."—(Histoire de la Conquête d'Angleterre par les Normands, par Augustin Thierry, livre iv. tome i. pp. 320-322: Bruxelles et Liege, 1841.)

[m] Counting from March 28th, 1602, to the corresponding period in 1603.

the 29th, and submission on the 30th, of March, 1603, to the English Lord Deputy Mountjoy, some days *after* the decease of the Queen, which took place the 24th.

Speaking of Hugh O'Neill's situation so far back as early in September, 1602, Moryson observes: "*Tyrone, Brian Mac Art, Mac Mahownd,* and *Cormack Mac Barron,* were fled into the bottome of a great Fastnesse towards the end of *Lough Erne,* whom his Lordship (Mountjoy) followed as farre as hee could possibly carry the Army, yet came not within twelue miles of them, besides, they had a way from thence into *Orurke's* Country (Leitrim), to which the Army could not passe." Then, amongst other matters, Moryson adds: "*Tyrone* and his abouenamed confederates were all poore, and all the Rebels following them were not aboue six hundred foote, and sixtie horse."

O'Sullivan's representation of O'Neill's position, under the circumstances above specified, is as follows: "Quadringentis tantum militibus stipatus in Conkeiniam densam vallem se abdit, ibiq; tutari conatur. Eius municipia ab hoste incendūtur, & segetes exciduntur, ducibus itinerū, & opē Anglo ferentibus Quinto & Hērico Onellis Iohānis principis filijs, quos Tironi multi sequebantur. Sulphur, & munitiones, quæ Patritius Odonilius firmo munimento & præsidio custodiebat, iumētis imposita ad regios defert. Hoc tēpore, anno iā millesimo sexcentesimo tertio Elizabetha Angliæ Regina ē vita discessit, á qua moriente Angliæ consilium facultatem percutiendi cum Onello fœderis impetrat. Et Onellus quidem &si hostem vallis aditu duplici prospera velitatione prohibuit, tamen consumptis facultatibus, munitionibusque amissis, vndique circumuentus, auxilij spe destitutus, & ignorans Reginam esse fato functam, pacis conditiones accipit."

According to the same writer, O'Neill was unlucky in more respects, than in not having known of Elizabeth's death on the 24th of March, 1603, when he surrendered himself on the 29th. "Rex Hispaniæ Philippus III. Martinum Cerdam (*D. Martin de la Cerda*) legatum cum duabus nauibus sulphuris & aliarum munitionum plenis & triginta millibus aureorum nummorum ad Onellum, & Rothericum (O'Donnell) mittit, qui si prius id subsidij accepissent, arma proculdubio non deposuissent, illis veró depositis, *Regis pecuniam & munitiones accipere noluerunt.*" This too late arrival of assistance (like that from France, at the end of the Williamite war, after the terms of the Treaty of Limerick had been agreed upon,[n]) may explain much of what Moryson relates of the effect of the news of Elizabeth's death on O'Neill, when he was told of it, *after* his surrender, by Lord Mountjoy; who, having been aware of the fact, was the more anxious to conclude the Irish war, by the submission of its leader. "I cannot," says Moryson, "omit to mention, that the Earle of *Tyrone,* vpon the first hearing the Lord Deputies relation of the Queenes death, could not containe himselfe from shedding of teares, in such quantity as it could not well be concealed, especially in him, vpon whose face all mens eyes were cast: himselfe was content to insinuate, that a tender sorrow for losse of his Soueraigne Mistresse, caused this passion in him." However, it is added, "there needed no *Oedipus* to find out the true cause of his teares: for no doubt, the most humble

[n] See Note 277.

humble submission he made to the Queene he had so highly and proudly offended much eclipsed the vaine glory his actions might haue carried, if he had held out till her death: besides that by his cōming in, as it were between two raignes, he lost a fair aduantage, for (by *Englands* Estate, for the present vnsetled) to haue subsisted longer in rebellion (if he had any such end) or at least an ample occasion of fastning great merit on the new King, if at first and with free will he had submitted to his mercy, which hee would haue pretended to doe, onely of an honourable affection to his new Prince, and many would in all likelihood haue beleeued so much, especially they to whom his present misery and ruined estate were not at all (or not fully) knowne."

"The charge of the Irish warres in the last yeere 1602, beginning the first of April, and ending the last of March, *besides concordatums, munition, and other extraordinaries,*" was, says the same official writer, "two hundred fourescore ten thousand seuen hundred thirtie three pound eight shillings nine pence halfe penny farthing halfe farthing." The "extraordinaries," or "contingencies," as Cox terms them, must have amounted to a very large sum, since he calculates them, under two previous years of the contest, at about £50,000 for each year. That sum, added to the main charge above-cited of the *last* year's expenditure for the war, would make it, exclusive of shillings, pence, and fractions, so high as £340,733; while, according to Dalrymple, the revenue of England, at this period, was not more than £450,000 a year[o]!

NOTE 79, Page 30.

Erroneous statements, as to the Chieftains of Ulster having fled to Rome in Queen Elizabeth's reign, and as to the Queen having colonized the possessions of the Ulster exiles with English and Scotch.

The text is wrong, in attributing to the reign of Elizabeth what did not occur until that of her successor, James I. The Ulster Chieftains, O'Neill of Tyrone, and O'Donnell of Tyrconnell, after their personal submission to Lord Mountjoy, and the issuing by him of a "Proclamation of a General Indemnity and Oblivion," assigning to every body, not actually attainted, his former possessions, and forbidding any private actions for what had taken place during the war, went, in the year 1603, to England, to present themselves at Court. There, they were most honourably received; O'Neill being acknowledged as Earl of Tyrone, and O'Donnell as Earl of Tyrconnell. The flight of those noblemen from Ireland to the Continent, the consequent confiscation, according to Cox, of 511,465 acres in Ulster by the Crown, and the great plantation of English and Scotch, but especially of the latter, in that Province, did not happen until 1607, and the subsequent years of James I.'s reign[p].

NOTE 80,

[o] Dr. O'Conor's Memoirs of Charles O'Conor of Belanagare, p. 121.— O'Sullivan Beare's Hist. Cāth. Ibern. Compend., pp. 180, 181, 199, 201.— Moryson's Rebellion of Hvgh Earle of Tyrone, &c., pp. 22, 113-115, 234, 236-238, 244, 250, 271, 272, 274, 277-279, 281-282, 298: folio edit.— Story's Continuation, &c., pp. 271-273. — Cox's Hibernia Anglicana, vol. i. pp. 416, 436, 446.— Dalrymple's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 7: London, 1790.

[p] Cox, Hibernia Anglicana, vol. ii. pp. 8-20.

Note 80, Page 31.

James I., after the example of Elizabeth, a persecutor of the Roman Catholic faith in Ireland, and consequent alienation from the English Government of its former supporters.

In the document entitled, "Ibernorum obtestatio non deserendi Catholicam fidem," presented to the Lord Deputy, Sir Arthur Chichester, by the Irish Roman Catholic Members of Parliament, in 1613, after a reference to what the Irish Roman Catholics had to suffer from the hostility to their religion in the reign of Elizabeth, and an *exposé* of the penalties inflicted by similar hostility under her successor, James I., it is observed, that such rigorous policy could have no other tendency than that, "veteres incolæ extinguantur, perdantur, deleantur: eorum facultates consumantur, frangantur immunitates, odium prouocetur, pariatur seditio, & regno denique excidium, & interitus efferatur."

In this state of persecution, O'Sullivan Beare adds, respecting the Irish Roman Catholic supporters of the English Government during the Elizabethean war, against their countrymen of the same religion, and more ancient race,—"Anglica Ibernorum factio, quod ipsa Fidei defensores, & libertatis assertores[q] impugnauerit, ignorantiam suam deplorat, seque diris imprecationibus execratur, impestiué tamen.

'Fronte capillata, post est occasio calua[r]'".

Note 81, Page 31.

James I. generally shows no greater partiality for the Irish than Elizabeth did, though he acknowledges his origin from them.

The descent of James I., from the ancient Irish Monarchs, is alluded to by the King *himself*, in his Speech to the Irish Agents at Whitehall, April 12th, 1614: "There is a double cause why I should be careful of the welfare of that (the Irish) people: first, as King of England, by reason of the long possession the Crown of England hath had in that land; and also as King of Scotland; for the ancient Kings of Scotland are descended from the Kings of Ireland[s]; so as I have an old title as King of Scotland, therefore you shall not doubt to be relieved when you complain, so as you will proceed without clamour"[t].

Note 82, Page 32.

Landing of James II. from France, in Ireland, March, 1689, &c.

"Le Comte de Tirconel, Vice-Roi d'Irlande," says the Duke of Berwick, "ayant rejetté les offres avantageuses qui lui avoient été faites par le Prince d'Orange, & ayant, par sa fermeté,

[q] Meaning O'Neill and O'Donnell.

[r] O'Sullivan Beare, Historiæ Catholicæ Iberniæ Compendium, pp. 223-224, 245-247.

[s] See Notes 8, 9, 10.

[t] Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica, vol. i. pp. 302, 311.

meté, conservé dans l'obéissance toute l'Irlande, à l'exception du Nord qui s'étoit déclaré pour la révolution, le Roi résolut de l'aller joindre, & de mener avec lui des Officiers Généraux François. M. de Rosen, Lieutenant Général, lui fut donné pour commander l'armée sous Tirconel; M. de Momont, Maréchal de Camp, pour servir de Lieutenant Général; & MM. de Pusignan & Lery, Brigadiers, pour être Maréchaux de Camp. Boisselau, Capitaine aux Gardes, fut envoyé pour être Major Général; & l'Estrade, Enseigne des Gardes-du-Corps, pour être Maréchal des Logis de la Cavalerie. Au mois de Février le Roi partit pour Brest, où il m'avoit déjà envoyé, & où le Roi Très Chrétien avoit fait équiper un escadre de trente vaisseaux de guerre, commandés par M. de Gabaret. Le Roi mit à la voile au premier bon vent; mais il fut obligé de rentrer dans le port, ayant été abordé & endommagé à la hauteur de Camaret, par un autre vaisseau de guerre." *Omen sinistrum!* See Note 32.

When the effects of this accident were repaired, James put to sea again, and, as we are informed in his Memoirs and Journal, landed March 12th, O. S. 1688-89, "at Kingsale, and was received with all imaginable joy by his Catholick subjects there." In the Journal, it is added: "His Majesty's first care was to have the money, arms, and ammunition, which he brought along with him from France, safely landed and secured in his Fort of Kinsale; and, because one part thereof was sent by Mr. de Louvois, and the other by Mr. Seignelay[u], his Majesty ordered one of his servants to receive that of Mr. de Louvois, and to deliver it to the Sieur de Pointis[v], that he might take care and give an account thereof; having, for that end, several Commissaries under him: all which was done, with great readiness and care, and in a few days.

"After this was done, his Majesty, calling into his Council[1] the Count d'Avaux, Embassador of France, and the Earl of Melford, caused himself to be informed, in their presence, of the posture of affairs in this Kingdom, by those of the country that were come to wait upon him at his landing; but chiefly by Sir Thomas Nugent, Lord Chief Justice of Ireland[w], and his Lieutenant General, the Lord Mount Cashell[x]. * * * * * His Majesty, applying himself after this to the forming of his army, gave orders to his Lieutenant General, the Lord Mount Cashell, to form seven Regiments of Foot, of the forces raised in those quarters, as also to arm the Regiment of Dragoons of Sir James Cottar, and to transport the rest of the armes to Dublin, with all speede"[y].

NOTE 83,

[u] The two principal Ministers of Louis XIV. Louvois was Minister of War, and Seignelay Minister of the Marine; the former the enemy, the latter the friend, of James.—(Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick, tome i. p. 74.—Memoirs of King James II. vol. ii. p. 409.)

[1] The chief Engineer afterwards to James's army at Derry. Of his intercepted dispatches to M. de Seigneley above mentioned, (in which the greatest complaints are made of the inadequacy of the means for the task assigned him), the writer of this note has abstracts, in his possession.

[w] Created Lord Riverston by James.

[x] Justin Mac Carthy.

[y] Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick, tome i. pp. 46-47: Paris, 1778.—Memoirs of James II., vol. ii. p. 327.—Macpherson's Orig. Papers, vol. i. pp. 175-177: Dublin, 1775.

NOTE 83, Page 32.

The Earl of Tirconnell, Viceroy of Ireland, and a body of the Nobility, meet King James near Cork, &c.

Cartwright, Bishop of Chester, who accompanied King James to Ireland, says in his journal, as referred to by Dr. Charles Leslie; "On Thursday the 14th of *March*, we came to *Cork*, and lodg'd at the Bishop's Palace, and I brought the Bishop and the Clergy to the King, who receiv'd them very kindly. Friday the 15th I went with the Bishop of *Cork* to the King's *Levee*, and tarried at Court till I saw the Rebels of *Bandon* at His Feet, and the *Minister* in an Elegant Speech begging their Pardon, which he granted them." The English copy of the royal journal observes: "His Majesty was no sooner arrived at Cork than he caused an exact view to be taken of the place, and finding it in a reasonable good condition, he gave orders for the strengthening the garrison, and the leaving some ammunition and fifty thousand livres there for the paying some small subsistence to the soldiers; of which there were a great many in that country. * * * * His Majesty having remained some days at Cork, the Earl of Tyrconnell came thither to wait upon him; and was immediately created Duke, in recompence of his great services, and successful endeavours towards the preservation of the kingdom of Ireland."

The following, according to the King, was the account given at Cork, by the Viceroy, of the circumstances under which he had preserved Ireland. The Duke said, "that he had sent down Lieftenant General Hamilton with about 2500 men, being as many as he could spare from Dublin, to make head against the Rebels in Ulster, who were masters of all that Province except Charlemont and Carricfergus; that most part of the Protestants in other partes of the Kingdom had been up, that in Munster they had possessed themselves of Castle Martir and Banden, but were forced to surrender both places and were totally reduced in those parts by Lieftenant General Macarty, and were in a manner totally suppress'd in the other two provinces; that the bare reputation of an army had done it, togather with the diligence of the Catholick Nobility and gentry, who had raised above fifty Regiments of foot and several troops of hors, and Dragoons, that he had distribited amongst them about 20,000 armes, but were most so old and unserviceable, that not aboue one thousand of the fire arms were found afterwards to be of any use; that the old troops consisting of one Battalion of Guards, togather with Macartys, Clencartys, and Newton's[z] Regiments, were pretty well armed, as also seaven Companys of Mountjoys which were with them, the other six haveing stayd in Derry with Coll: Lundy and Gus: Hamilton, the Lieftenant Coll: and Major of that Regiment; that he had three Regiments of Hors, Tyrconnell's, Russel's, and Galmoy's, and one of Dragoons; that the Catholicks of the Country had no arms whereas the Protestants had great plenty, and the best horses in the Kingdom; that for artillery he had but eight small field pieces in a condition to march, the rest not mounted, no stores in the magazines,

[z] This should be *Newcomen's*; i. e. Sir Thomas Newcomen of Moss Town, County Longford.

zines, little pouder and ball, all the Officers gon for England, and no mony in cash." The royal Memoirs observe: "This was the condition of Ireland at his Majestys landing, *there was a great deal of goodwill in the Kingdom but little means to execute it,* which made the P. of Orange slight it to that degree he did; but as soon as he heard of the King's being gone thither (who he immagin'd would not come unprovided with what they most wanted) was hugely surprized." See Note 48.

With the circumstances above mentioned as so adverse to the Irish Viceroy's support of King James's cause in Ireland, it should likewise be noted, that the best half of the Irish army, making, according to Harris, "near 4000 men," had been sent over, the previous autumn to England, to oppose the invasion, at that time menaced by the Prince of Orange; but being, in consequence of his success, detained there, were thus deprived of the power of rendering to James, in their native country, those services, which they would otherwise have rendered him[a].

Note 84, Page 32.

The King is escorted, amidst great popular rejoicing, to Dublin, and is received there with every manifestation of loyalty and splendour.

On the 20th of March, the King set out from Cork for the Irish metropolis. Of the general enthusiasm with which he was welcomed by the Irish, the Duke of Berwick, who was present, says: "Les peuples montrerent par-tout une joie extraordinaire." On the 24th of March, Palm Sunday, his Majesty entered Dublin. "His entry there," he informs us, "was accompanyed with all the markes of duty, honour, and affection immaginable; the streets were lined with Soldiers, and hung with tapestry, evened with gravel, and strowne with flowers and greens, the appearance of the Majestrates, Nobility, gentry, Judges, and of all ranks of people, was sutable to the most solemn cerimony of that kind, and performed with the greatest order, and decency immaginable: the King rideing on horse back was more discernable to the people whose lowd and joyfull acclamations made him some sort of recompence for the indignities he had suffer'd from his other subjects"[b].

Note 85, Page 53.

Misstatement respecting Derry, and general view of the King's military affairs in Ireland, at, and for some time after, his arrival in Dublin.

That, at the period of the King's entry into Dublin, Derry was besieged by any forces which Tyrconnell had despatched under Lieutenant-General Richard Hamilton against the place

[a] Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 327-328.—Harris's Life of King William III., pp. 141, 186, 195.—The Rawdon Papers, p. 296: London, 1819.—Leslie's Answer to King, p. 111.—King's State of the Protestants of Ireland, Appendix, No. 19.—Macpherson's Original Papers, vol. i. pp. 177-178.

[b] Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 329-330.—Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick, tome i. p. 47.

place *before* the King's arrival, is *not* the fact. What James says of himself, in reference to the state of affairs in Ulster, on his coming to Dublin, is as follows: "As soon as he arrived at the Castle he met with an account from Lieftenant General Hamilton, of his haveing beat a great body of the Rebells at Drummore, that he had forced them as far as Colrain, and to the other side of the Ban, and had advanced as far as that Towne, but found the Enemy so numerous and so well intrenched in it, that he durst not attack them, and therefore desired more troops might be given him to driue them from that River." Whereupon, in the royal council held at the Castle, consisting of the King, the French Ambassador, or Count d'Avaux, the Duke of Tyrconnell, and the Earl of Melfort, it was debated "what troops should be sent to strengthen the camp of Hamilton, who," observes the Jacobite journal, "was not strong enough to take Coleraine, much less to attack Derry." The defeat by Hamilton of the "great body of the Rebells" above mentioned, at what they called "The *Break* of *Drummore*," which, says Story, is "a Word common amongst the *Irish Scots* for a Rout," occurred on the 14th of March. James's army did not beat the last force with which the northern Williamites attempted to keep the field, until the 15th of April, at Strabane, Clady-ford, &c. The King did not summon and come before Derry, till the 17th and 18th. Enniskillen, after the declaration for the Revolution there in December, 1688, was never in the King's possession. Ballyshannon, too, remained in the hands of the Revolutionists[c].

Note 86, Page 33.

James, notwithstanding the badness of the weather, hastens from Dublin towards Derry, to protect his Protestant subjects, against the revenge of the Roman Catholics in the North, &c.

The King, though he praises the conduct of the Lord Deputy, Tyrconnell, as having done a "thing very necessary for the safety of Ireland, by disarming the Protestants and seizing their horses," adds, "but that too brought inconveniences along with it, and caused so great disorder, that every Catholique thought himself entitled to pillage the Protestants, and render back to them the same usage they had before received at their hands." While such, previous to the King's arrival in Ireland, was the state of the Irish Protestants in the three Provinces of Ireland, that, as containing a population, the great majority of whom were Roman Catholics, had declared against the Revolution, the following, according to Dr. Charles Leslie, was the condition of the Roman Catholics in Ulster, where the Protestants, who were the stronger party, had formed armed "Associations" in favour of the Prince of Orange: "The *Irish*

[c] Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 330-331, &c.—Macpherson's Original Papers, vol. i. pp. 178-179, 184, 185-188.—Story's Impartial History, p. 4.—Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick, tome i. pp. 48-51.—Hamilton's Actions of the Iniskilling-Men, pp. 17, 19, 20, 24, 25, 28, 29, 31, 33, 34, 46, 48, &c.—Harris's Life of William III., pp. 193, 196-197, 199, 200-204, 213-225, &c.

Irish there," says Leslie, "were in mortal Fear of the *Protestants*, and commonly durst not sleepe in their Houses, but lay abroad in the Fields least they should fall upon them: No *Irish* were suffered to live in the Country who did not take out Protections from such of the *Protestant* Gentry as were allowed by the *Associators* to grant such Protections: Nor durst they Travel from their own Houses without Passes. The *Protestants* made them contribute equally, *at least*, with themselves in all their new Levies, and forced them to work upon their new Fortifications, at their Pleasure, which they did without grudging, and any thing to please those who were absolutely their Masters, and in whose Hands they reckoned their Lives to lye every Moment; and many Insults and Threatnings they bore from the Commonality of the *Protestants*, who made full Use of their finding themselves at Liberty from all Government, and to domineere over those who were intirely at their Mercy." The Doctor, elsewhere, speaking of this part of Ireland, "where the *Protestants* were many more in Number, and all up in Arms," adds, that this they "chiefly pretended to be in Odium to the *Irish Papists*, whom they called *Bloody Dogs*, *Inhumane Murtherers*, *Cut-throats*, &c., and *Remember* 41, which was the usual Salutation they gave them."

With respect to James's efforts for the protection of his Protestant subjects in the North, the same authority, writing in 1692 (the year after the conclusion of the War of the Revolution in Ireland), says: "As many Protestants as staid at Home, and trusted themselves to King *James's* Protection, preserved their Goods and Improvements, and live now plentifully; while those that fled from him lost what they had, and smart now severely under these Necessities, which their Neighbours escaped, who either would not, or could not, fly from the Mercy of their Natural Sovereign. * * * * The Irish *Protestants* who staid in *Ireland* while King *James* was there, will attest the Truth of what I have said. I appeal to *Thomas Pottinger* Esq; who was then *Sovereign* of *Belfast*, the greatest Town of Trade in the *North* of *Ireland*, whether upon his Application to King *James*, his Majesty did not give him Protection after Protection for *Belfast* and the Country about? And whether such Protections were not made good to them by King *James's* Officers? and where any of the Irish offered to transgress against the said Protections, they were not severely punished, upon the first Application to the King, or those commanding under him.

"This is likewise attested by Colonel *John Hill*, present Governor of *Fort-William* at *Innerlochy* in *Scotland*, but living at that time in *Belfast*, in his Letter from *Belfast* to the Sovereign of *Belfast*, then in *Dublin*, (inserted No. 25, *Appendix*), and which Letter he desires the Sovereign to shew to none, and therefore spoke his Mind in it, and not to flatter the Government. There he tells how well *Grievances were redressed*, and King James's Army *kept to strict Discipline.*

"I demand further, Whether the same Mr. *Pottinger* did not, upon his Application to King *James*, obtain leave for the Merchants of *Belfast*, and of the Country about, to return from *Scotland*, and other Places whither they had fled, even after the Time limited by His Majesties Proclamation for their Return? And whether, upon a second Application to His Majesty, and representing that there was an Embargo on the *Scots* side, King *James* did not grant them Time

Time to return, without stinting them to any Day, while any reasonable Excuse could be made for their Delay.

"And whether he (the said Mr. *Pottinger*) did not send Notice of this to the *Belfast* Merchants, and others then in *Scotland?* And though few or none of them came over till after *Schomberg* landed in Ireland with the *English* Army in August, 89; yet whether their Goods were not preserved for them all that Time by King *James's* Order, still expecting their Return? And whether they did not accordingly find their Goods at their Return?"

The same authority, besides the instances he gives on the part of King James's Lieutenant-General, Hamilton, and other Irish Officers, to protect the Protestants of the North as far as possible, mentions this further precaution of Hamilton, to prevent disorders by the armed Irish peasantry, or Rapparees. After his defeat of the Protestant Revolutionists at Dromore, March 14th, 1688-89, "Lieutenant General *Hamilton*," says Leslie, "willing to protect the Protestants, as well as others, who would live quietly; and having granted his Protection to *Belfast* and other Places, as before is told, and keeping his Soldiers under strict Discipline; yet found the Country molested with Irish *Rapperees*, or *Half-pike-men*, as they called them; whom, when his repeated Orders and Proclamations could not reclaim, and *Soldiers* were not in all Places at hand to defend the Country from them, and the Country were afraid to fall upon them without Order, lest it might be construed a Taking Arms against the King; the Lieutenant-General, for the greater Security of the Country, gave Orders to the Country to seize any such *Rapperees*, who had no Commission, and to commit them to the next Gaol; and, if they made Resistance, to kill them."

Dr. Leslie observes on this head, in connexion with the miserable condition of Ireland, after the revolutionary war,—"Had the Protestant Officers of King *William's* Army been as careful of their *Fellow Protestants* in that Country, Ireland had not been that Wilderness and Desolation which we see it at this Day. It," he continues, "is just and commendable to give our Enemies their Due, and not to conceal or lessen what they do worthily, because they are our Enemies. Many of the *Irish Officers* were kind to the *Protestants*, not only in making good their Protections to them, but even where they had no Protections, and were perfectly at their Mercy. I could give," he concludes, "many Instances which I have heard from the Mouths of Protestant Gentlemen and Ladies, who remained in *Ireland* while King *James* was there, of the great Civility of several of the *Irish Officers* to them"[d].

Note 87, Page 33.

The King, instead of meeting with submission at Derry, is fired at from the place.

According to the Rev. John Mackenzie, Presbyterian Chaplain to a Regiment of the garrison of Derry during the siege, a negociation about the surrender of the town had been going on with Governor Lundie and the City Council, from the 17th of April. On the 18th,

[d] Macpherson's Original Papers, vol. i. p. 177.—Leslie's Answer to King, pp. 83-85, 147-150, 154-160.

18th, "the *Irish* Army came," says the same authority, "to the Strand above the *Windmill*, at the South End of Derry hill, and there stop'd, waiting what Answer or Salutation the City would give them. The Council had in the mean time given strict Orders that none offer to fire from the Walls on severe Penalties, and some were sent about the Walls to give Intimation of it. . . . . But our Men on the Walls paid so little Deference to either them or their Orders, and so little regarded the secret Treaties they were managing with the Enemy, that when King *James's* Forces were advancing towards them on the *Strand*, they presently fired their great Guns at them, and (as was confidently reported) killed one Captain *Troy*, near the King's Person. This unexpected Salutation not only struck a strange Terror into the *Irish* Camp, but put the King himself into some Disorder, to find himself so roughly and unmannerly treated by those, from whom he expected to find so dutiful a Compliance. And those who had encouraged him to try an Experiment that proved so dangerous, thought themselves concern'd to make some Apology for it. The Council therefore resolved to send *Arch-deacon Hamilton* to the King, to excuse themselves for what had pass'd, and lay all the Blame of it on the Ungovernableness of the People, whose violent Humour, they said they could not restrain, while his Army continued there, and therefore begg'd his Patience, till the present Tumult was over: And because some of the Council, as well as others, could hardly believe that King *James* was really there, Captain *White* was sent with the Arch-deacon (having often seen the King) to put them out of all Doubt about it. Captain *White* returned to them with Assurance of it, but Archdeacon *Hamilton* took Protection (that Summer he sickned and died.) But King *James's* being there, was an Argument that had little Force on our Men on the Walls, who were resolv'd to defend the Protestant Religion and King *William's* Interest, against him and his Army to the utmost." Mackenzie then relates how a Captain Murray, who commanded a considerable party of troops, having entered the town, and created an insurrection against the Governor Lundie and the City Council, caused measures to be taken for holding out, instead of giving up, the place.

The Jacobite journal, in its account of the posture of affairs between the King's army and the garrison, after mentioning that an answer was expected in an hour's time from the town, says: "Every one was surprised to see that in a little time, that answer was nothing else than cannon and musquet shots from every side. This continued the rest of the day, and there were some soldiers killed. In the mean time, several came out of the town that assured his Majesty, that this only proceeded from the rabble, who being drunk had seized upon the cannon and fired without order from any people of authority in the town; that the better sort were generally resolved to surrender, and did all they could to persuade the common people to the same. His Majesty," continues the journal, in reference to the King having been requested by his General Officers to return from Charlemont on his way to Dublin, owing to the influence which they thought his presence before Derry would have, to bring about the surrender of the place,—"his Majesty, who had eat nothing all day, had the patience, notwithstanding the fatigue of the two preceding days, to remain on horseback until the evening, exposed to cannon, and under heavy and incessant rain, waiting for the effects of the

the assurances which had been given him, and endeavouring to bring these unhappy rebels to a sense of their duty, with a singular and unwearied benignity and forbearance."

The journal then informs us, how the King, in this state of things, and "on account of the bad weather," drew off his harassed troops to quarters[e].

Note 88, Page 34.

James, returning from Derry to Dublin, assembles the Irish Parliament there. His reasons for doing so.

The King, on the 25th of March, the day after his arrival in Dublin, summoned the Irish Parliament to meet on the 7th of May, "afin," says the Duke of Berwick, "de trouver les fonds pour la guerre." When, also, according to the Jacobite journal, "the King consulted with his General Officers at Dublin about the siege of Derry in case Coleraine should be taken, it was proposed to prepare store of tools and other things necessary for a siege. Upon which his Majesty caused his magazines to be looked into. But, instead of finding things necessary, as he expected, he was informed by the Earl of Melfort, who had visited the said magazines by his order, that there was nothing at all of what was required, nor even anything that looked like a magazine," &c. After the overthrow of the last Williamite force that attempted to cover Derry on the 15th of April, the same authority mentions, that "his Majesty judging by this manner of proceeding of the enemies that they reserved all their efforts for the defending of Derry, and seeing the necessity there was, to provide things necessary for the siege, as also to reinforce his army, resolved to return to Dublin." Finally, when, in consequence of the representations of his Generals, that his presence before Derry would lead to its surrender, the King acted (though without success) on that representation, the royal Memoirs allege of his Majesty, and of his two Officers, De Rosen and de Lery,—"at a Council of War, it was resolved they should go back to Dublin to prepare all things for the Parliament's meeting, and to hasten more troops to reinforce the army there"—that is, at Derry. And, according to the royal journal, the King's return to Dublin, for the purpose of pushing forward the military preparations, was the more requisite, since, upon his return there, on the 26th of April, he found "the arms not arrived from Cork, Kinsale, or Waterford;" that "in the arsenal nothing had been done for preparing of tools, which obliged him to renew his orders on those two heads;" and, as to the "new levies," that "those new levies, when looked into, were found to be *only regiments in name,* and *not formed or fit for service.*" To these weighty reasons, as well as others, for the royal presence in Dublin, if we add the important circumstance of the Repeal of the Act of Settlement, and the preparation of the Act of Attainder, to affect such a large portion of the landed property of the kingdom, being then in contemplation, and respecting which the King should be with his Law Officers

[e] Mackenzie's Narrative of the Siege of Londonderry, pp. 26-31: London, 1690. — Macpherson's Original Papers, vol. i. pp. 186-188: Dublin, 1775.

Officers and Parliament in the capital, it will be evident, that his conduct, in returning from Derry to Dublin, is *not* to be judged of *merely* by Colonel O'Kelly's observations upon it.

As to those "consultations" or debates of the Irish Parliament, which the Colonel styles "vain," the King, observing in his Memoirs, that "the affairs of Ireland, both civil and military, ... had they been better managed, might have had a better fate," adds: "But the Irish by reckoning themselves sure of their game, when in reality they had the wors of it, thought of nothing but settling themselves in richess and plenty, by breakeing the Act of Settlement[f]; and by that means rais new enimys, before they were secure of mastering those, they had already on their hands." As to the Colonel's assertion, that the King or the Parliament "spent in vain Consultations the *whole* summer Season," it is *not* the fact; the King having prorogued the Parliament on the 18th of July, or when not a third of the summer was elapsed; reckoning that season, as commencing on the 21st of June, and ending on the 21st of September[g].

Note 89, Page 34.

The King accused of being averse to repeal the unjust legislation under Charles II., according to which the lands of the Irish royalists, seized by the English Cromwellian rebels, were confirmed to those rebels.

It has been shown in Note 47, from the statement of the French Ambassador, Barillon, that long before James came to Ireland, he *was* disinclined to let the Act of Settlement stand. Of the opposition made to the proposed Repeal of that Act in the Irish Parliament, the following account is given in the royal Memoirs:

"The Bishop of Meath made a long and elaborate speech against it," that is, against the Repeal of the Act, "contending it was both unjust in itself, [and] prejudiciall to the King and Kingdom's intrest, he thought it dangerous, he sayd, to unsettle a former foundation on which the publick peace relyd, and erect a new one which must needs be of dubious success; he did not contest, he sayd, the right of the old proprietors, but supposed that the present possessors had a better; that the former had only an equitable pretention, the latter both law and equity by means of two Acts of Parliament, the King's letters patent, and their purchasmony, he thought the reprizal offer'd no way eqivalent, as being in many cases but for life in lue of an estate of inheritance; it was, he Sayd, against his Majestys honour to rescind so many Acts of the Kings, his Father and Brother, and his own promis not to consent to it; that it was against his profit to destroy the richest Subjects, who payd the greatest part of the revenue, which the old proprietors being poor would not be able of a long time to answer, that it

[f] Compare, however, Notes 23, 27, 28, 33, 47, with the two following ones, or 89 and 90.

[g] The Life of James II., late King of England, pp. 284, 287, 300-344: 3rd edit. London, 1705.—MS. Copies of the Proclamations of King James's Government in Ireland. — Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick, tome i. p. 47.—Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 330-335, 354-361.—Macpherson's Original Papers, vol. i. pp. 179-180, 184, 190, 192, 214.

it would ruin his Majestys reputation with his Protestant Subjects of England and Scotland, that it would ruin the trade by a removeall of Protestant Merchants efects, and destroy the publick faith, on which no one would dare to rely, if Acts of Parliament be no security; it was inconveniant, he Sayd, in point of time, as not being seasonable to look after vineards when civil war was rageing in the Nation, and when an invasion threaten'd it; it was like divideing the skin before the beast was catch'd, that it would draw men from his Majestys service, whose eyes and hearts would be more upon their own concerns, than the King's business; and concludes, that in case there was a Rebellion in King Charles the first's time (which he sayd he owned in his Eikon Basiliké), and Signed the Act for securing the Adventurer's mony for suppressing it, then he thought some discrimination ought to be made betwixt the guilty and inocent, but that the bill made no distinction at all.

"The Lord Chief justice Keating to back this, drew up a long adress to the King, to the same purpose, enlargeing upon all the hardshipps, inconveniencies, and distractions it would bring along with it, that it would be the ruin of trade and future improvements, when the foundation of the general settlement was once undone, and that Act render'd void *ex post facto*, which was good security when the purchass was made, that the Catholick purchassors would suffer with others; wherefore he beg'd that some composition might be thought of, by prescribeing more moderate ways than by depriveing so many persons of their all, wh they had legally and industriously acquired, and that a Committee of both Houses might be appointed to enquire, whether some medium could not be found out, to accommodate as near as possible, both the Purchassers and old Proprietors.

"It is certayne," observe the royal Memoirs, "that many of the wise and judicious Catholicks thought such an accommodation very practicable; that the great improuements had so enhaunced the value of most estates, as would allow the old Proprietors a share of equal income to what their Ancestors lost, and yet leave a competency for the Purchassers, who might reasonably be allowed the benifit of their own labours; and in such turbulent times and difficult circumstances, it was just that all pretenders should recede (in some degree) from the full of their pretentions for the accommodation of the whole; no side being so apt to grumble, when all men share in the burthen, especially it being of that consequence to prevent an universal discontent, both for the King's present necessitys, the publick quiet and general safety of the people.

"There is no doubt but the King's inclinations were the same; he saw the distraction it would breed, how it would inflame the Protestants, and rob him of his most serviceable Catholicks, ruin the trade, and sink the revenue, but he cast not his own intrest into the ballance, he sought to do what he conceiu'd most just, and in order to it informed himself the best he could what were their reasons and arguments, to get a true notion of the pretensions on both sides"[h].

NOTE 90,

[h] Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 356-359.

NOTE 90, Pages 34, 35.

Much doubt entertained, as to whether, but for the interposition of Louis XIV.'s Ambassador, the Comte d'Avaux, James would restore the Irish royalists their ancient inheritances, lost in his father's and brother's service, though the English proprietors, to whom those inheritances had been transferred, were then in open war against him.

The royal Memoirs thus state the arguments adduced by the representatives of the dispossessed Irish, in favour of their restoration to their properties, through a Repeal of the Act of Settlement, to which measure the King finally agreed.

"It was represented therefore to him on the other hand, what unjust grounds that Act of Settlement was founded upon, that thō there might have been disorders in the begining of those troubles in Ireland, the greatest part soon came to their duty, and were fellow sufferers with the King, both at home while the war lasted, and abroad during his banishment, where they fought his battles and supported his credit; that in consideration of this, King Charles the 2d during his exile, by way of publick treaty or accommodation, acquited them of all clames or forfeitures on that score; to which the most Christian King [Louis XIV.] was himself a witness, if not a Guarrantee, insomuch that when King Charles the 2d passed the Act of Settlement, that Prince expostulated with him by a letter (now published to the world) [for] his recedeing from so solemn an engagement; that when the Act was made, there was not time given for heareing, examining, and delivering in the clames, whereby many inocent persons were foreclosed without being heard; that thō the Purchasers had a right, it was posterior to the antient Proprietors, and that in all clames antiquity takes place; besides that the very first adventerers who certainely had the best title by vertue of the Acts 17° and 18° Car: 1: in justice and equity had very little; being the mony which was advanced by them, under that pretence, was realy employd in raiseing forces in England to fight against the King, and that with the consent of the adventerers themselves as was objected against them at the Treaty of Vxbridg, that others afterwards advanced their mony only upon votes and ordinances of the Rebellious Parliament; that the hardships done to the Irish in the whole proceeding had been barberous and unhumain, that in the qualifications required to be esteem'd inocent, any one who had enjoyd his estate in the enimys quarters, thō he had no ways been aiding to them, was excluded; so that those who lived quietly were in reality postponed to the rankest Rebells, for it was such as was then the Possessors; that the clames of several thousands were never heard, and then by an Act of explanation debar'd; and at last to disapoint others, who in spight of all the rigours had made out their inocency, or by their signal service abroad had merited justice at least, they were not to be put in possession, till the present Possessors were reprized out of lands of equal value, worth and purchass, which the late King Charles was made to believe might be easily found, but in reality never was: or at least such lands as might have been so disposed of, the great men, as My Lord of Ormonde, Anglesey, Coot, Kingston, &c.[1], surreptitiously

[1] At Note 27, however, it has been shown, what a large share (here slipped over by an "&c.") James *himself*, as Duke of York, is stated to have had, of the landed spoils of the Irish, after the Res-

titiously got grants of; so that nothing being left to reprize the Cromwelians, very few or none of the old Proprietors were restored: in fine, those crying unjustices in the origin were so fully represented to the King, and he at the same time as good as tould underhand, that if he consented not to it, the whole Nation would abandon him, there was a sort of necessity of contenting them, but at the same time for the quiet of his Conscience, and to keep cleer from all apearance of unjustice under so harsh an alternatiue, his Majesty consider'd the prospect he had of reprizeing the Purchasers out of the present forfeitures; for in the first place the greatest number of them were in actual rebellion, and their clames extinguished by it, and such as were not, the forfeitures of others might be sufficient to compensate, and accordingly an Act of Attainder was passed against all such as were in actuall Rebellion, or had withdrawn themselves out of the Kingdom, unless they return to their Country and duty in a certain time prefixed, to surrender themseves: so that having well weighed the reasons on all sides, the necessity on one hand, of not disgusting his Irish Subjects on whom he wholy depended, and the prospect he had on the other hand of recompensing any one who suffer'd undeservedly, determin'd his Majesty at last to give his Royal assent, thō he saw plainly it was hugely prejudicial to his intrest.

"But this was not the only instance of his Majestys readyness, to sacrifice his intrest to the public Satisfaction, for he agreed also to his being foreclosed in the Act of Attainder from the power of pardoning those comprized in it"[j].

Note 91, Page 35.

The King said to have avoided re-establishing the Roman Catholic worship in Ireland, through the advice of his favourites, for fear of dissatisfying his Protestant subjects in England, who, he was persuaded, would, by such moderation on his part, be induced to recal him to his throne there.

James, who, on one hand, was thus accused of not doing *enough* in favour of the Irish Roman Catholics and their religion, is, on the other hand, censured for doing *too much*, in favour of the members of that faith, at the expense of the Irish Protestant Church, and its clergy, as

toration. On this point, it may be remarked, how "King James," as the MS. Case of the Roman Catholicks of Ireland, p. 124, observes, "was driven (*en digitus Dei!*) to seek Sanctuary from that very Nation, that had been so injuriously treated by the Throne, and so shamefully suffer'd to be trampled upon." And hence, too, we find, that, by the provisions of the Irish Parliament for the reversal of the Act of Settlement, this grant of Irish lands which had been made to James, as Duke of York, was to be resumed, and an equivalent given to his Majesty, from the properties of those regarded as guilty of "treason" and "rebellion" for adhering to the Prince of Orange. "Rex," says Dr. de Burgo, "eas Possessiones, quas in *Hibernia*, dùm Dux esset *Eboracensis* (vulgò *York*) habuit, restituet, & vicissìm, in Recompensationem, habebit in Domino suo ea fugitivorum Rebellium Bona, quæ Regio jam adjudicata sunt Fisco." — (Hibernia Dominicana, cap. vii. p. 143.)

[j] On which circumstance, it may be noted, that his Majesty was only incapacitated, by the Irish

as well as the Irish Protestants in general. The Rev. Andrew Hamilton, Protestant Rector of Kilskerrie, and one of the Prebendaries of the Diocese of Clogher, in 1690, says:—" All our Bishoprics and Livings that fell in the King's Gift, were kept vacant, and the Revenues given to the Popish Clergy. Their Bishops kept public Visitations in the vacant Dioceses, and assumed even the Title; one of whom was made Secretary of State, and signed himself by the Name of his Bishopric in all his Warrants and Dispatches, that none might plead Ignorance of the King's Intentions towards us. And we were told by some in the highest Place, That the King would fill no Protestant Vacancies in the Church, so that we saw great Part of our Churches in their Possession, and Nothing interpose, but the Lives of a very few (and most of them) old Men, to leave us not one Protestant Bishop in the Kingdom. And for our Civil Rights, our Judges, Justices of the Peace, Sheriffs, and even Constables, were for the most Part made of Papists: And the Act of Settlement was then doomed in every Coffee-house to the same Condemnation under which it has fallen since. And the Army being entirely in those worst of Popish Hands, the most barbarous Irish who had thrown off Humanity it self, our Prospect was all black and dismal." See, however, Note 86.

Of King James's kindness to the Irish Roman Catholic clergy, there are various proofs, in the official correspondence in the State Paper Office, London. The Earl of Sunderland, writing from Whitehall, as principal Secretary of State, to the Earl of Clarendon, as Viceroy of Ireland, March 20th, 168⅝, says: " My Lord, Doctor Dominick Maguire, the Roman Catholick Archbishop and Primate of Armagh, being now going for Ireland, his Majesty commands me to recommend to your Excellency the said Archbishop, and also Doctor Patrick Tyrrell, Bishop of Clogher and Kilmore, and the rest of their brethren, the Archbishops and Bishops of the Roman Catholick communion in Ireland, *for your patronage and protection upon all occasions, wherein they shall apply unto you, or stand in need thereof.* . . . . His Majesty would likewise have your Excellency recommend it to the Archbishops, Bishops, Sheriffs, and Justices of the Peace there, not to molest the Roman Catholick clergy, in the exercise of their ecclesiasticall functions, amongst those of their own communion." James himself, in a letter, dated from Whitehall, two days after, or on the 22nd of March, 168⅝, and inscribed " To the Most Reverend Father in God, Dominick" [Maguire] " Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of our Kingdom of Ireland," grants yearly pensions to the Archbishop and others of his clerical brethren. The letter of his Majesty, after reciting, how he had directed certain sums of money to be issued to the Archbishop, from time to time, out of the treasure remaining in the Exchequer of the Kingdom of Ireland, adds: " Our will and pleasure is, and we do hereby authorise you to retaine, for your owne use, out of the said moneys so to be received by you, £300 per annum; and that you pay, or cause to be paid, to Patrick Russell[k] £200 per annum; to

Roman Catholic Parliament, from pardoning those whom it called rebels, just as his father, King Charles I., had in 1641-2 been incapacitated, by the English Puritan Parliament, from pardoning those, to whom that body gave a similar designation. See Notes 23-28. — (Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 359-361.)

[k] Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin.

to John Brenan[l], £200 per annum; to Patrick Tyrell[m], £200 per annum; to Dominick Bourke[n], £150 per annum; to John Mollony[o], £150 per annum; to James Felan[p], £150 per annum; to Edward Weasly[q], £150 per annum; and to Alexius Stafford[r], £40 per annum; the said respective payments," says the royal letter, "to be received as of our free gift, and to commence from the Feast of St. Michael the Archangell *last past;* and to continue for and during our pleasure." And the Earl of Sunderland, writing to the Lord Deputy of Ireland from Whitehall, February 4th, 168⁶⁄₇, says, in reference to these pensions, that the King, "being informed the Receiver Generall for Ireland demands poundage for the pensions payable to the Lord Primate and other the Catholick Bishops there, his Majesty thinks not fit to allow the same, and therefore would have you give order to the said Receiver, *not to demand or take any poundage, for the payment of the said pensions.*"

With respect to James's conduct to the Irish Roman Catholics in general, his promotion of them, in *every* way, appears, from the above-cited official correspondence as well as from other sources of information, to have been such, that *they,* above all others, had NO right to complain of the King; particularly under the very delicate circumstances in which he was placed. Dr. Charles Leslie, in speaking of the Irish, says: "It was chiefly upon their Account, by shewing Favour to *them,* that K. J. brought upon himself all his Misfortunes. Putting *them* into Power, and displacing *Protestants* to make Room for *them,* made more Noise, and rais'd K. J. more Enemies, than all the other Male-administrations, charg'd upon his Government put together"[s].

NOTE 92, Pages 35–36.

James censured, for excluding the Roman Catholic Prelates from the Irish Parliament, and allowing the Protestant Bishops, who remained in Ireland, to take their seats in that assembly.

In the contemporary English account of the Parliament held by James II. in Ireland, we find "no Popish Bishops summoned." The Protestant Bishops mentioned as attending were "Doctor Anthony Dobbing, (or Dopping,) Lord Bishop of Meath—Dr. Thomas Ottaway, (or Otway,) Lord Bishop of Ossory—Doctor Edward Wettenhall, Lord Bishop of Cork and Ross—and Doctor Symon Digby, Lord Bishop of Lymerick." However, two more of the Protestant Prelacy of Ireland acted in this Parliament by their respective proxies; the Bishop of Meath holding that of the Primate, and the Bishop of Ossory that of the Bishop of Waterford[t].

NOTE 93,

[l] ——————?

[m] Roman Cath. Bishop of Clogher and Kilmore.

[n] Roman Catholic Bishop of Elphin.

[o] Roman Catholic Bishop of Cork.

[p] Roman Catholic Bishop of Ossory.

[q] Roman Catholic Bishop of Kildare.

[r] See Note 239.

[s] Hamilton's Actions of the Inniskilling-Men, dedication, pp. iii.-iv.: London, 1690.—Copy of Official Correspondence in State Paper Office, London.—Notes 35-47.—Leslie's Answer to King, pp. 125-126.

[t] A Journal of the Proceedings of the Parliament in Ireland, &c., pp. 3, 4, 9: London, 1689.—

NOTE 93, Page 36.

The King's conduct arraigned in Ireland, as that of a Roman Catholic in religion, and a Protestant in politics.

Dr. Charles Leslie, touching this accusation brought by the Irish against King James, says: "Some of them moving to him for Leave to cut off the Protestants, which he return'd with Indignation and Amazement, saying, *What, Gentlemen, are you for another Forty-One?* Which so gall'd them, that they ever after look'd upon him with a jealous Eye, and thought him, thô a *Roman Catholick*, too much an *English-man* to carry on their Business. And I am told," adds the Doctor, "by Persons come from thence, That the Generality of the *Irish Papists* do at this Day lay all their Misfortunes upon K. J., because he would not follow their Measures, and was so inclinable to favour the *Protestants*"[u].

NOTE 94, Page 36.

Lord Mountcashel dispatched by King James, with a considerable force, into Ulster, to reduce the rebels of Enniskillen.

King James, having mentioned how "Inneskilling had follow'd the example of Derry and refused the favorable offers My Lord Galmoy by the Kings apointment had made them," and how "thō the Duke of Berwick during the Siege of Derry had defeated a considerable body of the Inneskillengers, it made no impression upon their stubborn temper, or slacken'd their resolution of houlding out," adds: "So My Lord Montcassel was sent against them with three whole regiments of foot, two of Dragoons and some hors, *being* ALL *the troops the King could draw togather at that time.*" The Jacobite journal mentions, that Lord Mountcashel was dispatched against Inniskillin on the 20th of July, and that, by the 27th, he "assembled his troops at Belturbet, to the number of 3600 men"[v].

NOTE 95, Page 36.

Lord Mountcashel, by title, a Peer of Ireland, and, by lineage, descended from the old Kings of Munster, &c.

"Si on a égard à la primogeniture & au droit de l'aînesse," says the Abbé Mac Geoghegan, "la Maison des Mac-Cartys est censée la premiere Maison d'Irlande. Elle descend en ligne directe de Heber, fils de Milesius, & l'aîné des freres qui firent ensemble la conquête de

A True Account of the Present State of Ireland by a Person that with Great Difficulty left Dublin, June 8th, 1689, pp. 19, 22: London, 1689.

[u] Leslie's Answer to King, p. 125.

[v] Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. p. 368.—Macpherson's Original Papers, vol. i. p. 219.

de cette Isle, quelque siécles avant l'Ere Chrétienne. Les descendans de Heber furent Princes héréditaires de la Momonie; ils donnerent plusieurs Monarques à l'Irlande, jusqu'à ce que le sceptre suprême fut fixé dans la Maison de Heremon, au quatriéme siécle, par Niall Noygiollach." See Note 57, p. 232.

"Oilioll-Olum Roi de la Momonie au deuxiéme [*troisiéme*] siécle, fut la souche des Mac-Cartys par Eogan-More son fils aîné. Les aînés des Mac-Cartys furent Rois de Cork & de Kerry, jusqu'à l'arrivée des Anglois en Irlande au douziéme siécle. Cette illustre Tribu forma trois Maisons principales, sçavoir, celle de Mac-Carty More, celle de Muskerry, & celle de Carbry, qui fut branche de la derniere.

"A l'avénement de Charles II. à la Couronne, Donogh Mac-Carty étoit Chef & Vicomte de Muskerry; il avoit suivi le Roi dans son exil à la tête d'un Régiment Irlandois, il fut créé ensuite Comte de Clancarty par ce Prince." See Note 20, p. 182. "Donogh avoit épousé la sœur du Duc d'Ormond; il eut de ce mariage trois fils, sçavoir, Charles Lord Muskerry qui fut tué à côté du Duc d'York, dans un combat naval contre les Hollandois[w]: Callaghan second fils de Donogh, devint Comte de Clancarty; il épousa la fille du Comte de Kildare. JUSTIN *troisieme fils de Donogh fut créé* VICOMTE DE MONTCASHEL, il fut marié avec la fille du fâmeux Comte de Strafford; il mourut au service de la France, des anciennes blessures qu'il avoit reçues à la guerre. Donogh fils de Callaghan, fut le troisiéme Comte de Clancarty, il épousa la fille du Comte de Sunderland, premier Ministre du Roi Jacques II., & son attachement aux intérêts de son Prince, fut cause que ses vastes possessions furent confisquées;"[x] &c.

NOTE 96, Pages 36–37.

The Town of Enniskillen and Lough Erne.

A modern English publication, in treating of Enniskillen, and the County of which it is the capital, says: "This place (Enniskillen) which takes it's name from the island in Lough Erne in which it is situated, and was formerly called Inniskillen, was, previously to the time of Jas. I., merely a strong-hold of Maguire, Chieftain of Fermanagh, who had a castle here. . . . . The island being considered an important spot for the establishment of a military force, a royal fort was erected there about the commencement of the 17th century, and the advantage of its situation for a town induced Jas. I., in 1612, to make a grant of a third of it to William Cole, Esq., ancestor of the Earl of Enniskillen, on condition of his building a town upon it, settling in it 20 British families to be incorporated as burgesses, some of whose descendants still hold burgage tenements;" &c.

"But the grand distinguishing characteristic of the County (Fermanagh) is Lough Erne, which extends 40 miles from north-west to south-east, forming, in reality, two lakes. . . . The northern,

[w] That is, the great victory gained by the English fleet of 98 sail of the line, and 4 fire-ships, commanded by the Duke of York (afterwards James II.), against the Dutch fleet of 113 ships of war, under Admiral Opdam, June 3rd, 1665.—(Lingard's History of Ireland, vol. xi. pp. 278-281.)

[x] Mac Geoghegan, Histoire de l'Irlande, tome iii. pp. 680-681.

northern, or lower, between Belleek and Enniskillen, is the larger, being upwards of 20 miles in length, and 7½ in its greatest breadth; the southern, or upper, between the latter town and Belturbet, is 12 miles long by 4½ broad. Both are studded with numerous islands. . . . . It is a popular opinion, that the number of these islands equals the days in the year; but accurate investigation has ascertained, that there are 109 in the lower lake, and 90 in the upper. . . . After narrowing into the strait of Enniskillen, and expanding again into a still wider sheet of water in the lower lake," Lough Erne "is finally contracted into a river, which quits the County, at the village of Belleek, in a magnificent fall"[y].

NOTE 97, Page 37.

The noble Family of Maguire, formerly Princes of Fermanagh.

"La Tribu," says Abbé Mac Geoghegan, "des Maguires de Fermanagh, aujourd'hui Comté dans la Province d'Ultonie, tire son origine de Con Keadcaha, Monarque d'Irlande au deuxiéme siécle, par Colla da Chrioch, & une longue suite de peres illustres," &c. The Chiefs of this sept (more properly written Mac Guire) were, he observes, Princes of Fermanagh, until the reign of James I., or early in the seventeenth century. According to Mr. O'Donovan, the site of the inauguration of "*the* Mac Guire," or head of his name, as ruler of that territory, was Sgiath-Ghabhra, at present Lisnaskea, about ten miles from Enniskillen.

In the reign of James II., Conor Mac Guire, Baron of Enniskillen, was Lord Lieutenant of the County Fermanagh, and Cuconnaught[z], or Constantine Mac Guire, was his Deputy-Lieutenant. His Lordship sat in the House of Peers of the Irish Parliament of 1689, and was Colonel of a Regiment of Foot in the Irish Army, during the War of the Revolution in Ireland. Dr. Dominick Mac Guire, who was much in favour with King James, and had from him a considerable pension for those times, viz., £300 a year, was Roman Catholic Primate of Ireland. Colonel Cuconnaught *More* Mac Guire, or Constantine Mac Guire *the great*,—of whom a pedigree up to Con *of the hundred battles*, Monarch of Ireland in the second century, is annexed to the English version of Dr. Keating's History of Ireland,—likewise commanded a Regiment of Foot in the Irish Army; to which Alexander Mac Guire was Lieutenant-Colonel, and Cornelius Mac Guire was Major. With this Regiment, the Colonel fought, in July, 1691, at the battle of Aughrim, where he fell, after displaying great gallantry; and Lieutenant-Colonel Mac Guire was amongst the Irish Officers, made prisoners the same day[a].

NOTE 98,

[y] Lewis's Topographical Dictionary of Ireland, vol. i. pp. 165, 166, 605, 606, 620: London, 1837.

[z] Likewise spelled Cuconaght, and Cuconacht.

[a] Abbé Mac Geoghegan, Histoire de l'Irlande, tome iii. p. 544.—Charles O'Conor's Dissertations on the History of Ireland, p. 286.—Historical Tracts of Sir John Davies, &c., pp. 252-254: Dublin, 1787.—O'Donovan's Genealogies, Tribes, and Customs of Hy-Fiachrach, &c., pp. 425-434.—Rev. Andrew Hamilton's Actions of the Inniskilling-Men, &c., p. 36: London, 1690.—Harris's Life of King William III., p. 221; appendix, No. xxi. pp.

NOTE 98, Page 37.

The Ulster Protestants, who possessed the Town and Castle of Enniskillen, mostly of Scotch origin, and, through their numbers and bravery, very injurious to the royal cause, particularly by contributing to prevent a sufficiently close siege of Derry.

"As for *Derry*," says the Rev. Andrew Hamilton, in 1690, "no True Protestant will deny, but the holding out of that Place against the *Irish* Army was of so great Importance, that the Safety of these Three Kingdoms did depend very much upon it. And it is well known, that during the whole Time of that long Siege, the Men of *Iniskillin* kept *at least the one Half of the Irish Army from coming before Derry*, and kept them in so great Fear of their coming to Relieve the Town, that *they durst never make a Regular Attack upon the Place*, but were *forced to divide their Men, keeping strong Guards at Strabane, Lifford, Castlefin, Clawdy-Bridge, Newtown Stewart, Castle Derrig, and Omagh, lest Inniskillin Men should come upon them.* By so doing, they made the Siege a great Deal easier to the Besieged: and therefore (as those who were best acquainted with the Affairs of *Derry* during the Siege do confess) *Iniskillin* does deserve no small Part of the Honour of that Places Preservation."

Then, in reference to certain "Scandalous Reports which," according to the reverend gentleman, "the Papists, and (perhaps) some rotten hearted Protestants, had raised upon these Men," he adds, amongst other observations respecting them: "Those Men have kept free from the Enemy the whole County *Fermanagh*, from the Castle of *Crom*, to *Bellishanny*, and all that Part of the Country of *Dunegall* that lies next the Sea from *Bellishanny* to *Killabeggs*, which will be above fifty Miles in Length, and in those Bounds have raised for Their Majesties Service, Three Regiments of Foot, Two Regiments of Dragoons, and about Twenty Troops of Horse; most of them officer'd by Men of Estates, and many of the private Men, having Freeholds and Estates in that Kingdom. So that when ever *Ireland* is reduced, I do with Confidence averr, That the very Officers (without accounting the Real and Personal Estates of those who were content to bear Arms as Private Soldiers) if restored to their own, and no more, will be found worth above £10,000 *per Annum*, who have adhered to *Iniskillin*, and are now called *Iniskillin-men*"[b].

NOTE 99,

xxxii.-xxxiii.: Dublin, 1749.—Dr. King's State of the Protestants of Ireland, &c., appendix, pp. 268, 279, 305: Dublin, 1713.—Earl of Sunderland's Letter to Earl of Clarendon, Whitehall, March 20th, 168$\frac{5}{6}$; King James II.'s Letter to Doctor Dominick Mac Guire, March 22nd, 168$\frac{5}{6}$; and Earl of Sunderland's Letter to Lord Deputy of Ireland, Whitehall, February 4th, 168$\frac{6}{7}$; in State Paper Office, London.—Pedigree of Colonel Cuconacht More Mac Guire in Dermod O'Conor's translation of Doctor Jeoffry Keating's History of Ireland: London, 1723.—Story's Impartial History, p. 98, and Continuation, pp. 137-138, 229-231: London, 1693.—List of the Officers of King James II.'s Irish Army, as referred to in Note 2.—Copy in Annotator's possession, of a MS. Account of the Battle of Aughrim, stated to have been taken from the description of an Irish soldier, who was present.

[b] Hamilton's Actions of the Inniskilling-Men, pp. 63-65.

Note 99, Page 37.

Lord Mountcashel incorrectly supposed to have failed in capturing Crom Castle, from a want of any artillery.

The notion of Colonel O'Kelly, as to the Irish having been without artillery, before Crom Castle, is erroneous. The Rev. Andrew Hamilton, under the date of Sunday, July 28th, 1689, says: "There came an Express from *Crom* to the Governour, (of Enniskillen) acquainting him, That Lieutenant-General Macarty had march'd his Men from *Belturbet*, and was come before *Crom*, and was *raising a Battery to play upon the Castle:* . . . . and the next Day, on *Munday-morning* the 29th of *July*, by an other Express from Crom, we were inform'd, that Lieutenant-General *Macarty had begun to batter the Castle with his Cannon*," &c. The same Enniskillen authority states, in his account of the subsequent overthrow of the Irish force at Newton-butler, "we took *seven Cannon;*" and in King James's Memoirs, the capture of "*cannon*" from his army there is likewise acknowledged[c].

Note 100, Page 37.

The Enniskilliners believed to have been strongly reinforced by the English, at the affair of Newton-Butler, July 31*st* (*O. S.*), 1689, *but not, in reality, joined by any more English, than a few experienced Officers.*

It does not appear from the Rev. Andrew Hamilton, or from any other source of information which the writer of this note has met with, that the Enniskilliners received any aid in *men* from the English fleet and land-force under Major-General Kirke, except a few good *Officers*. They, landing at Ballyshannon on Friday, the 26th of July, and hearing there of Lord Mountcashel's having been at Belturbet with his forces, proceeded on Saturday, the 27th, to Belleek, on Sunday, the 28th, to Enniskillen by water, and were finally present at the affair of Newton-Butler, on the following Wednesday, July 31st, 1689. Amongst those Officers, was Colonel William Wolseley, who commanded the Enniskilleners, on that occasion. The report mentioned by Colonel O'Kelly, as to the Enniskilliners having been reinforced by troops from England, *may* have arisen, either from such a rumour having been purposely circulated by the Enniskilliners in connexion with the landing of those few Officers; or from an exaggeration, on the part of the country Irish, naturally occasioned, in a time of general alarm, by that landing, and the circumstance of Kirke's fleet and troops having been, for a considerable period, off the coasts. But, from whatever cause originating, such "news" would be beneficial to the Enniskilliners, in proportion to its being discouraging to their opponents[d].

Note 101,

[c] Hamilton's Actions of the Inniskilling-Men, pp. 33, 34, 45.—Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 368, 369.

[d] See Hamilton and Harris.

NOTE 101, Pages 37–38.

Lord Mountcashel's force, both horse and foot, owing to their being mostly new levies, and to a great error by a subordinate Officer in commanding his men, are easily defeated at Newton-Butler.

King James's Memoirs state of his troops, in this unfortunate affair, "the King's hors soon giveing way, the rest were totally routed." Story, who, as Chaplain to one of William III.'s Regiments during the war in Ireland, had good opportunities for collecting military information there, says, in reference to the little difficulty and small loss with which the Enniskilliners were represented to have beaten the Irish, on this occasion: "This Story seem'd to me at first very Incredible; but I was told, it partly hapned by a Fatal Mistake in the Word of Command amongst the *Irish;* for the *Iniskillin-men* charged the *Irish* Right Wing very smartly, which *Mackarty* perceiving, ordered some of his Men to face to the Right, and march to relieve their Friends; the Officer that received the Orders, mistook, and commanded the Men, instead of facing to Right, to face to the Right about, and so march; the *Irish* in the Reer seeing their Front look with their Faces towards them, and move, thought they had been running, and so without more ado, threw down their own Arms, and run away; the Rest seeing their Men run in the Reer, run after them for Company, and were most of them cut off, or drowned in Boggs and Loughs; so unhappy may a small Thing prove to a great Body of Men: and at other Times a little Thing in Appearance proves very advantageous: For we read of a *Roman* at Plough, who stood with his Ox-yoke in a Gap, and stopt the Soldiers that were running away; this made them face about, and win the Field; though, I believe, in that Action of the *Iniskilliners,* as well as *Derry,* there was a great Deal due to their Valour, and more to the Providence of God"[e]. Walter Harris, in his Life of King William III., and Dr. Leland, in his History of Ireland, *both* of whom read the contemporary Williamite work of Story, have nevertheless, in their accounts of this Newton-Butler affair, been totally silent respecting the "Fatal Mistake in the Word of Command amongst the Irish."

NOTE 102, Page 38.

Lord Mountcashel, having done every thing that became a skilful and gallant Officer, is dismounted, severely wounded, and brought, as a prisoner, to Enniskillen.

The Jacobite journal observes, of Lord Mountcashel's conduct on this fatal day, that "he did all a brave man could do," but "was wounded and taken prisoner, forsaken by all his regiment, which was, with the most part of the foot, cut off, while they were flying." The royal Memoirs add, respecting his Lordship, that "the General did all that could be expected from a braue and experienced Officer."

The

[e] Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 368-369.—Story's Impartial History, &c., p. 5.

The circumstances of Lord Mountcashel's capture are thus related by the Enniskillen annalist, the Rev. Andrew Hamilton: "Lieutenant General *Mackarty*, when his Men were fled, he with about five or six Officers, went into a Wood near the Place where the Cannon were planted; and some small Time after, came out of the Wood with those that were with him, on Horse-back, and fired his Pistol at the Party that were guarding the Cannon. Our Men, when they came first from the Wood, thought them some of our own Party (supposing all the Enemy fled), and never questioned them, till *Mackarty* fired his Pistol; and then seven or eight of the Souldiers fired their Muskets at him, shot his Horse dead, and wounded him very ill in several Places, and then to put him out of Pain, one of the Souldiers club'd his Musket to have knock'd out his Brains, which one of those that came with him from the Wood, espying, called to the Souldier to hold his Hand, for it was their General *Mac-Carty*; at the Hearing of which Captain *Cooper* came up, and gave Lieutenant-General *Mac-Carty*, and those that were with him, Quarter, and that Night carried him to *Newton-Butler*; and he, being ask'd how he came so rashly to hazard his Life, when he might have gone off with his Horse when they made their Escape? profess'd that he found now the Kingdom like to be lost, his Army being the best (for their Number) that King *James* had, unless those before *Derry*, who were then much broken, and that he came with a Design to lose his Life, and was sorry that he miss'd of his End, being unwilling to outlive that Day"[f].

NOTE 103, Page 38.

Lord Mountcashel, after lying long under his wounds at Enniskillen, escapes, before his full recovery, to the general delight of his country. The circumstances of his Lordship's escape.

"King *James*," says the Rev. Andrew Hamilton, "sent Mr. *Huben*, one of his Surgeons, to *Inniskilling*, to attend Lieutenant General *Mac-Carty*, and likewise sent him some Money to subsist him and the other Officers who were taken Prisoners, and sent him some Hogsheads of Wine, and other Provisions that were fit for him, which he could not get at *Inniskilling*."

This kindness of his Sovereign to Lord Mountcashel was the more necessary, as, in the beginning of September, or about six weeks after his Lordship's capture at the battle of Newton-Butler, we are informed, that, in his delicate state, on account of the severe wounds he had received, he found Enniskillen to be so unfavourable to his health, that he applied to Marshal Schonberg for liberty, for some time, on parole, in order to get cured. "The Right Honourable my Lord *Mountcashel*, one of his Majesties Lieutenant-Generals," says the Jacobite pamphlet, "some time Prisoner of War, and very much indisposed by great and dangerous Wounds, lying then at *Iniskilling* (a Place most unwholsome in its Scituation) believing he had to do with a Generous Enemy, and according to the usual Method of Honour, did therefore reasonably

[f] Macpherson's Original Papers, vol. i. pp. 219-220.—Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 368-369.—Hamilton's Actions of the Inniskilling-Men, pp. 43, 44.

reasonably enough propose to himself that he might obtain his Liberty of *Count Schomberg*, upon his Parol, to go to *Dublin*, where he might have better Accomodation for his Cure, and then to return Prisoner." Such a permission, however, was *not* obtained. The same document thus adverts to the escape of Lord Mountcashel from Enniskillen, and to the gratifying nature of the circumstance to the Irish Jacobite government, in connexion with the defeat of Marshal Schonberg's design to subdue Ireland, in the campaign of 1689.—"To add full Measure of Grief to the Retirement of this General, amidst all the Frustrations of his Designs, my Lord *Mountcashel*," says the account, "most ingeniously wrought his own Deliverance from his Confinement at *Iniskilling*, being pretty well recovered of his Wounds, and came to the *King* at the Castle of *Dublin*, with several Officers and others, from the Enemy, on *Tuesday*, the 17th of *December* (1689), where his Lordship was very kindly received by the *King* with a hearty Welcome, and Carressed by all the Great Officers and others his Friends, with all Demonstrations of Joy and Gladness imaginable."

Story represents the circumstances of Lord Mountcashel's escape as follows: "Towards the latter End of *December*, Major General *Mackarty* made his Escape from *Inniskillin*, who had remained there a Prisoner ever since the Rout at *Newtown-Butler;* he had been Sick, and at that Time writ to Major General *Kirk* to get Leave of the Duke (Schonberg) to have his Guard removed, which he complained of was troublesome in his Sickness, this was done; but at his Recovery (they say) a Serjeant and some Men were put upon him again. The Town it seems stands upon a Lough, and the Water came to the Door of the House where he was confined, or very near it. He found Means to corrupt a Serjeant, and so got two small Boats, called Cotts, to carry him and his best Moveables off in the Night. The Serjeant went along with him, but returned that Night to deliver a Letter, which, and *Mackarty's* Pass, being found in the Lining of his Hat, he was the next Day shot for it. The General (Schonberg) was much concerned when he heard of *Mackarty's* Escape," continues Story, "and said he *took him to be a Man of Honour*, but he *would not expect that in an Irish Man any more.* Col. *Hamilton*, the Governour of *Inniskillin*, was blamed for this Negligence, but he came to *Lisburn* and desired a Tryal, which could not be for Want of Field Officers, till the 15*th* of *March*, at what Time he produced Major General *Kirk's* Letter to him, by which he was cleared."

Harris, who had local, or Enniskillen manuscript, as well as other, sources of intelligence, for his information on this matter, having stated how Lord Mountcashel, after being brought a prisoner to Enniskillen, was "there allowed the liberty of the town, upon his parole," speaks, in this manner, of his Lordship's escape. "After some time, finding but little prospect of being ransomed or exchanged, he artfully caused a rumour to be spread, that he intended to make his escape: Whereupon the Governour (of Enniskillen) put him under a Guard, and by doing so, *released him from his parole.* The Guard, reflecting on the freedom, with which he had been indulged, were remiss enough; and Serjeant *Acheson*, being bribed, carried him off in the night by water, for which he was shot the next day." Lord Mountcashel, after his arrival in Dublin in December, 1689, remained in Ireland till his departure for France, in the Spring of 1690, along with the Irish Brigade, appointed to go there, instead of the French troops, sent

sent over here, under Lauzun." See Note 57, pp. 233-234, and Note 220, *passim.* "His Lordship," adds Harris, "was tried there," that is in France, "by a Court of Honour for breach of his parole; but *making the circumstances of his escape evident*, was *acquitted.*"

Of Lord Mountcashel, as "a man of honour," it may be added, that, the Earl of Shrewsbury, William III.'s Secretary of State, in an unpublished letter from "Whitehall, 4th Nov^br^, 1689," regretting he could not address the Irish General by his recent or Jacobite title of Lord Mountcashel, writes thus to Major General Kirke, "S^r^, I received yor letter of ye 24 of Octob^r^ with one inclosed, which, by its contents, I understood to be from Justin Macarty, though I find it subscribed by another name, & for that reason I cannot send an answer directly to himself (which I would otherwise have done in remembrance of our former acquaintance) because I believe he has forgot the old name which we knew one another by, and here we have not yet learnt the new one; but, however, I have neither more nor less esteem for his person than I ever had, and *I heartily wish him his liberty.* . . . . . I am so well satisfied of his being a man of honour, that, as to my owne particular, I should rely upon his word, for whatever he thought fit to engage it"[g].

Note 104, Page 38.

Brigadier Sarsfield compelled to retire from Sligo, after the rout of Newton-Butler.

"Bregadier Sarsfield who commanded at Sligo and had with him two or three regiments of foot, with a few hors and Dragoons, was obliged to quit that post when the Inneskilliners marched towards him, after the defeat of My Lord Montcassel"[h].

Note 105, Page 39.

King James reproached with weakening himself, by disbanding numbers of his new-raised Irish troops, instead of adding them to his force before Derry, who were not sufficiently supplied to capture that place. Comparative Jacobite and Williamite strength, &c., at Derry.

The want of almost everything, except men, for carrying on a war in Ireland, has been already mentioned in Notes 48, 83, and 88, as also the King's return from the North, in order to make up what reinforcements he *could,* in Dublin, for besieging Derry. The inattention to the orders issued by the King, for doing much better than *was* done with the means which existed for adding to the strength of the Irish army and engineer department, has likewise

[g] Hamilton's Actions of the Inniskilling-Men, p. 45.—A Relation of what most Remarkably happened during the last Campaign in Ireland, betwixt his Majesties Army Royal, and the Forces of the Prince of Orange, sent to joyn the Rebels, under the Count de Schomberg, &c., pp. 5, 6, 15: Dublin, 1689.—Story's Impartial History, pp. 12-15, 51, 57.—Harris's Life of William III., pp. 214, 215, 221, 222, 225, 249. — Mac Geoghegan, Histoire de l'Irlande, tome iii. pp. 748-749.—Copy of Official Correspondence in State Paper Office, London.

[h] Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 371-372.

wise been mentioned in Note 88; an inattention further alluded to, from past experience, as well as recent information, by the King's Envoy at Rome, Lord Melfort, when writing to the Queen, May 2nd, 1690, he says: "There is not one thing I stand so much in fear of, as negligence in executing the King's orders." It also appears, that, so far from merely occupying himself in disbanding his new-raised levies, the King, by the Duke of Tyrconnell's advice, was desirous of employing *all* the men he *could.* "The Duke of Tyrconnell," says the Jacobite journal, "at his return from visiting the troops, acquainted his Majesty, that he found amongst the infantry so many good men, that he could not think of disbanding them; and, therefore, that he had kept up, in some regiments, 20 companies, instead of 13[1]; and in others, 22 companies, &c." At the same time, the smallness of the means which the King possessed for organizing any thing like a numerous and efficient military force, as contrasted with a rabble of unequipped and untrained men, appears in Note 94, from his informing us, that the three regiments of foot, two regiments of dragoons, and some horse, or only 3,600 men, whom he had sent, under Lord Mountcashel, against Enniskillen, were "ALL *the troops the King could draw togather at that time,* haveing," it is added, "with himself at Dublin but one Battalion of Guards, Grace's regiment of foot, and not aboue two troops of hors and Dragoons, besides his troop of Guards which was then but begining to be mounted." This was owing, amongst other causes, to the niggardliness and delay observed in the assistance afforded to the King by the French Ministry; whereas, acting in a different manner, says the King, alluding to the Prince of Orange, "might haue cost him his usurped crown itself, if the Councells of France thorough too much diffidence, private piques, and personal animositys, had not fail'd in sending such succors thither," that is, to Ireland, "as both reason, honour, or their own intrest, so manifestly call'd for." Hence, the weakness and inadequacy of means for a siege, on the part of the King's force before Derry, were such, that their best hope of taking it was connected with what hunger and disease might effect *within* the town, rather than with any thing that could be effected against it from *without.* Several days before Derry was relieved, through the entrance of ships with provisions detached from the English fleet by Major-General Kirke, at "a Council of War," in the King's force before the town, the Jacobite journal informs us, that "the opinions of all the General Officers did unanimously conclude, that it was impossible to take the town, but by *famine;* which opinions were signed by the respective Officers and sent to the King; upon which

[1] For the correct reading of *thirteen,* above inserted, as that of the general number of companies in each of King James's foot regiments, *thirty* is found, by a strange oversight, in both editions of the Jacobite journal. In the previous part of that journal, the royal regulation for the number of infantry regiments to be maintained, and for the companies which each regiment, except the Guards, was to contain, is given as "thirty-five Regiments of Foot, of which the Regiment of Guards had two battalions, and *the rest* THIRTEEN *companies each,* every company of sixty-two men." Were the Duke of Tyrconnell to have advocated the keeping up of *twenty* or *twenty-two* companies in a regiment instead of *thirty,* he would have been for lessening, instead of increasing, the number of "good men" in the King's service; so that *thirty* must be a mistake for *thirteen.*

which his Majesty, by advice of his Council, did send new orders to the Marshal De Rosen and Hamilton, commanding them to quit the siege, and only to continue the blockade, as long as they should think it fit for his service, or that they saw any appearance of the town's surrendering by famine, leaving that to their prudence."

Nevertheless, the loss occasioned in Derry through starvation, disease, or the sword, during its investment by the Irish forces, or afterwards, from the effects of that investment, was very great. The Rev. Colonel George Walker asserts, that "7000 died of diseases." The Rev. John Mackenzie, who was also in the town, says: "'tis thought no less than 10,000 dyed during the Siege, besides those that dyed soon after." A "Report of a Committee of the House of Commons" in 1705, cited by Hamill, alleges of Derry, that "in the City, during the Siege, to the Number of 12.000 perished by Sword and Famine;" and the printed "Case of the Governour and Garrison of Londonderry," presented to Parliament, admits a similar amount of destruction; specifying, that "of 12,000 that dyed in that Garrison, the greatest Part were starved." Speaking of some "of those who," observes the Jacobite journal, "came out and mixt with the people that were driven to the walls by Mons. De Rosen," that document adds: "Several were known by their wan and lean countenances, and nauseous smell, that made every one think they had the plague, and others fell down dead on the strand, for those being weak and sick people had been starved in the town, where the strongest fellows seized on the meal and other provisions, and let the others starve."

The following statements of the comparative strength of King James's force, and that of their opponents, at Derry, will show *why*, even if not "thinned by casualties and desertion," the royal troops would have been "quite unequal to taking so strong a city," unless by famine. The regimented men in Derry, by their own account, as given by the Rev. Colonel George Walker, consisted of between 7300 and 7400 officers and soldiers. "Besides these Men that were Regimented, there were," says the Rev. John Mackenzie, "several Volunteers in Town who did good Service, as Captain *Joseph Johnston*, who was very careful to have good Padrolls kept; Captain *William Crooke*, and Mr. *David Kennedy*, and many others, who were frequently out upon Service." The regimented and unregimented men, or the entire armed force in the place, are estimated by the Duke of Berwick (King James's son, who was at the siege), as "more than 10,000 well-armed men," or "plus de dix mille hommes bien armés;" and still higher by a contemporary Williamite writer, who mentions "there being 12,000 Men in Arms in the Town"[j]. The artillery on the walls of Derry is stated by the Rev. Colonel George Walker to have been twenty pieces. The Duke of Berwick says, that, in the town, there

[j] "A True and Impartial Account of the Most Material Passages in Ireland since December 1688. With a Particular Relation of the Forces in Londonderry: Being taken from the Notes of a Gentleman who was Eye-Witness to most of the Actions mention'd therein, during his Residing there; and now being in England is desired to Publish the Same, for the further Satisfaction of this Nation. (p. 25.) To which is added a Description and Map of Londonderry, as he took it upon the Place: Licens'd July 22. 1689. J. Fraser, London: Printed for John Amery at the Peacock, against St. Dunstan's Church in Fleet-street, 1689."—Thorpe's Pamphlets, vol. vii.

there were thirty; or "il y en avoit trente dans la ville." In addition to such an amount of men and cannon in Derry, there was, from about the middle of June, under Major-General Kirke (according to the authorities on *both* sides, or the French Engineer, Pointis, the Jacobite Journal, the Rev. Messrs. Walker, Mackenzie, Story), an English fleet of thirty sail, with arms, ammunition, provisions, and three regiments on board, designing to relieve the place, and endeavouring to divert the Irish, as far as possible, from an undivided application to the siege; those three regiments, viz., Kirke's own, Sir John Hanmer's, and Brigadier William Stewart's, according to the usual complement of English foot regiments at that period (exclusive of any supernumeraries), making between 2700 and 2800 men and officers. On the other hand, as to the strength of the Irish blockading force before Derry, the Duke of Berwick, who was a General Officer in the service, says, that it was, in all, no more than "from 5000 to 6000 men;" or, to use his own words, "nous n'avions en tout que cinq à six mille hommes." The Irish siege or battering artillery he makes but six guns, or "six pieces de gros canon;" and, even of these guns, the Irish had *not* the full benefit against the town, as they were, at different times, obliged to remove them from before the walls towards Culmore, to hinder Kirke's vessels from getting, on that side, with provisions, into the town[k].

The Rev. Colonel George Walker's alleged amount of the Irish army at Derry, which (without *any* notice being taken of the Duke of Berwick's statement upon the matter) has been generally copied into English and Irish works professing to be *histories*, is as follows: "Thus after 105 Days, being close besieged by *near* 20,000 *Men* constantly supplied from *Dublin*, God Almighty was pleased in our greatest Extremity to send Relief. . . . . The Enemy *lost between eight and nine thousand Men* before our Walls, and a hundred of their best Officers, according to the best Computation we could make of both, by the Information of the Prisoners we took, most of these fell by the Sword, the rest of Fevers and Flux," &c. That the Rev. Colonel's assertions on this point should, however, be received with caution, even if *not* contradicted by the Duke of Berwick's Memoirs, would appear from his being accused by the Rev. John Mackenzie, with not scrupling (though a clergyman) to misstate numbers, for a purpose, during the siege, as well as with positive misrepresentation respecting the Irish. The first charge against the Rev. Colonel, or that as to the misstatement of numbers, which is mentioned as connected with the negociations, July 13th and 14th, 1689, between the agents of the Irish army and those of the garrison, for a surrender, is thus made by Mackenzie: "While our Commissioners were out on the Treaty, Collonel *Walker* receiv'd a Letter from Lieutenant *David Mitchell* out of the (English) Ships by a little Boy, and Transcribed it *with some Additions of his own:* For whereas the Letter mentioned Major General *Kirks* having sent some to Encamp at *Inch*, he *wrote it* 4000 *Horse and* 9000 *Foot;* This humour was the more unaccountable, because upon the Return of the Commissioners, he earnestly urged a Complyance with the Enemies Demands, for Surrendering the Town the next Day: And therefore when the

[k] See, also, Note 98.

the Contents of his Letter from Lieutenant *Mitchel* were Objected to him as a strong Argument against surrendering, *especially the* NUMBERS *that were landed,* he confess't *that Part of the Letter to have been fram'd by himself:* Which indiscretion, joyn'd with his ill Advice, had like to have proved of *as Dangerous Consequence to himself,* as the Advice had been to the Garrison, if they had complyed with it." The second charge, or that of positive misrepresentation against the Irish, is thus made by the same reverend authority, in his remarks upon the Rev. Colonel's account of the siege: "In p. 26," says Mackenzie of that account, "Tis said the Enemy hung out a white Flag, to invite us to a Treaty, and Mr. *Walker* ventur'd out to come within Hearing of the Lord of *Louth* and Collonel *Oneal,* and in his Passage, *had* 100 *Shot fir'd at him,* but he got the Shelter of a House, and upbraided 'em with this perfidious Dealing, and bid 'em order their Men to be quiet, or he would command all the Guns on the Walls to be fir'd at 'em." To which Mackenzie replies: "I have heard some incredulous People say, that *the Smoak of the* 100 *Shot was as invisible as the Flying of the Bullets;* and they could not imagine *whereabouts* the House stood (ALL WITHOUT THE GATES, NEXT THE IRISH CAMP, BEING PULLED DOWN) *that so happily yielded the Doctor a safe Shelter,* till he could call to the Men on the Walls to fire the Guns at these Treacherous Villains"[1].

NOTE 106, Page 39.

The Marshal Duke of Schonberg arrives from England in Ulster, and besieges and takes Carrickfergus.

Marshal Schonberg landed with his troops at Bangor, in the County Down, on Tuesday, August 13th (O. S.), 1689, according to Story. "On the 17th," he adds, "the General with his Army marched to *Belfast:* from whence, on the 20*th*, he sent five Regiments of Foot, with some Horse, to Invest the Town of *Carrickfergus,* and the next Day, followed himself with the Remainder of the Army." The town was then governed for King James by Colonel Charles Mac Carthy More, whose garrison consisted of his own Regiment, and nine companies of Colonel Cormac O'Neill's. In order to enable the King to assemble at Dublin, after the recent

[1] Notes previously cited.—Earl of Melfort's MS. Correspondence from Rome, from March 8th to December 13th, 1690, vol. i. pp. 212-213: 3 vols. Lansdown MSS., British Museum.—Copies of the intercepted Letters of the French Engineer, M. Pointis, from Derry, in June, 1689.—Macpherson's Original Papers, vol. i. pp. 192, 195, 197, 198, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220.—Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 321, 322, 368, 386-391.—Story's Impartial History, pp. 4, 5, 41, and Continuation, &c., p. 5.—Mackenzie's Narrative of the Siege of London-Derry, preface, pp. 33, 38, 40, 44, and appendix, p. 8: London, 1690.—Hamill's View of the Danger and Folly of being Publick-Spirited and Sincerely Loving One's Country, &c., p. 11: London, 1721.—The Case of the Governour and Garrison of London-Derry, &c., in King's Pamphlets, British Museum, vol. xvii. 1 = 74.—Walker's True Account of the Siege of London-Derry, pp. 10, 20, 21, 26-27, 29-31, 40-42, 54: 3d edit. London, 1689. — Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick, tome i. p. 57.—Copies of Official Military State Papers, in British Museum, State Paper Office, &c.

cent severe reverses at Derry and Newton-Butler, a force capable of opposing Schonberg, the Irish Governor and garrison of Carrickfergus were directed, says their official authority, "to divert the Enemy, and hinder him, by the longest Defence they could, from advancing too soon towards the King." When, therefore, according to the same authority, Schonberg, on the 19th, summoned the place to surrender, "the said Collonel Macarty Moor," we are told, "slighted the Summons with that Resolution and Bravery, as became a good Officer and a Loyal Subject. And the town was *not*, as Colonel O'Kelly's Latin translator, says, "taken at the first attack." It was defended by Mac Carthy More, against Schonberg's operations by land and sea, until the 27th of August, or eight days from its first investment. By that time, being, in the words of the previously-cited official authority, "reduced to the last Extremity, having but one Barrel of Powder left, and without any Hope of Relief, he (Mac Carthy More) then quitted the Town upon very Honourable Terms." King James, having mentioned in his Memoirs, how Marshal Schonberg "beseiged Caricfergus," adds: "and thō a very weak place was forced to attack it in form, and it defended it self eight days, a much longer time than any body could haue immagined, kill'd a great many of his men, and had good conditions at last." These "honourable terms" and "good conditions," on which Carrickfergus was surrendered to Schonberg, are published at length by the Williamite Chaplain, Story, who speaks of the Irish garrison as "lusty, strong Fellows," and, says he, "to give them their Due, they did not behave themselves ill in that Siege"[m].

Note 107, Page 40.

Schonberg encamps and entrenches himself at Dundalk, with the Province of Ulster, for his support, on one hand, and the sea, to furnish him with additional supplies from England, on the other.

On Saturday the 7th of September, according to Story, Schonberg's army marched to Dundalk. It was found, he says, "forsaken by the Enemy, and not burnt; tho' it had been better for us if it had, as it fell out afterwards. . . . . We Encampt," he adds, "about a Mile on this Side the Town of *Dundalk*, in a low moist Ground, having the Town, with the River, towards the West between us and the Enemy; the Sea towards the South, the *Newry* Mountains to the East, and toward the North were Hills and Bogs intermixt; the Protestants that were left there, told us, that the *Irish* boasted when they went away, that they would drive us all back into the Sea again, or else we would die of our selves, the *English* not being used to the Field, especially in a strange Country, and at that Time of the Year."

Having stated, in reference to Schonberg's encampment, that "All the Ground from the River *Largan* (Lurgan) towards *Dundalk* is a continued Rise of Hills, until you come to a Valley,

[m] Story's Impartial History of the Wars of Ireland, pp. 7-10, and Continuation, pp. 6-8.—A Relation of what most Remarkably happened during the last Campaign in Ireland, betwixt his Majesties Army Royal and the Forces of the Prince of Orange, sent to Joyn the Rebels, &c., pp. 3, 4.—Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 372-374.—Memoirs of Captain Parker, p. 14.

Valley, in which there is a Narrow Bogg, which beginning from the left, runs the whole Length of the Town, and so continues to the Sea-side," and having noted, that, at the foot of the hills opposite Dundalk, about which Schonberg was posted, this bog ran between him and the royal forces on the hills, the Jacobite pamphlet says: "*Count*[n] *Schomberg* had disposed his Camp upon two Lines in the plain Ground, at the Foot of the Hills which were *Northward* of *Dundalk*, having the River before him, and the Town behind it; where he had taken up his own Quarters, with some Horse and Foot of his own, and of the *Iniskilling* Rebels, who had joyned his Army: His Left Wing was secured by a large Arm of the Sea, which came up to the Town, by which his Ships brought him from the *North* of this Kingdom, and from *England*, all Provisions of *Bisket*, *Beer*, &c., and Forrage for his Horses: To secure his Right Wing, which lay most Exposed, he made some Retrenchments, and put a strong Garrison into a Castle of my Lord *Bellew*, scituated upon a Rising Ground; for his greater Safety, he Fortified all the Avenues to *Dundalk*, with strong Retrenchments, to Defend which, he there Posted a Battalion of the Prince of *Orange's* Guards, and a Regiment of *French*"[o].

NOTE 108, Page 40.

Schonberg keeps the Williamite army entrenched, and declines to fight, during the rest of the Campaign of 1689, *though frequently dared to engage by King James.*

The Duke of Berwick, on the different efforts made to draw Marshal Schonberg out of his "entrenched camp" to a battle, by the King, after his Majesty's advance from Dublin to Drogheda, in the summer of 1689, says: "Le Roi y étoit arrivé, & par les soins du Duc de Tirconel, il avoit ramassé une armée de vingt-deux mille hommes assez mal armés; il resolut de se porter en avant; & en effet nous marchâmes à Affane, à trois milles de Dundalk, où Schomberg etoit campé avec toute son armée, composée de vingt mille hommes. Peu de jours après, le Roi mit l'armée en bataille dans une plaine à la vue des ennemis, pour leur offrir le combat; mais ils demeurerent dans leur poste, & nous dans notre camp, jusqu'à la fin d'Octobre que nous nous retirâmes en quartiers d'hiver."

Story, under the date of the 16th of September, speaking of the "Trenches, which the Duke saw then convenient to draw round his Camp, since he had an Enemy that was too strong for him, very near, and therefore he must put it out of their Power to force him to fight," observes: "for Wo be to that Army which by an Enemy is made to fight against its Will;" and he adds: "this is the Advantage of an Entrenched Camp, that none can compel you to give Battel but when you please." Respecting this fortification of his strong natural position by the old Marshal, the same annalist, in connexion with the unaccepted challenge to battle

[n] This title of *Count* is given to the Williamite General in the Jacobite documents; that of *Duke* being one of Williamite or Revolution creation in England, and consequently *not* acknowledged by James II., as the legitimate or hereditary Sovereign of England, Ireland, and Scotland.

[o] Story's Impartial History, pp. 14-15.—A Relation of what most Remarkably happened during the last Campaign in Ireland, betwixt his Majesties Army Royal, &c., pp. 7-8.

battle from King James and the Irish army on the 21st of September, affirms the veteran General, used to say, "That it was not in their Power to make him fight but when he pleased." And, as regards an attempt of either army to force the other to an engagement, "there being several Bogs and Causeys between us and them," remarks that writer, "whosoever gave the Attacque (all things else considered) it was Odds against them."

These representations of the Williamite Chaplain are supported by what the veteran Marshal himself states, in his letter of the 27th of September, 1689, from the camp at Dundalk, to his master, William III. Having premised, "Ce que je puis juger de l'état de l'ennemie, est que le Roi Jacques ayant ramassé en ce royaume tout ce qu'il a pû, vaudroit bien en venir à une bataille avant que ses troupes se pussent dissiper par la mauvais saison dans laquelle nous allons entrer," the Marshal adds: "Le meme raison qui empeche les ennemys de pouvoir m'obliger à une bataille, puisqu'il faut qu'ils viennent à moi, par deux ou trois grands chemins seulement, le reste étant entrecoupé de marais, m'empeche aussy d'aller à eux, ayant une petite riviere et quelques montagnes devant eux"[p].

Note 109, Page 40.

The King blamed for neglecting a fair opportunity of terminating the war in Ireland, by not attempting to force the English camp, especially when most weakly guarded, or towards the conclusion of the campaign.

King James, writing from his quarters, at the end of September, to Lord Waldgrave in Paris, concerning the various efforts made to bring Schonberg to a battle, says: "Having gathered together as good an army as ever was seen here, and as well provided as possible, finding in both officers and soldiers a resolution for God, ourselves, and their country, and an earnest desire to be brought to the enemy; on the 6th of September, we came with them within three miles of Dundalk, where Schomberg lies encamped. Since which time we have often offered him occasions of battle. We have omitted nothing that might provoke him to it by excursions of parties to his out guards, by foraging near his camp, and consuming with fire what we could not transport; yet," adds the King, "he continues within his trenches, without accepting a battle, or even a fair skirmish, although his parties have been often much superior in number to ours." The circumstances connected with Marshal Schonberg's position, that secured him from being *compelled* to fight against his will, have been given.

In the same cold and rainy season, which destroyed so many of the Marshal's army in their encampment, and the effects of which must have been so unfavourable to the men and horses of *any* force attempting to keep the field to a very late period, James did not send all his army

[p] See remark at Note 50, pp. 212-213, on the incorrect printing of the *French* of William III.'s letter, which will apply to those of Marshal Schonberg, *here* and *elsewhere* cited. — (Mémoires de Berwick, tome i. pp. 63-64. — Story's Impartial History, &c., pp. 19, 22-23, 45.—Dalrymple's Memoirs, &c., vol. ii. part ii. book iv. appendix, pp. 33-34: London, 1773.

army into winter quarters until November; after having stayed with that body which last remained together, and secured a good frontier, by the fortification of Ardee, &c. "And now," say the royal Memoirs, "the Town of Ardee being defenceable, and no possebility of keeping the hors any longer there, for want of forrage, the King broke up his camp on the 3rd of November and went himself to Droghedagh, leaveing Six battallions of foot and 50 hors in Ardee, under the command of Maj[r]-General Boislau, little garisons of foot in Nobber, on Loggan water, Caricmancross, on the left of Ardee, and some on the right between that and the Sea; in some Castles and houses to preserve the Country on both sides of it, he quarter'd also the 3rd[q] old regiments of hors and two of Dragoons upon the Boin near Neavan Trim and Kells, and put foot into those Towns, keeping with him in Droghedagh Six battallions of foot, and sent the rest into Winter quarters: and now haveing further information by deserters and prisoners, that Mons[r]. Schomberg had embarked his cannon, and was prepareing to send his sick men into winter quarters in places behind him, and to abandon Dundalke the King went himself to Dublin on the 8th of November, and left but three battallions in Droghedagh; and when he had intelligence that the Enemie had quitted Dundalke, he sent those hors and Dragoons he had left on the Boin to winter quarters further into the Country"[r].

Note 110, Page 40.

James also blamed for not storming Schonberg's camp, on the ground, that his doing so would most probably end the contest in England, as well as in Ireland, by occasioning a successful Jacobite insurrection, in the former country.

The following reasons for King James, with his raw army ("assez mal armés," as the Duke of Berwick calls it), *not* attacking Marshal Schonberg through the bogs, &c. in his "entrenched camp," and for the Marshal with his raw army *not* having attempted to force the King to a battle in his well-selected position, are mentioned in the private letters of the Marshal to William III. Writing from his camp at Dundalk, October 3rd, 1689, the Marshal says: "Je suis de l'opinion de V. M. (votre Majesté) que l'armée ennemye ne nous attaquera pas icy; mais il ne sera pas moins difficile, que nous la puissions attaquer dans le poste où elle est. Elle est campée endeça d'Atherdee à une lieuë de nous, une petite riviere devant elle. A trois ou quatre gués, qu'il y a, ils ont fait des retranchements; et je ne doute pas, comme V. M. le dit dans sa lettre, que leur dessein est de couvrir Dublin, et que le manque de fourage nous obligera de reculer." In his letter from the Camp at Dundalk to William, October

[q] That is, of November, as appears by the date last-mentioned in this extract. It should likewise be remembered, in considering how far the King was censurable, or not, for sending his army into winter-quarters at the period he did, in the *very* wet or unhealthy autumn of this year, that, by the difference between the old and present style of computation, the dates he mentions would now be ten days *later*, or November 3rd, the 13th, and November 8th, the 18th.

[r] Macpherson's Original Papers, vol. i. pp. 312-313.—Memoirs of King Jas. II., vol. ii. pp. 383-384.

October 12th, 1689, the Marshal observes: "Si V. Mté etoit bien informée de l'etat de notre armée, de celle des ennemys, du pays, et de la situation de leur camps, je ne croy pas qu'elle voulust qu'on se hazardat à l'attaquer. Si cela ne réucissoit pas, l'armée de V. Mté seroit perdu sans resource. Je me sers de ce terme là, car je ne croye pas que si le desordre s'y étoit une fois mis, qu'il fut aisé de la retablir. Rien ne sçauroit donner à Votre Mté une plus forte idée de tout cecy, que le souvenir de toutes les troupes nouvellement levées, dont generallement cett' armée est composée[s]. Je voy aussi par la meme lettre de V. Mté, que si on ne hazarde rien presentement, cette guerre tireroit en longeur. Je suis bien faché de ne pouvoir pas trouver des expedients pour la finir. Il y auroit à craindre qu'en hazardant le tout pour le tout, et que cela ne reussit pas, que les ennemys seroit bientot maitres de toute l'Irlande." Again, writing to William from Lisburn, December 27th, 1689, the Marshal affirms: "Si j'eusse hazardé une bataille (ce qui étoit difficile à faire si les enemis eussent voulu demeurer dans leur camp) j'aurois peutêtre perdu tout ce qu'elle (Votre Majesté) a dans ce royaume, sans parler des consequences qui en seroit ensuivies en Ecosse jusques en Angleterre"[t].

Note 111, Page 40.

The conduct of the Jacobites, in retiring for the winter previous to Schonberg, censured on the plea, that, in their favourable post for receiving supplies, they, by only continuing encamped a little longer, might cause his perishing forces to moulder away.

Marshal Schonberg, in reference to his capability of maintaining his position at Dundalk, through the supplies sent him by sea, as also to the difficulties experienced by the Irish in keeping their forces together so long as they did, has different passages in his letters to William III. In his letter from Dundalk, September 20th, 1689, the Marshal says: "Etant aller ce matin trouver le Comte de Schonberg, qui etoit asses proche des vedettes des ennemys, nous avons veu avancer un gros de cavallerie, qui ne marchoient point en escadron, qui nous a paru être le Roy Jaques, ou divers officiers generaux. Ils ont de la pû voir notre camp; mais je croi que ce qui leur aura le plus depleu est, qu'ils ont veu arriver onze vaisseaux à la rade de Dundalk, par ou ils auront pû juger qu'ils auront peine à nous affamir icy, comme ils l'esperoient. Il est difficile de juger ce qu'ils entreprendront, après avoir campé cinque jours a deux mille de cett' armée avec un si grand nombre du monde qu'ils ont ramassé de tous côtés, et faite courir le bruit qu'ils venoient nous attaquer. . . . . Cependant la saison s'avance pour camper sous des tentes, et cela deviendra dans un mois assez dificile." In his letter from Dundalk of October 3rd, 1689, after speaking of his own sick men, the Marshal observes: "Jay peine à croire que les ennemys n'ayent aussy des malades, et qu'il ne leur coute

[s] The same words would apply to the composition of the Irish army, with this disadvantage, on their side, in addition to others, that even the best regiments, or such as might be considered to constitute an exception to the rest, had *never* seen any thing like the service of Schonberg's best corps, or the veterans of the Dutch Guards and Huguenot regiments. See Note 101.

[t] Dalrymple's Mémoirs, &c., vol. ii. part ii. book iv. appendix, pp. 36, 43, 55: London, 1773.

coute plus de peine à porter leur vivres de Dublin, que nous de les tirer des vaisseaux, qui sont icy proche, et à conserver ses troupes avec la monoie de cuivre, pendant que celle de V. Mté est bien payée." In his letter from Lisburn, of December 26th, 1689, the Marshal alludes to the depressing effects upon the Irish, which he expected from the loss he heard they had suffered, by the hardships of the preceding campaign: "Les pretres romains sont fort passionez à exhorter les peuples à combattre pour l'eglise Romaine, et à se mettre à leur tete. Je croye que ce zele du peuple Irlandois se trouvera à ce printemps un peu relenty, par la quantité de gens qu'on apprende qui meurt du costé des ennemys, de la fatigue de la campagne passée."

On the other hand, the mention, in the Jacobite pamphlet, of the King's beginning to break up his camp in October, is coupled with the circumstances of "Forrage now growing scarce about *Alers-Town*, nothing almost remaining betwixt *Dundalk* and *Atherdee*" . . . . "the Horse were divided into several Quarters thereabouts for their better Accomodation, they beginning to suffer by the Badness of the Season, and also for Want of Forrage." . . . . "*Atherdee* being now sufficiently capable to defend it self, and continual Rains growing very troublesome, his Majesty disposed his Army into Winter Quarters," i. e., in November. The royal Memoirs likewise speak, in October, of "it being necessary by raison of the rains, and the cold wether comeing on, to put the hors under cover;" and by the time Ardee was duly fortified in the following month, it has been specified, in the extract previously cited from those Memoirs, how the King considered there was "no possebility of keeping the hors any longer there, for want of forrage."

As to the amount of provisions necessary to be conveyed to an army of 20,000 men, about which number King James estimates his force to have been previous to his offering battle to Marshal Schonberg on the 21st of September (though the Duke of Berwick, probably from a subsequent arrival of troops, makes it 2000 more), Lieutenant-General Keatinge has said: "An army of 20,000 men, with their followers, the necessary horses, and adding only the small proportion of 1000 regular cavalry[u], would consume 18,000 barrels of corn, of all descriptions, every four weeks; besides this, it must have turf, straw, hay, and cattle. It would require 15,000 sheep, or 2000 head of black cattle, also, monthly; and would thus consume, in that space of time, the produce of 4000 acres of land, and in the course of the campaign, of upward of 20,000 acres, amounting in value, to upward of £200,000." The General adds, that "20,000 men would require near 2000 horses, of all descriptions, in order to move from place to place"[v].

NOTE 112,

[u] The Irish cavalry, it should be noted, consisted of several thousands *more*, the proportion of cavalry to infantry being much larger in the armies of those times, than it would be at present; which circumstance would consequently require the quantity of forage, &c., to be far *greater*, than above specified by our gallant countryman.

[v] Dalrymple's Memoirs, &c., vol. ii. part ii. book iv. appendix, pp. 18, 26, 27, 36, 37, 48, 50: London, 1773.—A Relation of what most Remarkably happened during the last Campaign in Ireland, &c., pp. 7, 13, 14.—Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 378-384. — Story's Impartial History, &c., pp. 22-23.— Copy of Letter in State Paper

NOTE 112, Page 49.

One-half of the Williamite army, before breaking up for winter quarters, mentioned by the Author to have perished, through sickness, scarcity, and the badness of the weather.

Story, who, as Chaplain to Sir Thomas Gower's Regiment of Foot, made this disastrous campaign with Marshal Schonberg's army, having mentioned the departure of the Irish forces into winter quarters about the 4th of November, thus adverts to the losses of his countrymen: "Then they (the Irish) marching off, we thought it high Time to do so likewise, after being encamp'd almost Ten Weeks in a very unwholsome Place, and pestered with all the Disadvantages of bad Weather, by Reason of which we lost in the Camp, in our going to Quarters, and in them and the Hospitals, *at least one-half of our Men*, the Army consisting then of Nine Regiments and Two Troops of Horse, Four Regiments of Dragoons, and Thirty Regiments of Foot, whereof Two Regiments of Horse, One of Dragoons, and Six of Foot, did not come to the Camp, but were quartered in the Countrey."

Captain Robert Parker, of the Earl of Meath's, or present Royal Irish, Regiment of Foot, who also served under Marshal Schonberg at Dundalk, makes the matter worse. "While," says he, "we lay at *Dundalk*, the weather proved very rainy, the ground we encamped on was also moist in itself, and through our own neglect we were ill hutted. By this means a violent lax broke in among us, which swept away numbers, especially of the *English*: Insomuch, that soon after we came to quarters, we computed we had lost *more than three-fourths of them*. Some regiments had *not above sixty men*, Officers included"[w].

The Duke of Berwick, in stating that Marshal Schonberg "abandonna Dundalk," adds, "où, par les maladies que causoit le mauvais air, il *avoit perdu la moitié de ses troupes;*" which "half," according to the Duke's computation of the Marshal's army at "vingt mille hommes," or "20,000 men," would make its loss so many as 10,000.

King James, alluding to his stay at Ardee, until, by fortifying it, he had secured his frontier, on that side, during the winter, says: "While the King stayed there he was informed by deserters and prisoners who were dayly made, that the enemies Army was grievously afflicted with the Countrys diseas, and so overrun with lice, that vast numbers of them died; especially the English, not only common men, but Officers, as Mr. Wharton, Son to the Lord of that name, Sr Edward Deering, Sir Henry Ingolsby, Gore, Barrington, Sr George Erwin, and others; that Sr George Hewit, Lord Droghedagh, Lord Roscommons, and others were very

Office, London, from Lord Lisburn, in Marshal Schonberg's Camp, Dundalk, and dated September 25th, 1689, to Lord Shrewsbury. — Marshal Berwick's Memoirs, as cited in Note 108.—Keatinge's Defence of Ireland, chap. xiii. pp. 91-92.

[w] Parker belonged to the infantry, a regular British or Anglo-Irish regiment of which, in this war, would contain about 930 men of *every* rank; so that, at the rate of destruction he mentions, about 870 men, (between officers and soldiers,) would have perished in *each* of the "some regiments," to which he refers.

very ill." Finally, having mentioned the placing of his troops in winter-quarters, the King adds, on the losses of his enemies, in this campaign: "Thus the Campagne ended very much to the King's honour and advantage; two partes of the Enemie's Army[x] was destroy'd at Land, and an infectious distemper had got into the English Fleet, which in conjunction with the Dutch had a designe upon Corke, but their men dying so fast were forced to lay aside that enterprise, and soon after the French kept them So much in awe, that they durst attempt nothing more that year. . . . . The miserable diseases which affected the Enemie's Camp accompanyed with all the nautious circomstances of nastiness, infection, and lice, which swarmed not only in the houses, but upon the very boils of trees where the sick persons had laine, was a visible mark of God's judgment upon that wicked and Rebellious generation."

And, in one of the surviving official papers of the King, printed in Dublin in 1689, under the signature of his Irish Secretary at War, Sir Richard Nagle, for circulation among Schonberg's British and Anglo-Irish troops, in order to cause desertion,—after mentioning how, "Next to the Honour of never engaging in a bad Cause, there is nothing *braver* than to desert it,"—that document observes to such officers and soldiers of Schonberg's army respecting its loss: "The Mortality itself amongst You is a Warning to this Purpose; being in many Circumstances so strange as not to find a Parallel in History. And you have Reason to reflect, whether it proceeds not from the same Hand, only in another Method, which destroyed so many Thousand in the Camp of *Sennacherib*. Remember the Fortune of *Egypt*. The Magicians themselves subscribed, *This is the Finger of God;* and certainly no *Christians* should be more obdurate than they"[y].

Note 113, Page 41.

King James accused, of having spent the Campaign of 1689, *without any advantage.*

The Jacobite official account, published in Dublin, after the termination of the campaign of 1689, by Marshal Schonberg's evacuation of Dundalk, and retreat into Ulster, speaks of the results of that campaign, in a very different way from Colonel O'Kelly.

"The Mighty Expectations of the Great *Schomberg* and his Rebellious Adherents," says that account, "being thus Defeated, he Marched into the *North* of *Ireland* towards *Belfast*, with the weak Remainder of his Army, being *diminisht much above one Half*, by extream Sickness, and Want of necessary Subsistance, tho' he had a Fleet to attend him, and a whole Province behind him.

"The Success of this Campaign," continues the account, "has no ways been answerable to what *Count Schomberg* (had with the greatest Assurances) proposed to himself, but much contrary

[x] Query, two-thirds?

[y] Story's Continuation, &c., p. 10. — Captain Parker's Memoirs, pp. 17-18.—Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick, tome i. pp. 63-64.—Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 382, 384, 385.—A Letter to the Officers and Souldiers of His Majesties Subjects that are in Count de Schomberg's Army—Imprimatur. Ri. Nagle.—Dublin, printed for Alderman James Malone Bookseller in Skinner-row, 1689.

contrary to the Hopes he had given to his Troops of Quartering in *Dublin*, and to divide amongst them, as *Cromwel* had done, the Possessions and Inheritances of the Loyal Party; he not doubting in the least, with the Army he had brought, and with the Help of the Rebels, to be a compleat Conqueror of the whole Kingdom before the end of the Campaign; otherwise, a General of his Character, would never have attempted a Design so Great and Hazardous, to the Loss of that Honour and Reputation which he had been so many Years acquiring." See Note 20, p. 181; Note 107, p. 323.

That the expectation of "quartering in Dublin" before the end of the campaign, above alluded to in the Jacobite account, did *really* exist amongst Marshal Schonberg's officers, on their landing at Carrickfergus, in August, 1689, is *certain*. Lord Lisburn, Colonel of a Regiment of Foot in the Marshal's army, in an unpublished letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury, copied by the writer of this note in the State Paper Office, London, and dated, from the Camp at Dundalk, September 25th, 1689, says: "Our Generall, the most active & vigilant in the world, & by his great prudence and knowlidg in tyme will certainly gain his point; but," adds his Lordship, "I owne my self with many others disapointed, for wee thaught, instead of stopping heer, to have marcht from carickfuergos strait to Dublin"[z].

Note 114, Pages 41–42.

The Duke of Tyrconnell and the rest of King James's Ministers criticised, for not having the Irish forces in order, sufficiently early in the spring of 1690, *to prevent Schonberg's capture of the King's only fortress in Ulster, Charlemont, through a want of provisions, &c.*

The reason why Marshal Schonberg was able to set his army in motion before the Irish forces could take the field appears to have been, that the Marshal was abundantly supplied by sea from England with every requisite for putting his men and horses in motion, while the Irish were very differently circumstanced. In the abstracts, given in Mr. Thorpe's Catalogue for 1836, of the correspondence between the Duke of Tyrconnell and Mary of Este, Queen of James II., from October, 1689, to June, 1690, we find mention of "letters relating to large fleets passing daily with provisions, arms, and ammunition for the Duke of Schomberg's army, without being at all able to molest them, for want of shipping." But, in reference to the condition of the Irish, or "the apprehensions of King James's party," numerous "letters relate the want of stores for their horses, so dreadful that they cannot move until the grass grow to strengthen their horses, or gain a supply from elsewhere"[a].

Yet

[z] A Relation of what most Remarkably happened during the last Campaign in Ireland, &c., pp. 14-15.—Story's Impartial History, &c., pp. 40, 96.—Lord Lisburn's Letter, *ut sup.*

[a] Lieutenant-General Keatinge, speaking of an army taking the field in Ireland towards the end of the last century, or when this country, from its superior cultivation, &c., was certainly far greater in its resources for supplying an army than in James II.'s time, says: "Suppose you are obliged to take the field in March or April, such a thing is impossible. Where is your corn, potatoes, or fuel?

Yet, even in the disadvantages under which James's government lay, as compared with Marshal Schonberg, for military supplies, it is mentioned by Story respecting Charlemont, that in March, 1690, "the Garison had been relieved:" and, shortly before it was obliged by the want of provisions to surrender, another relief, though an inadequate one, got into the place. "*May* the 2*d*" (1690), says the Williamite Chaplain, "Lieutenant Colonel *Macmehon*, with about 400 Men, Ammunition, and some small Quantities of Provisions, got into *Charlemont* in the Night, but our *French* and other Regiments posted thereabouts, watched them so narrowly, that though he made two or three Attempts, yet he could not get out again. And the second Week in *May*, several *English*, a *Brandenburg*, and Three *Dutch* Regiments landed. By which Time also all our Recruits were compleated, and the Regiments Cloathed; so that we had now an Excellent Army, all over-joyed with the Assurance that His Majesty in Person (William III.) designed to make that Campaign in *Ireland*. A Part of our Army also began to take the Field, and Encamp almost round *Charlemont;* Cannon and Mortars were sent up that way too to force old *Teague O Regan*, the Governour, from his Nest, if he would not quit it otherways; but their Provisions being spent, and no Hopes of Relief appearing, on the 12*th* of *May* the Governour desired a Parley, and after some Time it was agreed, That this Garrison should march out with their Arms and Baggage, which they did on the 14*th*, being about 800 (besides 200 Women and Children), four Companies of Colonel *Babington's* Regiment taking Possession of the Place. We found 17 Pieces of Cannon, 1 large Mortar, 83 Barrels of Powder, with some Fire Arms, and other useful Materials in the Castle."

Of the distress to which the Irish garrison were reduced for provisions before the place was given up, Story elsewhere notes: "They had left no Provisions in the Castle, but a little dirty Meal and Part of a Quarter of musty Beef: And certainly they were reduced to great Necessity, for as they marched along, several of them were chawing and feeding very heartily upon Pieces of dried Hides, with Hair and all on." He then mentions, how, after the Irish had left the Castle, he found there a document, amongst others, which it were to be wished he had preserved in an appendix. "In *Teague's* own Room," says he, "I saw several Papers; amongst the rest a Copy of a Letter to some about K. *James*, giving an Account of the State of the Garrison; and *withal a very true Relation of our Proceedings in several Things*, which showed they wanted not Intelligence." In reference to the defence of the place: "They had," he observes of the Irish, "burnt and destroyed all the Country about it, being well inhabited formerly. The Town of *Charlemont* stood by the Castle, as we were told, but the *Irish* had so levelled it, that Nothing remained to show, that ever there had been any such Thing." For his defence of Charlemont, the veteran Governor was knighted, as Harris informs us, by King James. "The Duke," adds the Williamite Chaplain, respecting Marshal Schonberg,

where forage for your cavalry before August? These are serious considerations, and no one thinks of them. The generality of people imagine, all that is necessary for an army to take the field, is to have canvas to cover them. The business of maintaining an army, so as to keep its operations unclogged, is," adds the General, "a science by itself."—(Defence of Ireland, chap. xi. p. 76.)

Schonberg, "ordered every one of the *Irish* Souldiers a Loaf out of the Stores at Armagh; and the Officers were all civilly entertained, which made them go away very well satisfied with the General, and highly commending our Army"[b].

Note 115, Page 42.

The King charged, with seeming but little alarmed as to what his situation would be when William should arrive, to take the command, for the Campaign of 1690, *in Ireland; and even to have appeared resolved on making no great exertion for expelling the English from Ireland, though William should not come over, for that Campaign.*

King James's Memoirs give a very different representation of his conduct on this head. They say, that the King, "some time before the beginning of the Campaign," had undertaken "to prepare all things necessary for takeing the field, which in a manner lay wholly upon himself; wherefore the pains he took were immence, and people were astonished he was able to support so prodigious a fatigue; and had he been well seconded, or his orders effectually executed, he would haue thought himself happy, but for want of that, the greatest part of what he did, was lost labour: There was scarce any magazines upon the frontiers thō he had taken measures for them, so that not only the Armie, but the very Town of Dublin was upon the point of wanting bread, if not supplyd from abroad; *he was made to belieue for some time he had* 50 *thousand men*, and paid them accordingly, *thō he had not* 18 *thousand efective:* his Artillery, amunition, &c., which Monsieur de Lausune brought from France, remain'd at Cork for want of carriages to make them moue, while the King had the dissatisfaction to see every day the P^ce^ of Orange's shipps pass unmolested through the Channel, with troops and all necessarys for the North^c^: This made him press the Ministers of the Court of France to send their fleet into St George's Channel, and either transport his small Army into England, or at least intercept the English sending theirs into Ireland; but their ears were still shut to all such proposalls, either through the Minister's aversness, or the disponding relations which continually came from Monsr D'Avaux and the French Officers; who generally instead of assisting the King in that extremity, pull'd each a different way; nor were they much aflicted in the bottom, to see things go so ill, because it verifyd their accounts, and recommended their judgment: In fine such were the wants, disunion and dijection, that the Kings affairs looked like the primitive Cahos, and yet his courage and aplication fail'd him not."

As to the credit to be attached to the accounts of matters given from the Memoirs of King

[b] Thorpe's Catalogue for 1836 of upwards of 1400 MSS., p. 382, at "1301. Tyrconnel.—Official Correspondence of Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnel, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, addressed to Mary of Este, Queen of King James II., then resident at the Court of France from Oct. 1689 to June 1690, with the names of the bearers of each Letter."—Story's Impartial History, pp. 56-57, 60-64, and Continuation, pp. 15-16.—Harris's Life of King William III., pp. 263, 266.—Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 385-390.

[c] See Note 114, pp. 331-332.

King James II., Mr. Macpherson, who first made them generally known, by abstracts taken at Paris, and printed in 1775, says: "If the Memoirs of King James cannot raise their author to the rank of a fine writer, they certainly do him credit as a man. There is an air of veracity in all the accounts given by that Prince, that is much more valuable to an intelligent reader, than the choicest flowers of rhetoric and best turned periods. Indeed the manner in which the papers, called his Memoirs, were written, precludes every suspicion of unfaithfulnes on his side. His notes were generally made upon the spot; and always before there was any necessity to palliate the circumstances of the transactions related. Besides, he was not of a complexion to misrepresent. He affected to guide himself by principle in all his actions: and to deem the slightest deviation from truth a crime. In his opinions he is frequently wrong, but very seldom in any fact that fell within his own immediate knowledge."

Of the King's attention to writing while in Ireland, the same historian asserts: "That Prince usually wrote, with his own hand, all the occurrences of the times, or examined and corrected what was written by others. He sometimes wrote down his instant reflections and conjectures on the state of his affairs, and the expected effects of his measures, without waiting to see what time might determine. The pen must have been constantly in his hand."

Of King James's Memoirs the originals are related to have been unfortunately destroyed at the time of the first French Revolution; and we have at present only a compilation from them, obtained, after much trouble, from Italy, and published by command of His Royal Highness, the Prince Regent (subsequently King George IV.), in 1816. But, as this compilation purports to have been made from the King's original Memoirs and other papers, not only under the sanction of his son, Prince James Francis Edward Stuart, (or the Chevalier de St. George), but is, moreover, interlined and corrected by the hand of that Prince, the work may, under such circumstances, be regarded, and has accordingly been cited, in these pages, as the Memoirs of King James II.[d]

Note 116, Page 42.

James's conduct towards Ireland asserted, to have been attributable to his having been persuaded by bad advisers, that, to gain England, he should lose Ireland, since the English would not recall him, like his brother, Charles II., while he should be at the head of an Irish and French army.

From some years devoted to the investigation of documents connected with the reign of James II. in Ireland, the Annotator of this work may be allowed to observe here, *once for all*, that he has never met with any foundation for the notion, that the King thought his English subjects would be the more likely to recall him to his throne in England, if he had lost Ireland. Neither, on the *other* hand, has the Annotator met with any evidence to countenance what Harris, &c., as well as the Author, have alluded to, as an intended cession by James II. of Ireland

[d] Memoirs of King James II., vol. i. preface, and vol. ii. pp. 390-391.—Macpherson's Original Papers, vol. i. pp. 4, 5, 172.—Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick, tome i. Notes, p. 482.

Ireland to Louis XIV. James's ideas of the best policy to be observed towards Ireland are set forth in his "Instructions for his Son." These, while the King, says Macpherson, "was in Ireland in 1690, he employed some part of his time in drawing up;" though, it may be added, that, from the heading, "For my Son, the Prince of Wales, 1692," they would not appear to have been perfected until *that* year[e].

Note 117, Page 44-45.

Alleged good policy of Charles I., in raising an Irish army, to balance the power of the many anti-monarchical sects in England in his time; and proportionably bad policy, in not keeping that army on foot.

The army which Charles I. had levied in Ireland by the Earl of Strafford, in order to oppose the Scotch "rebels," by whose subsequent union with the disaffected English the monarchy was overthrown, is stated by Dr. Curry to have amounted to "about 9,000 men; 8,000 of which number were Irish Catholics." The Doctor cites the following testimony from Carte, as to the character of that army. "Sir William St. Leger, Serjeant-Major-General of the Army, having reviewed these troops at Carrickfergus, saw such willingness and aptness in them to learn their exercises, and that mettle and gallant appearance, which would recommend them to be chosen for a service where a crown lay at stake, made no scruple to pronounce, that, considering how newly they had been raised, no Prince in the Christian world had, for their number, a better and more orderly body of men in his service."

In the "Declaration of the Commons assembled in Parliament, concerning the Rise and Progresse of *The Grand Rebellion* in Ireland," ordered to be printed in England, in 1643, for the purpose of casting odium on the King, the levying and maintenance of this army in Ireland, by his Majesty, is mentioned in very different terms. "The Popish Irish Army," observes that document, "was kept on Foot there for a long Time after the Beginning of this Parliament, contrary to the Advice and frequent Desires of both Houses of Parliament, and to the great Furtherance of this Rebellion, by teaching those barbarous Villains the Knowledge of Arms under the Notion of fighting against *Scotland*, but now made Use of, to extirpate both English and Scots from the Kingdom of *Ireland*"[f]. See Notes 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 23.

Note 118, Page 45.

The Marshal General de Rosen, and the French Ambassador, Comte d'Avaux, ordered to return from Ireland to France.

The Duke of Berwick speaks as follows of the Marshal de Rosen and the Count d'Avaux in connexion with their recall from Ireland to France:

"M. de Rosen s'en retourna en France, à son grand contentement, aussi bien qu'à celui de

[e] Harris's Life of William III., pp. 225-226.—Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 617, 618, 619, 636, 637, 638.

[f] Curry's Review of the Civil Wars of Ireland,

de tous les Officiers de l'armée, qui ne pouvoient le souffrir. Il étoit de Livonie, il avoit commencé à servir en France, dans le régiment du vieux Général Rosen. Son Colonel lui trouvant du courage & de l'esprit, le fit Officier, & enfin lui donna sa fille en mariage; de là il trouva moyen de se pousser par les degrés, & parvint à être Lieutenant Général, & ensuite Mestre-de-Camp Général de la Cavalerie Françoise. C'étoit un excellent Officier, fort brave, & fort applique, très-propre pour être à la tête d'une aile; mais incapable de commander une armée, par la raison, qu'il craignoit toujours les événemens; & quoique très-civil dans la société, & très-noble dans sa maniere de vivre, il étoit fort sujet à se mettre en colere, & même à un tel point qu'il en devenoit furieux; & alors il n'étoit plus capable de rien ecouter que sa passion. Il fut fait Maréchal de France en 1703, & voyant qu'on ne vouloit pas le mettre à la tête d'une armée, il se retira à une terre qu'il avoit en Alsace, & y mourut en 1714, âgé de 87 ans.

"M. d'Avaux, Ambassadeur de France fut aussi rappelé; le Roi n'étoit pas content de ses manieres hautes, & peu respectueuses: c'étoit d'ailleurs un homme d'esprit, & qui avoit acquis de la réputation dans les différentes ambassades qu'il avoit eues"[g].

Note 119, Pages 45–46.

The Duke of Tyrconnell alleged, to have obtained the removal of Rosen, from envy of his superiority in the art of war, &c.

Whatever may have been the comparative merits, or demerits, of the Marshal de Rosen and the Duke of Tyrconnell as military men, it is *certain*, that the counsel and conduct of the Duke, in 1689, brought the campaign to a very different termination, on the King's side, from what would have been the result of the Marshal's advice. On the landing of Marshal Schonberg in Ulster, in August, 1689, or only about a fortnight after the rout of Newton-Butler and the raising of the Siege of Derry, the royal Memoirs mention the general aspect of the King's affairs, at that juncture, to have been so alarming, that it "made many propose to the King to think of Securing his person, which they Sayd was not to be done but by gathering what troops he could togather, and marching Streight to Athlone, endeavour to defend the Shannon, and secure the province of Connough till winter, by which time he might expect succours from France; that if he did not this, speedily the Inneskillingers would cut betwixt (*him*) and Athlone, Schomberg would in the mean time advance towards *Dublin, so y^t if ye King attempted to go towards* Drogedah, they would have him betwixt them. This was what the French Ambassador, *Monsr Rosen* and Severall other of the French Officers were continually

book iv. caap. 8.—A Declaration of the Commons assembled in Parliament, concerning the Rise and Progresse of *The Grand Rebellion* in Ireland. Together with a Multitude of Examinations of Persons of Quality, whereby it may appear to all the World, who were and still are the Promoters of that cruell and unheard of Rebellion, &c., p. 6: London, 1643.

[g] Mémoires du Marechal de Berwick, tome i. pp. 64-65.

ally representing to the King. . . . . But all their arguments and aprehentions could not prevail upon his Majesty to take any such measures, he was resolved not to be tamely walked out of Ireland, but to have one blow for it at least; *My Lord Tyrconnel,*" adds the King, "some of the French Officers, and many of his own Subjects concured with his Majesty in this resolution."

This difference between the opinions of the Duke and the Marshal, as to the measures to be adopted in reference to Schonberg's invasion, is likewise mentioned, in his rambling and irregular manner, by Story. Having stated of Marshal Schonberg's force, "Fame had made our Army twice as many as they were," that, when they "came first to *Dundalk,*" the Irish "were in such Disorder, that most of them retreated beyond *Drogheda,*" and that he "was told since by some of themselves, they had not at that Time above 8,000 in a Body," the Williamite Chaplain adds, "Mareschal *De Rose* was very much concerned at this, and he with some others, were for deserting *Drogheda* and *Dublin,* and retreating towards *Athlone* and *Limerick.* . . . . . This my Lord *Tyrconnel* heard of, where he was sick at *Chappell-Izzard,* and went immediately to *Drogheda,* where he told them, that he would have an Army there by the next Night of 20,000 men, which accordingly proved true, for they came in from *Munster* on all Hands."

This conduct of the Duke of Tyrconnell, notwithstanding his delicate state of health at the time, is likewise referred to in his funeral oration, delivered at the office celebrated for him by order of King James, and in presence of that Monarch and a distinguished congregation, at Paris, August 22nd, 1692. After noticing the Duke's illness, the oration thus proceeds: "Telle est la sujétion attachée à l'éminence de la Royauté, que celuy qui en est revêtu ne sçauroit tout faire par lui-même. Il peut bien former lui seul de salutaires conseils, mais il a besoin que d' autres les exécutent; & il en est d'une telle importance, qu'il n'y a quelquefois qu'un seul hommè qui soit capable de les exécuter. En effet, durant la longue maladie du Viceroy, l'armée manqua des choses nécessaires, & se trouva tellement diminuée, que tous les chefs voyant celle de l'ennemi supérieure, étoient portez à la retraite. Mais le Roy, transporté des mouvemens d'une colère héroïque, n'y pouvoit consentir, & vouloit plûtost livrer un combat avec des forces inégales; lorsque le malade à peine convalescent rassembla des troupes dispersées, & en arma de nouvelles avec tant de diligence & de succés, que l'ennemi qui s'avançoit recula, & ne fit aucun progrés du reste de la campagne." The Jacobite official account, in speaking of the Duke of Tyrconnell's efforts to bring up the troops to offer battle to Marshal Schonberg, says of the Duke, "whose Zeal and Fidelity to the Crown, in the worst of Times, can hardly in History find their Parallel"[h].

NOTE 120,

[h] Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 372, 373, 374, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 382.— Story's Impartial History, &c., pp. 16-17.—Oraison Funébre de My lord Richard Talbot, Duc de Tyrconnel, Vice-Roy d'Irlande, prononcée à Paris, dans l'Eglise des Religieuses Angloises du Fauxbourg Saint Antoine, le 22 Aoust, 1692. Par Messire M. A. Anselme (Prédicateur Ordinaire de Sa Majesté) — A Paris, chez George & Louis Josse, Rue Saint Jacques, à la Couronne d'Epines.

NOTE 120, Page 46.

The Duke of Tyrconnell causes his adversary, Lord Mountcashel, to be sent to France, at the head of the Irish regiments that were to go there, in exchange for the French troops dispatched to Ireland, under the Comte de Lauzun, who was to act likewise as Louis XIV's Embassador to James.

Of the political rivalship existing between the Duke of Tyrconnell and Lord Mountcashel, to which the Duke's causing his Lordship to be appointed to the command of the Irish troops going to France is attributed, King James, in mentioning the opposition shown by his Lordship to the interest of the Duke in France, the following year, 1691, says: "My Lord Montcassel who had a great and beneficial command over those Irish who came first into France (where he now was settled) had always been of an opposite partie to My Lord Tyrconnel, and did all he could to thwart whatever he aimed at in that Court; which," adds his Majesty of himself, "still made the King's taske the more difficult, where there were so many different intersts and concurrent factions to be managed, both of the French and his own Subjects, and yet a due regard to be had to them all."

On the assistance (if it can be called so) from France, which arrived in Ireland in March, 1690, under Lauzun, and, in return for which, Lord Mountcashel was sent with a body of the best Irish troops to France, the Duke of Berwick, after mentioning the recall of Count d'Avaux, observes: "A la priere de la Reine d'Angleterre, le Roi Très-Chrétien envoya à sa place le Duc de Lausun, à qui il donna aussi le commandement des sept bataillons François qu'il avoit résolu de faire passer en Irlande. Le Roi avoit demandé au Roi Très-Chrétien un secours de troupes, à cause que le Prince d'Orange se préparoit à y venir en personne, avec une armée considérable; mais *ce petit nombre n'étoit pas suffisant, & fut cause que le Prince d'Orange en mena plus qu'il n'avoit d'abord projetté.* Milord Montcassel passa en France, sur les mêmes bâtimens qui avoient porté les troupes Françoises, & y conduisit cinq régimens d'Infanterie Irlandoise, que le Roi envoyoit en échange des troupes qu'avoit emmenées le Duc de Lausun"[1]. See Note 103, pp. 317-318.

King James, in referring to this French aid as only "about 6000 men and some few cloaths for the Soldiers," (namely, the Irish soldiery), thus complains of the conduct of the French minister, Louvois: "That great and powerfull Minister did not concur in giveing such assistance

M.DC.XCII. Avec Privilége du Roy, pp. 44-45. —The Life of James Fitz James, Duke of Berwick, Marshal, Duke, and Peer of France, General of his Most Christian Majesties Armies, containing an Account of his Birth, Education, and Military Exploits, in Ireland, Flanders, Spain, the Sevennes, Dauphiny, and on the Rhine, translated from the French, pp. 68-69: Dublin, 1738.—A Relation of what most Remarkably happened during the last Campaign in Ireland, &c., p. 4.

[1] The exact number of this Irish Brigade, or "The Brigade of Mountcashel," amounted, when newly regimented in France, in May, 1690, to 5371 privates and officers, "all well-made men," according to the MSS. of Lieutenant-General Count Arthur Dillon, and Lord Melfort.

tance as was in his power and might reasonably haue been expected; so that in effect *all the succours which came from France were but in exchange for the like number of the best Irish troops sent over under the Command of My Lord Montcassell,* the *armes he* (Louvois) *gaue were so bad that they did little service,* and the cloaths he sent so scanty and so cours, that many of the Irish Regiments prefer'd their old ragged ones before them"[j].

NOTE 121, Page 46.

The landing of William III. in Ulster, for the Campaign of 1690, *&c.*

"The King," says Harris, "set out from *London* for *Ireland* on the 4th of *June* (1690), embarked at *High-lake* on the 11th, and on the 14th landed near *Carrickfergus,* being attended by Prince *George* of *Denmark,* the Duke of *Ormond,* the Earls of *Oxford, Portland, Scarborough,* and *Manchester,* with many other persons of distinction."

The "Villare Hibernicum," a contemporary Williamite account, after having stated how William "about Three went a Shoar at the said Town," observes: "His Majesty on his Landing, immediately mounted, and rode on Horse-back, through the main Street of the Town, which was lined on both Sides with innumerable Crouds of People, who bid his Majesty Well-come, with continual Shouts and Acclamations: At the *White-House,* half-way betwixt *Carrickfergus* and *Belfast,* His Majesty was met by the Duke of *Schonbergh* in his Coach and six Horses; the King was pleased to a-light, and go into the Duke's Coach, attended only with one Troop of Horse, and a few Gentlemen, and immediately drove over the Strand to *Belfast.* The Uncertainty of the Time, and Place of his Majesty's Landing, and the Suddenness of the News was such, that few of the Multitude that Flocked to *Belfast* to see it had their Ends, the Generals Motion was so quick; yet before they got into the Town, there were Abundance that met them, and coming to the *North-Gate,* He was received by the Magistrates of *Belfast,* in their Formalities, a Guard of the Foot-Guards, and a general continued Shout, and Shouts of *God save the King, God bless our Protestant King, God bless King William.* His Majesty went directly to the Castle, which had been some Time before prepared for him, where he alighted and went into an Apartment appointed for him. . . . . At Night," it is added, "the Streets were filled with Bonfire-works, which were no sooner lighted, but the Alarm Signal was given by Discharge of Guns, so Planted, that from one Place to another of the Armies several Winter-Quarters throughout the whole Country in our Hands, in a few Minutes, all Places had Notice of the King's Arrival, and in a very few Hours made Bonfires so thick, that the whole Country seem'd in a Flame; so that the Enemy could not but see, and conjecture the Cause, to their eternal Grief."

Yet the same pamphlet, in subsequently referring to the period, when "the *Protestants* in *Dublin*

[j] Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 387-388, 434-435.—Story's Impartial History, p. 57.—Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick, tome i. pp. 65-66.

Dublin receiv'd the certain Account of King *William's* Landing" and when King James quitted it to go and meet him, says: "It was expected the *Irish* would have been much cast down upon King *James's* leaving *Dublin*, and the certain News of King *William's* Landing, but they were much the contrary, they triumphed and rejoyced as if they had got King *William* in a Pound, and the Day were their own. They were assured either that the *French* Fleet would cut off King *William* from *England*, or that an Insurrection would be made there"[k].

NOTE 122, Page 46–47.

Formidable superiority, on William's junction with Schonberg, of their army, as composed not merely of English and Scotch, but of the troops of so many other countries, or Dutch, Danes, Swedes, Germans, &c.

Amongst the nations of Europe specified by Colonel O'Kelly as composing the army prepared by William III. for the reduction of Ireland, the Swedes are to be understood as included in the Dutch forces; William, in his capacity of Stadtholder of Holland and King of England, having composed, in 1689, a dispute between the Danes and Swedes, so as to obtain, for his Dutch and English objects, troops from *both* those northern Kingdoms, that, had they gone to war, should have been employed against each other. "This he effectually did," says our clever countryman, Lord Molesworth, in his Account of Denmark, where he was Embassador; "for the *Danes* immediately afterwards sent by Treaty 7,000 Soldiers, which are yet (1692) in his Majesty's Pay; and the *Swedes* remain at Liberty to continue such of their Troops in the *Dutch* Service as formerly were stipulated for, and which (had a War broken out), they might have been forced to recall." From Marshal Schonberg's correspondence with William, we likewise learn, that his French Protestant regiments were recruited, for the Campaign of 1690, in Switzerland; and Norway being then a portion of the Danish monarchy, it is not unnatural to suppose, that, amongst the 7000 auxiliaries obtained from the Danish King by William, there would be Norwegians serving as well as Danes. The Williamite army would thus consist of the troops of TEN different European nations,—1, English; 2, Scotch; 3, Anglo-Irish; 4, Dutch; 5, Swedes; 6, Brandenburgers or Germans; 7, Danes; 8, Norwegians; 9, French; 10, Swiss.

In reference to the large amount of foreigners, as well as native British troops, in William's army, Dalrymple says of William, that, "distrusting English soldiers to fight against one who had been lately King of England, he took care that one half of his army should consist of foreigners." And this assertion of Dalrymple respecting William would seem to be confirmed by that Prince's employing, at the Boyne, his English forces as little as possible, and laying the stress of the engagement on his Continental and Anglo-Irish troops. "As to our *English* Forces," says Story, "there were few of them that had an Opportunity at this Place to shew themselves, but those that had, acquitted themselves very well; the *French* and *Innis-killiners*

Harris's Life of William III., p. 261.—Villare Hibernicum, &c., by W. Griffyth, Esq., pp. 5, 9.

killiners did good Service, and to give the *Dutch* Guards[1] their Due, they deserve immortal Honour for what they did that Day"[m].

NOTE 123, Page 47.

William's army double in number, as well as very superior in order and discipline, to the force, with which James proceeds from Dublin, June 16th, 1690, *to meet him.*

King James's Memoirs, in mentioning the great disadvantages under which the King lay, in attempting to defend himself against William in 1690, speak of his army as "a body of men in great measure newly raised, half disciplined, half armed, and not above half the number of the Enemie, with a weak artillery, and very little mony." The royal Memoirs further state, in reference to the numerical inferiority of the King's force compared with William's, that "he had not aboue twenty thousand men, and the other between forty and fifty thousand." In giving an account of the firing of the artillery the day before the action of the Boyne, the same work mentions William's artillery as "very numerous, being *at least* fifty pieces (as was sayd) with severall small mortars which they fired also,"—this last circumstance, by the way, being apparently alluded to, in the old Williamite ballad upon the engagement:

"King James, he pitch'd his tents between
His lines, for to retire;
King William threw his *bomb-shells* in,
And set them all on fire!"

The Duke of Berwick, who was at the Boyne, affirms respecting what he designates the "grande disproportion" between his father's and William's army: "Les ennemis avoient quarante-cinq mille hommes, & nous n'étions que vingt-trois mille."

Père d'Orleans, the Jesuit, who may be cited as a Jacobite authority, since, in the introduction to the third volume of his work on the Revolutions of England, he tells us he enjoyed the liberty of consulting King James *ad libitum*, and also obtained information from Mr. Sheridan, who was high in office under that Monarch's government in Ireland, says, respecting the numbers and artillery of the Williamite army, that William "s'étant joint avec le Maréchal de Schomberg, marcha avec quarante-cinq mille hommes, & soixante piéces de gros canon, vers Dublin pour chercher le Roi." The same French writer adds of King James's force, though joined by Lauzun's French, that "l'armée du Roi de la Grande Bretagne ne pût guères passer vingt mille hommes, une grande partie à demi armez, & n'ayant d'artillerie que douze piéces de campagne, qu'on avoit amenées de France."

Thus, according to the Jacobite accounts, James's army would be from 20,000 to 23,000 men,

[1] See Note 22, for the number of Roman Catholics, in that favourite regiment of William.

[m] Lord Molesworth's Account of Denmark, chap. i. pp. 1, 3, chap. xiii. pp. 139-141: London, 1738.—Harris's Ware, vol. ii. Irish Writers, pp. 286-287.—Dalrymple's Memoirs, &c., vol. ii. part ii. book iv. appendix, pp. 60, 61, 66, 68, 1st edit.: London, 1773, & vol. iii. part ii. book v. p. 8, 3rd edit. London, 1790.—Copies of Military State Papers.—Story's Impartial Hist., &c., pp. 89, 95-97.

men[n], in a great measure, very inferiorly armed and disciplined; and with an artillery of but twelve field-pieces; and William's army would be between 40,000 and 50,000, or 45,000 men, excellently equipped and disciplined, or, as King James says, "most old regiments, well apointed," and with an artillery of between fifty and sixty pieces of large cannon, besides field-mortars.

On the other hand, the Williamite Chaplain, Story, without giving any numerical particulars concerning the artillery of either side, says, in the first-published portion of his work, respecting the amount of the Williamite army: "On the 27*th* (June) we marched through *Dundalk*, and encamped about a Mile beyond it, where the whole Army joined, *English, Dutch, Danes, Germans*, and *French*, making in all *not above* 36,000, though the World call'd us a third Part more: but the Army," he observes, "was in all Respects as well provided as any Kingdom in the World ever had one for the Number of Men." In the second, or more recently-published portion of his book, Story states: "June the 27*th*, our whole Army joined at *Dundalk*, making in all *about* 36,000, though the World called us *at least* a third Part more." Farther on, or after describing William's review of his men near Dublin, Story says: "the compleat Number of our whole Army was *at least* 36,000." Concerning the amount of King James's army at the Boyne, Story, in the first portion of his work, without making any separate mention of Lauzun's French, states of the Irish: "As to their Numbers at the *Boyne*, some of their own Officers call them five and twenty, and others seven and twenty thousand." In the second part of his book, he affirms, that "they (the Irish) were not above 27,000 at the *Boyn*, besides the *French*." These, under Lauzun, Story sets down at "five thousand;" so that, according as the Irish are taken at *his* above-cited 25,000, or 27,000, the Jacobite army, Irish and French, would, by this Williamite authority, be 30,000 or 32,000 men.

In reference to the "third part more," or "at least a third part more," than 36,000, or, in other words, about 48,000, which Story says "the world" reckoned the Williamite army to have been, it is certain "the world" was not without Williamite authority for doing so. Nicolas Chevalier, in his medallic or panegyrical history of King William, in French, *dedicated to the King himself in Holland*, in 1692, and published at Amsterdam that year, "*avec privilége*," says, that William found the army, with which he was to march against the Irish at the Boyne, consisted of 62 squadrons of horse and dragoons, and 52 battalions of foot, which might amount to from 40,000 to 50,000 men. "Il se rendit à l'Armée," says that writer of William, "et la trouva *composée de* 62. *Escadrons de Cavalerie ou de Dragons, & de* 52. *Bataillons d'Infanterie. Cela* POUVOIT FORMER ENVIRON 40, à 50,000. HOMMES." A Huguenot History of the Revolution in Ireland

[n] The most *probable* solution, for the difference of 3000 men, between King James, and his son the Duke of Berwick, in their statements respecting the amount of the Irish army at the Boyne, may be given, by supposing, that three regiments of foot and five troops of horse from Munster, which Story reports not to have come up till the day after the battle, and to have then marched off untouched, *may* have been taken into the calculation of the Duke as if at the action, because intended to have been so; while the King may *not* have included them in his enumeration, as being aware of their not having arrived in time, to take part in the engagement.—(Story's Impartial History, p. 90.)

Ireland under William III., published in Holland in 1691, or the year previous to Chevalier's, and written in the highest strain of eulogy on the King, gives a similar account of the numerical strength of his army for the campaign of the Boyne, and other particulars connected with it, as follows: "Le Roy Guillaume, de son costé, n'oublioit rien de tout ce qui pouvoit le rendre maistre, en peu de temps, de tout le Royaume d'Irlande. Outre les sept mille Danois, dont une partie arriva en Irlande à la fin de Mars, & l'autre au commencement d'Avril, commandez par le Prince de Wirtemberg, sa Majesté faisoit marcher un grand nombre d'autres Troupes, qui s'embarquoient tous les jours, & qui jointes avec celles qui estoient en Irlande *devoient composer* UNE ARMÉE DE QUARANTE À CINQUANTE MILLE HOMMES. Sa Majesté devoit estre suivie *d'une grande quantité de Grands Seigneurs, & d'une infinité des Gentilshommes, qui magnifiquement equipez, & en qualité de Volontaires, vouloient faire la Campagne d'Irlande,* & s'y signaler. L'Armée du Roy devoit estre non seulement fort nombreuse, mais encore composée des meilleures & des plus belles Troupes du Monde." And in mentioning William's taking the field in Ireland, the Huguenot writer says of the King and his forces: "Il se rendit à son Armée, qui ESTOIT COMPOSÉE DE 62 ESCADRONS DE CAVALERIE, OU DE DRAGONS, & DE 52 BATAILLONS." See Note 121, p. 339, and Note 122, *passim.*

On this point, the writer of this note may be permitted to add, from the best military papers he could get at in Trinity College, the State Paper Office, and British Museum, in order to form an estimate of the amount of William III.'s force at the Boyne, that *whatever may have been William's number of regular troops on that field,* the King, according to the proportion of men and officers for his different regiments there, would have either the names, or room for the names, of above 51,000 men and officers upon the rolls of those regiments[o].

NOTE 124, Page 47.

James, after occupying an advantageous post on the border of Ulster and Leinster, is represented, notwithstanding its defensibility against a much more numerous army than William's, to have improperly quitted it, and hastily retreated till he reached Drogheda, and encamped there, to wait for and engage the enemy.

King James, in connexion with the details already given, of the adverse and depressing circumstances under which he had to take the field for the Campaign of 1690, informs us in his

[o] Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 391, 393, 395. — Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick, tome i. p. 69.—Père d'Orleans, Histoire des Révolutions d'Angleterre, tome iii. avertissement, & p. 453: Amsterdam, 1714. — Story's Impartial History of the Wars of Ireland, pp. 57, 70, 98, and Continuation, pp. 14, 15, 19, 28, 31. — Histoire de Guillaume III., Roy d'Angleterre, d'Ecosse, de France, & d'Irlande, Prince d'Orange, &c. Par Médailles, Inscriptions, Arcs de Triomphe, & autres Monumens Publics, recueillis par Nicolas Chevalier, p. 138: à Amsterdam. M.DC. XCII. Avec Privilége.—Histoire de la Révolution d'Irlande arrivée sous Guillaume III., pp. 93, 114: Amsterdam, chez Pierre Mortier, Libraire sur le Vygendam: à la Ville de Paris. M.DC.XCI. — Military State Papers in Trinity College, State Paper Office, British Museum.

his Memoirs, that "he only proposed to himself, since the inequality in numbers was so great, to try if by defending posts, and rivers, he could tire and wast the enemies force, having experienced by the foregoing Campagn, that nothing could be more fatal to them than delays[p], thō his own universall wants made that a hard game to play too."

After mentioning how the King collected his army and advanced in the month of June to Dundalk, but that the enemy were as 45,000 to but 23,000 men, the Duke of Berwick says: "Cette grande disproportion nous détermina à tacher d'occuper quelque poste pour arrêter le Prince d'Orange, ou du moins le combattre avec moins de désavantage. Il fut proposé de se camper sur les hauteurs au delà de Dundalk, attendu que le pays étoit assez difficile; mais comme les ennemis, en faisant un petit détour, pouvoient descendre dans la plaine derriere nous, il fut résolu de se placer derriere la riviere de Boyne, près de Drogheda."

The Duke of Berwick then intimates that this was done: "Le Prince d'Orange nous suivit, & se campa vis-à-vis de nous;" but says no more than King James or than Story does, of what the Latin version of Colonel O'Kelly would represent as "retreating by forced marches, not unlike actual flight." On the contrary, James relates how, while he was encamped for some days, at Castletown-Bellew, or, according to Story, on Sunday, June 22nd, a party of his men gained the first success over a detachment of William's. The royal Memoirs, premising how William in the mean time was at Newry, "during which time he sent parties to view the severall ways," add, "and it being observed that every night he sent one to a pass called the Halfway bridg, to press a guard of hors and Dragoons the King had there, betwixt Dundalk and Newry, his Majesty order'd out a partie of hors and foot under the command of Coll: Dempsy and L[t] Collonell Fitzgerald to ly in ambuscade, and if possible to surprize them, which was performed with such success, that the Enemies partie of two hundred foot and sixty dragoons fell into it at break of day, and were most of them cut off, the four Captains that commanded and most of the subalterns being either kill'd or taken prisoners, with the loss of a few common men: on the King's side, only Collonell Demsy himself was wonded, on which he died in two or three days afterwards."

James then remarks respecting this affair, and his retreat to the Boyne: "This little advantage heartended the King's troops, and encreased the desire they had of fighting, but that alter'd not the Kings resolution of avoiding a battle all he could; and therefore being informed that the Prince of Orange had prepared all things for his march, and resolued to come streight to Dundalke, the King not thinking that post tenable against such an Army, on the 23[d] retired towards Ardee, where his Artillery joined him, and haveing notice by his parties and deserters that the enemy had passed the mountains between Newry and Dundalke, on the 27th he retired to Dumlane, and the next day came to the Boin, and haveing passed that river, camped just over against the bridg, his right towards Droghedagh and his left up the river, and finding that post an indifferent good one (and indeed the Country afforded no better) he set up his rest there, and resolued to expect the Enemy thō he had not aboue twenty thousand men, and the other between forty and fifty thousand.

"What

[p] See Notes 112-113.

"What induced the King to hazard a battle on this inequality, was, that if he did it not there, he must loos all without a stroke, and be obliged to quit Dublin and all Munster, and retire behind the Shannon, and so be reduced to the Prouince of Conough, where haveing no magazines, he could not subsist very long, it being the worst corn Country in Ireland; besides his men seem'd desirous to fight, and being new raised would have been dishearten'd still to retire before the Enemie, and see all their Country taken from them, without one blow for it, and by consequence be apt to disperse and give all for lost, they would have reproached the King with not trusting to their courage, and haue assured him of wonders had he but try'd them; these and other reasons determined the King to hazard a battle, and so he prepared for it the best he could, and though the ford at old bridg was not to be mentained, yet to hinder the Enemies being master of it as long as possible he posted a Regiment of foot in the Village, which intrenched and cover'd themselves as well as they could, the high ground being on the Enemies side"[q].

NOTE 125, Page 49.

The English and Dutch fleets beaten by the French, at the battle of Beachy-Head, &c.

The defeat of the English and Dutch fleets, under the Earl of Torrington, by the French fleet, under the Chevalier de Tourville, off Beachy Head, on the coast of Sussex, took place June 30th (O. S.), 1690, or but the day before the battle of the Boyne; and consequently could not have been known to King James's Council of War the very same day, or the evening before the latter engagement. Respecting this naval action, Harris says: "A Dutch Author of the History of King *William* asserts, with a good deal of sharpness, *That the* French *gained the Victory, the* Dutch *the Honour, and the* English *the shame:* And," adds Harris, "probably this is nearest the truth"[r].

NOTE 126, Pages 49–50.

James is blamed, for needlessly giving battle at the Boyne, when, as it is said, so many reasons should rather have obliged him to protract the war.

Count de Lauzun, Commander of the French troops sent to Ireland, who was with James at the Boyne, thus adverts in his private despatch from Limerick, July 26th, 1690, to the difficulties of the King's situation under *any* alternative, when opposed to such a superior army as that of William: "Dans l'extremité où le Roi d'Angleterre avait ses affaires en Irlande à l'arrivée du Prince d'Orange, il ne lui restait que deux partis à prendre: l'un de lui résister, *ce qui m'a toujours paru impossible;* l'autre de brûler Dublin, et ruiner entièrement le pays en se retirant de contrée en contrée; ce parti lui a paru si cruel qu'il n'a pu s'y résoudre, et a mieux

[q] Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 391-394.—Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick, tome i. p. 69.—Story's Impartial History, pp. 68-74, and Continuation, pp. 19-20.

[r] Harris's Life of King William III., pp. 275-276.

mieux aimé prendre confiance en son armée en se tenant campé derrière la rivière de Droghada, sa droite près de la ville et sa gauche à Oldebrige, qui était un des endroits où la rivière était guéable en sorte qu'à marée basse les bataillons y passaient à gué, *les tambours battant la caisse sans être obligés de la lever plus haut que le genou*"[s]. The weather was then very fine, or dry.

NOTE 127, Page 50.

The river Boyne fordable in several places, yet, as it is objected, no trench was cast up, for the defence of those fords.

In Harris's plan of the site of the principal engagement at the Boyne[t], or the ground between the village of Old-Bridge and Drogheda, there are no less than *five* fords set down, in front of James's position. Four of these fords are marked as traversable by infantry, and the fifth by cavalry. The first, L, at Old-Bridge, was that by which the Dutch Blue Guards crossed; the second and third, M, were those by which the French Protestants and Ulster Protestants crossed; the fourth, N, was that by which Sir John Hanmer's regiment and Count Nassau's crossed; and the fifth, a ford for cavalry, marked O, and the nearest to Drogheda, and farthest from Old-Bridge, was that by which William himself, and his left wing of horse crossed. As for the remainder of the ground, or that extending from Old-Bridge to Slane-Bridge, Harris's plan marks, with the letter R, between those places, a ford, "where ye Right wing of the English Horse passed;" King James says "the river was *fordable allmost every where;*" Story states, of the English right wing, under Lieutenant-General Douglas and Count Schonberg (the old Marshal's son), which attacked in that direction, "the Right Wing at first were ordered to pass *all* at *Slane,* but being better inform'd, several Regiments were commanded to pass at *other Fords* between our Camp and that Place;" and William's friend and Maréchal-de-Camp in the engagement, the Earl of Portland, who acted in this quarter, along with Douglas and young Schonberg, speaks of "other fords," as "*two or three other fords,* about three miles higher than our camp."

From King James's account, at the end of Note 124, it has been seen, that he endeavoured to secure the principal ford, at Old-Bridge, by works. And the King's assertion is corroborated by Story, who, in describing the advance, through the river, of the Dutch Blue Guards, against Old-Bridge, says: "The *Irish* had lined the Houses, *Breastworks,* and Hedges beyond the River with my Lord *Tyrconnel's* Regiment of Foot Guards, and some other Companies." Then, having mentioned, that "they had posted also seven Regiments of Foot about 150 Yards backwards," he adds, they "stood drawn up behind some little Hills, to *shelter them from our Cannon, which played all this while.*" But this ford could not be "mentained," although "intrenched," as the King says, or strengthened by those lined "houses" and "breastworks" spoken of by Story; because, as Père d'Orleans observes of the defenders, "on fut trop fortement poussé par le canon, & par la supériorité du nombre."

Whether,

[s] Manuscript Copy of Count de Lauzun's despatch. [t] Copied from Story.

Whether, against such a superiority in numbers and cannon, and opposite such eligible ground to play artillery from, a river, fordable in so many places, as the Boyne, could be secured with works at *every* point by James, with such a force as *he* had, it would be easy to decide upon, if this were the place for doing so[u].

NOTE 128, Page 50.

The first day occupied, on both sides, in the firing of artillery, &c.

Of this day's "firing of artillery," which was so near settling the whole matter in dispute by the death of William, Story says: "Early next Morning (June 30th) our whole Army moved toward the *Boyne*, making their Approaches very finely. After some time His Majesty sent down small Parties of Horse to discover the Ways, and then rid towards the Pass at *Old Bridge*, having a full View of the Enemy's Camp as he went along; His Majesty stopped some Time at *Old Bridge* to observe the Enemy's Posture, and then going a little further, His Majesty alighted to refresh himself, and sate nigh an Hour upon the Grass; during which Time the Enemy brought down two Field-pieces under Covert of a small Party of Horse, and planted them at the Corner of a Hedge undiscovered; and when His Majesty, the Prince[v], and the Rest were mounted again, and riding softly the same Way back, their Cannonier let fly, and at the second Shot was so near killing His Majesty, as that the Bullet slanted upon his Right Shoulder, took away a Piece of his Coat, and struck off the Skin; which might have been a fatal Blow to his Army, and Kingdoms too, if the Great Creator of the World, who orders and governs all Things, had not been at his Right Hand, where he always is, and, I hope, will be, as well for the Defence of His Majesty's Sacred Person, as the Good of those he has undertaken to protect. The Enemy then fired those two Pieces, as fast as they could charge and discharge, doing some Damage amongst our Horse that were drawing up before them, which made the King give Orders for his Horse to rein a little backwards, and have the Advantage of a Rising Ground between them and the Cannon. About Three a Clock in the Afternoon some of our Field-pieces came up, which were immediately planted, and then played into the Enemy's Camp: the rest of the Day was spent in our Army's Encamping, and in firing Great Guns one upon another from several Batteries, without any extraordinary Loss."

James tells us, that it was by *his* order those guns were brought to play upon the English horse, from whose fire William had such a narrow escape of being killed. Having stated

[u] Harris's Life of William III., pp. 266-267.—Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. p. 394.—Story's Impartial History, pp. 78-79, and Continuation, pp. 22-23, 28.—Dalrymple's Memoirs, &c., vol. iii. part iii. book viii. pp. 201-202: London, 1790.—Griffyth's Villare Hibernicum, p. 7.—MS. Copy of the Earl of Portland's Narrative of the Fight at the Boyne, in Southwell Papers.—Père d'Orleans, Histoire des Révolutions d'Angleterre, tome iii. p. 454: Amsterdam, 1714.

[v] That is King James's *other* son-in-law, Prince George of Denmark, who was married to the King's second daughter Anne, afterwards Queen Anne. See Notes 37, 121.

stated how on the 30th, (the next day after the Irish army had passed the river,) the enemy appeared and drew up opposite them on the other side, "their foot over against old bridg, and their left towards Droghedagh," the royal Memoirs add, "their right wing of hors was so near the river on a high ground, that the King made some of his Cannon advance between his camp and old bridg, which so gald that wing, as obliged them to quit their post and encamp behind the Eminence out of sight; it was there," observes the King, "the Prince of Orange was touched onthe shoulder by one of the first two shots, which just fetched off the skin and did him no further prejudice." When Mr. Coningesby (subsequently one of the Lords Justices of Ireland) rode up, and put his handkerchief upon the wounded part, William is said by Bishop Kennet, to have merely observed, "There is no Necessity, the Bullet should have come nearer!"[w]

NOTE 129, Page 50.

The King censured, for sending cannon away, the night preceding the action, towards Dublin.

In Note 123, it has been shown, that James is related to have had no more *formidable* artillery at the Boyne than twelve field-pieces, against from fifty to sixty large cannon, besides field-mortars. The King kept no more than six pieces with him for action, which he had with his left wing, against the English right, towards Slane. James's motive for sending away the rest, with the baggage, to Dublin, *may* have been, that as but six light guns could be of so little avail against such a very superior artillery as that of the enemy before Old-Bridge, and as those six light pieces could thus effect nothing there to compensate for the risk of their being dismounted or taken, it would consequently be most prudent, not to be without at least six pieces of field artillery, in case the other six should be lost. But, howsoever this *may* have been, the passages in James's Memoirs, relative to the removal of his baggage and a portion of his artillery, are as follow. Speaking of the 30th of June, or the day before the engagement at the Boyne, it is said: "the King believeing they (the enemy) might march by their right up towards Slane to pass the river there, or endeavour to force the ford at old bridg, he order'd the baggage to be loaden, and be ready to march that the ground might be clear on which it camped by morning." Observing how, the following morning, at sun-rise, the enemy's right wing was seen to "march towards Slane followed by a line of foot," it is added, "upon which the King order'd the left to march up likewise on the other side the water, and the baggage towards Dublin with all the cannon but six which were directed to follow the left wing." In reference to "the two first brigades of the first line drawn up before old bridg," it is remarked by the King, "from which post he did not think fit to draw them, the Cannon and baggage not being far enough advanced on their way towards Dublin."

Story, in connexion with his rumoured account of the views of James's Council of War the

[w] Story's Continuation of the History of the Wars of Ireland, pp. 19-21, and Impartial History, p. 75.—Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 394-395, and Editor's note.

the night before the battle, thus refers to this removal of the cannon: "They resolved to defend the Passes, and if it were possible to retreat with their Army towards *Dublin*, in order to which they drew off most of their Cannon in the Night." By "most" is to be understood, as has been seen, no more than "half," or *six* out of the *twelve* field-pieces, of which the Irish artillery is stated to have consisted. The six guns which were reserved for action by James were with himself, Lauzun, and the French infantry towards Slane, "where," says Story, "every one expected the main Battel would be."

In fact, as Lieutenant-General Keatinge has observed, on this point, "No success, gained by James's right and centre, could alter the events of that day. Had they even thrown their opponents back into the river, still William's advancing on their flank, which was uncovered, could not be remedied. The attack by Slane was the grand manœuvre. The attacks of the centre and left were only secondary ones. In this action, the great system was displayed; the right attacking, the left refusing itself"[x]. By the words, "William's advancing," are meant his *right*, of eight or ten thousand men, outflanking James's *left*, towards Slane.

Note 130, Page 51.

The Williamites, after a hot dispute, are enabled, by fresh supplies of men, to pass the Boyne; King James's troops, who guarded the river, being beaten back, as having only small parties to support them.

Captain Robert Parker, who was at the passage of the Boyne, in William's army, gives, perhaps, the clearest notion, in a short space, of the plan of action, on William's part, for dislodging James's troops from the banks of the river.

"Upon the King's taking a view of the enemy, he observed," says the Captain, "that they were strongly posted and drawn up to great advantage, and saw plainly it would be a difficult matter to force them from their ground, unless some measures were taken before the battle began, which might oblige them to break the order they were drawn up in. Upon this a council of war was held, in which it was resolved, that Lieutenant-General *Douglas* should march by break of day, with about 8000 men[y] to the ford of *Slane*, two miles up the river, in order to pass there, and fall on the left flank of the enemy, while the King with the main of the army charged them in front. Early next morning, being the first of *July*, both armies were drawn up in order of battle, and General *Douglas* marched off with his detachment. The enemy perceiving this, ordered off the greatest part of their left wing to oppose *Douglas;* and they

[x] Authorities cited in Note 123.—Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 395, 396, 397, 398, 401.—Story's Impartial History, pp. 78, 79, 89.—Keatinge's Defence of Ireland, chap. v. pp. 19-20.

[y] Story makes this wing of the English considerably larger in number. He speaks of "Lieut. Gen. *Douglass*, my Lord *Portland*, my Lord *Overkirk*, and Count *Schonbergh*," as proceeding "with *above ten thousand* Horse and Foot up the River, to pass towards the Bridge of *Slane*."—(Continuation of the Wars of Ireland, p. 22.)

they were put into no small confusion, in drawing troops from other parts, in order to make good their left, which,"—namely, the *other parts*, or their centre and right,—"they had weakened. This answered the King's expectation, who perceiving the disorder they were in, ordered the army to pass the river. The front line was over before the enemy had recovered their disorder, and the King soon passed over and put himself at the head of them."

While, through such confusion and corresponding weakness, occasioned by drawing away, as James tells us, "*most* of the foot" from Old-Bridge and its vicinity, in order to guard against Douglas and young Schonberg towards Slane, William was the better enabled to effect a passage across the river by his centre, under old Marshal Schonberg, opposite Old-Bridge, and by his left wing of cavalry, under himself, nearer to Drogheda, "le Roi," says the Duke of Berwick, in reference to his father's advance towards Slane, "marcha aussi de ce côté-là avec *la plus grande partie de l'armée*, & laissa, pour garder le passage d'Old-Bridge, huit bataillons aux ordres de M. d'Hamilton, Lieutenant Général, & l'aile droite de cavalerie aux miens. Schomberg, qui étoit resté vis-à-vis de nous, attaqua Old-Bridge, & s'en empara, malgré la résistence du régiment qui y étoit, & qui y perdit cent cinquante hommes tués sur la place; sur quoi Hamilton descendit avec les sept autres bataillons pour rechasser les ennemis. Deux bataillons des Gardes les enfoncerent; mais leur cavalerie ayant trouvé moyen de passer à un autre gué, & s'avançant pour tomber sur notre infanterie, j'y fis marcher notre cavalerie, ce qui donna le moyen a nos bataillons de se retirer; mais aussi il fallut que nous commençassions un *combat fort inégal*, tant par *le nombre d'escadrons*, que par le terrain qui étoit fort coupé, & où les ennemis *avoient fait glisser de l'infanterie*. Nous ne laissâmes pas de *charger & recharger dix fois;* & à la fin, les ennemis étourdis de notre audace, firent halte: nous nous reformâmes devant eux, & puis nous nous remîmes en marche *au petit pas*, pour aller joindre le Roi; lequel, après avoir mis l'armée en bataille, pour charger le Prince d'Orange[z], en fut *empêché par un marais qui se trouva entre les deux armées*[a]: sur quoi, pour n'être pas enveloppé par cette partie des ennemis qui venoient de forcer le passage d'Old-Bridge, il fit marcher par la gauche pour gagner le ruisseau de Duleek."

From a comparison of what the Duke says, with what Lauzun mentions, relative to the strength of the force which the Irish had in their centre and right, and *that* brought against them

[z] *Not* "le Prince d'Orange," but Lieutenant General Douglas and Count Schonberg, as has been shown from Story. William, as we *know* from the same authority, led his *left* wing towards Drogheda and not his *right* wing towards Slane; or, in other words, was (though, it appears, without the Duke of Berwick's being aware of it,) much nearer to the Duke himself, in the engagement, than to the Duke's father, King James.—(Impartial History, pp. 78, 79, 82, and Continuation, pp. 22.)

[a] This circumstance is also mentioned by Lauzun, in his private despatch, already spoken of, from Limerick, 26th July, 1690: "Le Roi me commanda d'aller chercher les ennemis, qui marchaient toujours à un mille de nous, sans s'arrêter, pour *nous couper nos derrières*, ou *gagner Dublin*. Je marchai pour aller à eux; mais ayant *trouvé un grand marais devant moi et un ravin qui ne se pouvait passer*, je fus obligé, le Roi pressant, de marcher à côté d'eux, toujours à vue, pour les *empêcher de gagner Dublin*." King James, as will be seen, gives the same account. See Note 131, p. 352.

them by Marshal Schonberg and William, it would appear, as intimated in the Latin text, that the Irish were "insufficient" and their opponents "superior in numbers." The Duke speaks of the Irish infantry at only "huit bataillons," and, in terming the engagement between the Irish cavalry and that of the enemy, "un combat *fort inégal*," he adds, that it was so, "*tant* par le *nombre d'escadrons*, que par le terrain qui étoit fort coupé, & où les ennemis *avoient fait glisser de l'infanterie*," or, in other words, had brought both cavalry and infantry to bear upon cavalry only. And, as to the forces by which the Irish were compelled to retreat from Old-Bridge towards Duleek, Lauzun tells us, that the message brought to the King (who was with him) respecting this reverse, after informing his Majesty, "que le passage d'Oldebrige était attaqué et forcé," and "que milord Tirconnel l'avait défendu avec beaucoup de valeur de sa personne et de son régiment," added, "mais que *douze* bataillons avec *dix huit* escadrons des ennemis avaient fait plier nos bataillons." Thus, by what the Duke of Berwick asserts, the combat of the Irish CAVALRY against that of William would be "fort inégale," according to "le nombre d'escadrons," &c.; and as to the INFANTRY of both parties, the Irish battalions about Old-Bridge are spoken of by the Duke as only *eight*, against *twelve*, according to Lauzun, of William's, besides *eighteen squadrons* of Williamite cavalry. On the conduct of his countrymen, in reference to this passage of the Boyne by their opponents, the Latin translator of Colonel O'Kelly says, in connexion with what he speaks of as the superior numbers of the latter, "nor does this justify any imputation of cowardice or want of energy in the men, nor of any failure of military skill in the officers." And, upon the whole, or when considered as new levies, inferior in every sort of appointment, as well as in number, to William's Continental veterans, &c., that the Irish did not act badly in this quarter, according to Berwick's assertion, "nous ne laissâmes pas de charger & recharger *dix fois*," may be judged by the observation of the Marshal de Boufflers, in his letter to Louis XIV., July 1st, 1703, on the battle of Eeckeren: "Il est bien difficile à ramener *dix fois* à la charge des troupes qui n'ont jamais rien vu"[b]. See, also, Notes 126-127.

NOTE 131, Page 51.

James, instead of ordering his whole army, represented as then drawn up, to advance, is asserted, by his commanding them to retreat to Dublin, to have exposed them to be all cut off by the enemy, in pursuit.

It has been shown, in the previous note, that the King was some miles away from his centre at Old-Bridge, and from his right of cavalry nearer to Drogheda; having marched with Lauzun, the French contingent, and, in short, the greatest part of his force, to the left, towards

[b] Memoirs of Captain Parker, pp. 19-20.—Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 395-400.—Story as last cited.—Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick, tome i. pp. 69-71.—MS. Copy of Lauzun's despatch, &c.—Dalrymple's Memoirs, &c., vol. iii. pp. 29-30: London, 1790.—Collection des Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire de France, &c., Première Série, tome iii. pp. 65, 73: Paris, 1838.

towards Slane, against Lieutenant General Douglas and Count Schonberg, lest, to use the words of James himself, respecting the enemy, "they might have *got to Dulick before the King*, who was with the left, and so have *cut off his retreat to Dublin* and *routed the whole army.*" Having mentioned the passage of the river towards Slane by the enemy's right wing,—after an opposition from "Sr Neale O'Neal's dragoons," who "did their part very well and disputed the passage with the enemie almost an hour till their Cannon came up, and then retired in good order with the loss only of fiue or six common men, their Colonel shot through the thigh and an officer or two wounded,"—his Majesty gives the following account of what happened on his left, where he and Lauzun were. "No sooner," observe the royal Memoirs, "had the Enemie passed there, but they stretched out their line to the right as if they desired to take us in the flank, or *get between us and Dublin*, which Monsr de Lausune seeing marched with the left to keep up with them, and obserue their motion; while this was a doing the King went to the right to hasten up the troops to follow Lausune, believeing the main body of the Enemie's Army was following their right which had passed at Slane. . . . . The King took the reserue consisting of Purcel's hors and Brown's foot, with which he marched till he came up to tha rear of the foot that follow'd Lausune, and there ordering Sr Charles Carny, who commanded the reserue, to post himself at the right of the first line of those foot to make a sort of left wing there, and then rid along the line where he found Lausune and the Enemie's Right drawn up in battle, within half cannon shot, faceing each other: the King did not think fit to charge just then, being in expectation of the troops he had left at old bridg, but while he was discoursing this matter with Lausune, an Aid de Camp came to giue the King an account that the Enemie had forced the pass at old bridg, and that the right wing was beaten; which the King wispering in Lausun's ear, tould him, There was now nothing to be done but to charge the Enemie forthwith, before his troops knew what had happen'd on the right, and by that means try, if they could recover the day; and accordingly sent Monsr Hoguette to the head of the French foot, made all the Dragoons to light, and placed them in the intervalls between the hors, and order'd Lausune to lead on: but just as they were beginning to moue, Sarsfield and Maxwell who had been to view the ground betwixt the two Armys, said *It was impossible for the hors to charg the enemie by reason of two dubble ditches, with high banks, and a little brook betwixt them, that run along the small Valley that divided the two Armys*[c], and at the same time the Enemie's Dragoons got on hors back and their whole line began to march by their flank to their right, and we soon lost sight of their van by a village that interposed; only by the dust that ris behind it, they seemed to *endeavour to gain Dublin road;* upon which the King (since *he could not attack them*) thought fit to march also by his left towards Dublin road too, to pass a small brook at Dulick, which was impracticable higher up by reason of a bog. The King was no sooner on his march, but the right wing's being beat was no longer a mistery, for several of the scatter'd and wounded hors men got in amongst them before they rought (reached) Dulick"[d].

NOTE 132,

[c] See Note 130, p. 350.

[d] Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 395-398.

NOTE 132, Page 51.

Murmurs amongst the Irish troops, at being ordered to retreat, and complaints, that a certain victory was, in consequence, snatched from them, &c.

All this is consistent enough with what the mass of James's army (with him, as has been seen, on the left towards Slane), *might* think, on finding themselves commanded to retreat towards Duleek, without striking a blow; but being, at the same time, *unaware of the natural obstacles to any fighting, which were reported as such to the King by Sarsfield and Maxwell*[e], and which made the retreat upon Duleek necessary, *in order to secure the road to Dublin against the enemy.*

"The Left Wing of the *Irish* Army," says Story, "seemed resolved to fight *Douglass;* but when they heard how Things went at *Old-Bridge,* they retreated immediately towards *Duleek,* and so *marched off untouched.*" Story was not aware of the other circumstance, independent of William's success at Old-Bridge, which caused the Irish left (as well as William's right) to "march off untouched." Had Douglas and young Schonberg, at the head of that right wing, or, in other words, of their 8,000 or 10,000 men, been able to close the road to Dublin against James, by getting to, and seizing upon, the pass of Duleek before him, while William drove the rest of the Irish army from Old-Bridge, &c., upon Duleek, so pre-occupied against *them,* too,—the consequences need not be particularized[f].

NOTE 133, Page 52.

James, accompanied by a select guard of horse, leaves his army for Dublin, reaches it the same night, and, quitting that city early next morning, continues his journey, in the direction of Kinsale.

Having, in the passage already given, mentioned his retreat upon the pass of Duleek, (after learning the enemy's success at Old-Bridge, and finding it impossible to fight Douglas and young Schonberg,) the King thus relates the circumstances of his quitting his army for Dublin: "Monsr de Lausun advised the King to take his own regiment of hors which had the van of that wing, and some Dragoons, and make the best of his way to Dublin, for fear the Enemie, who were So strong in hors and Dragoons, should make detachments, and get thither before him, which he was confident they would endeavour to doe; but that if his Majesty arriued there first, he might with the troops he had with him, and the garison he found there, prevent their possessing themselves of the Town till Monsr Lausun could make the retreat, which he prayd him to leaue to his conduct, and advised him not to remain at Dublin neither, but go with all expedition for France, to prevent his falling into the Enemies

[e] See Notes 130 and 131, pp. 350–352.

[f] Authorities to Notes 130 and 131.

mies hands, which would be not only his, but the Prince his Son's utter ruin; that as long as there was life there was hope, and that if once he was in France again, his cause was not so desperate, they being in all probability Masters at Sea[g]; that he would giue one of his hands that he could haue the honour to accompany him, but he must endeavour to make his retreat the best manner he could, or dy with the French if they were beaten: this advice went much against the grain, so the King demur'd to it, thō reitterated seueral times; but Mons[r] Lausun ceased not pressing him, til at last he found by a more particular account in what manner the business had been carryd on the right, that all the enemies Army had passed the river, which forced even those troops that were not beaten to retreat, and that by consequence it was necessary for him to doe so too."

"The King haveing yeilded at last to Mons[r] Lausun's advice, got to Dublin that night, where he met Major Wilson with letters from the Queen, and an account of Prince Waldeck's being entirely routed by the Marshal of Luxembourg at Flerus, which good news encouraged his design of going for France; but before he could resolue upon it, he spoke singly with those of his Privy Council he trusted most, as the two Chancellors, the Duke of Powis, Secretary Neagle, and Marques of Albeville, the Lord Chief Barron, and others, who were unanimously of a opinion, he should loos no time in going to France, that he run a great risque of being taken by the Enemie, who they believed would be there the next morning."

"Assoon as it was light ..... Mr Taaf the Duke of Tyrconnell's Chaplain (a very honest and descreet Clergie man) came from him, to press the King to leaue Dublin, and get into France as soon as ever he could, and to send all the troops in Town immediately to meet him and Mons[r] de Lausun at Leslip, whither he was marching with what he had left, not designing to come into Dublin at all, for fear he should not get his tired troops soon enough out of it again; accordingly the King order'd Simon Lutterel to march to Leslip, with all the forces in Town except two troops of the King's own Regiment of hors, which he kept to attend upon himself, who in complyance to the advice of all his friends resolued to go for France and try to doe something more effectual on that side, than he could hope from so shatter'd and dishearten'd a body of men as now remain'd in Ireland.

"The King ..... seting out aboue five in the morning, marched leasurely to Bray about ten miles from Dublin, where he order'd the two troops he had with him to stay till twelue at noon to defend that bridg as long as they could, if any partie of the Enemie should fortune to follow them; and then continued on his journey through the hills of Wicklow, with a few persons, till he came to one Mr Hacket's house near Arclo, where he baited his horses some two hours, and then follow'd on his journey to Duncannon.

"The King ..... travelling all night got to Duncannon about sun rise. Mons[r] de la Hoguette and his companions[h] went streight to Passage where they found the LAUSUN a Malouin of 28 guns newly come in there laden with corn and other goods for Ireland; they prevail'd

[g] See Note 125. [h] French Officers.

prevail'd with the Captain to get under sail, and fall down with the tyde to Duncannon, and came to the King there about noon to acquaint him with what they had done, adviseing him it would be easier to go on board her, and so pass by sea to Kingsale, rather then by Waterford, the wind being good and the coast cleere, and that if his Majesty could get out that evening he might be at Kingsale next morning early; the King liked the proposition, and went on board assoon as the ship fell down, and got over the bar before night; as soon as he was at Sea, those gentlemen would have perswaded the King to haue gon to rights for Brest, but the King did not think fit to do that, so he got early next morning to Kingsale"[i], &c.

Note 134, Page 52.

The King does not long delay at Kinsale, but embarks there, in a French vessel, for France, &c.

At Kinsale, the King tells us, "he found Monsr Foran a Chef d'Esquadre with a Squadron of Seven small french ships, with some merchant men laden with corn and wine, togather with Monsr Du Quesne who had three small frigats likewise." It is added, that "the Queen had obtain'd these ships for the King's service in Ireland, which fell out opertunely enough for this Service;" and that the King "set sail, and came to Brest the 20th of July N. S. from whence he sent an express to the Queen to acquaint her with his arrîval there, and his misfortune in the Country from whence he came"[j].

Note 135, Page 52.

James, before his leaving Dublin, said to have ordered his Officers to disperse their men, and make the best conditions they could, for themselves.

The King does *not* appear, from the *Stuart* authorities, to have given *any* such orders as these, ere his departure from Dublin. The commands which he *did* give to Colonel Simon Luttrell respecting all the soldiery in town, except two troops of the Royal Regiment of Horse, have been previously mentioned, in Note 133. The Duke of Berwick says, in relating the retreat from the Boyne: "La nuit venue, nous reçûmes ordre de marcher à Dublin; ce que nous fîmes le matin. De la, le Duc de Tirconnel nous *ordonna de gagner Lymerick,* qui en étoit au moins à soixante milles: *chaque Colonel fut chargé d'y conduire son régiment* par où il jugeroit à propos." And, in speaking of the situation of the King's affairs after his return to Dublin from the Boyne, the Duke remarks, that the King considered, "qu'il convenoit mieux à *laisser le commandement à Tirconel,* & de s'en retourner en France, tant pour y *solliciter*

[i] It is hardly requisite to notice Colonel O'Kelly's great miscalculation of distance in the text, by which a journey from the Boyne to Kinsale is made "100 leagues," or about as long as the whole of Ireland, from one end of it to the other.—(Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 397-404.)

[j] Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 404-406.

solliciter des secours," &c. Finally, James himself says, in connexion with his embarkation for France at Kinsale: "Before the King went on board he writ to My Lord Tyrconnel, that pursuant to his, Monsr de Lausune's and the rest of his friends advice, he was going for France, from whence he *hoped to send them more considerable succours,* and left them in the mean time fifty thousand pistoles, which was ALL THE MONY HE HAD"[k].

Note 136, Page 52.

The flight of James, from the Boyne to France, not attributed by the Author merely to cowardice, owing to the many instances of bravery, formerly shown by that Prince, on land and sea.

On James's reputation, as Duke of York, for great courage both by land and sea, see Note 34. The circumstances that led to his leaving Ireland for France, after the battle of the Boyne, are given at length in the royal Memoirs, and thus more concisely stated by the Duke of Berwick: "Le Roi, ayant vu que, par le malheureux succès de la journée de la Boyne, il ne pouvoit conserver Dublin, crut qu'il convenoit mieux de laisser le commandement à Tirconnel, & de s'en retourner en France, tant pour y solliciter des secours, que pour voir même s'il ne trouveroit pas jour à profiter de l'absence du Prince d'Orange pour faire une entreprise sur l'Angleterre. L'occasion se trouvoit favorable, car le Maréchal de Luxembourg avoit gagné en Flandre la bataille de Fleurus; & le Comte de Tourville, qui venoit de battre les flottes ennemies, étoit actuellement á l'ancre aux Dunes; de maniere que le passage en Angleterre étant sans difficulté ni opposition, il y avoit lieu de présumer que le Roi pourroit aisément se rendre maître de ce royaume. Cela auroit aussi obligé le Prince d'Orange à abandonner l'Irlande, pour accourir au plus pressé: mais M. de Louvois, Ministre de la Guerre, qui, par opposition à M. de Seigneley, Ministre de la Marine, étoit contraire en tout au Roi d'Angleterre, s'opposa si fortement à ce projet, que le Roi Très-Chrétien, persuadé par ses raisons, n'y voulut pas consentir"[l].

Note 137, Page 53.

The King charged to have been, after his arrival in France, so far from soliciting any succours for supporting the war in Ireland, that he told Louis XIV. all was lost, or beyond relief, in that country.

This representation of James's conduct, as regards French succours for the Irish, is quite contrary to what the King's Memoirs say on the subject. After his return to France, they state,

[k] Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick, tome i. pp. 72-73.—Memoirs of King James II., p. 401, 402, 405.

[l] Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 407-412.—Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick, tome ii. pp. 72-75.

state, "that the Court of France was so disponding in the matter, that all the King could say was not able to procure so much as a small supply of armes, amunition, &c., for Ireland, his Most Christian Majesty gaue all for lost in that Kingdom, sayd, It would be so much throwne away to send any thing thither, and therefore all he thought fit to doe, was to dispatch some empty shipps to bring away his troops, and such as would come along with them; so that in conformety to this the King was forced to send an order to My Lord Tirconnel, to come away himself too if he judged it proper, and either name a Commander in chief at his departure, and bring with him as many as willing to accompany him, or otherwise to make conditions for their remaining if they rather chose that"[m].

NOTE 138, Pages 53, 55.

Good retreat from the Boyne, made after James leaves his army, by the Irish cavalry, and the French infantry, to Dublin.

Story, in connexion with James's infantry at the Boyne, notes, "The *French* were towards the Left of their Army that Day, and so did little or no Service, except it was in the Retreat."

The King himself, alluding to his arrival, on the retreat, with Lauzun, at the pass of Duleek, and to the junction there with the rest of the army from Old-Bridge, &c., under the Duke of Tyrconnell, says, respecting the conduct of the Irish horse and French infantry, on that occasion: "Tyrconnel joined Lausun as he was passing, at which time the Enemie appear'd and offer'd to attack their reer, but they turn'd upon them with some hors and the French foot, and made so good a countenance that they suffer'd them to pass quietly over the brook, and bring *five* (of the *Six* pieces of Cannon) which attended the left wing, the *other* being boged was lost; from thence they made their retreat to the Neal, an other great defilé in good order, the enemie however waiting still on them without pressing upon them, and at last, when night came, follow'd no more."

The Duke of Berwick, mentioning the same retreating junction, at the "brook" or "ruisseau de Duleek," of the Irish centre under Tyrconnell, and right wing of cavalry under himself, with the left under the King and Lauzun, states,—"J'arrivai avec ma cavalerie, justement comme les dernieres troupes du Roi passoient le ruisseau; mais celles du Prince d'Orange, qui s'avançoient toujours, y arriverent presque en même temps; de maniere que je fus obligé de passer le défilé au grand galop & en confusion: nous nous ralliâmes de l'autre côté, & toute notre armée s'y rangea en bataille. Les ennemis en firent autant vis-à-vis de nous, mais n'oserent nous attaquer. Après quelque peu de temps, nous nous remîmes en marche, & fûmes suivies par partie de l'armée ennemie; toutes les fois qu'a quelque défilé nous faisions halte, ils en faisoient de meme, & je crois qu'ils étoient bien aises de nous faire un pont d'or."

The Villare Hibernicum, a contemporary Williamite narrative of this campaign, published the same year in London, having said, "The Enemy retreated from *Defile* to *Defile;* our

[m] Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 413-414.

our Horse pursuing them as far as *Duleek*, where the King with the Forces he had with them, joyned those of the Count *de Schonberg*," adds, concerning this retreat of the Irish horse and French foot *beyond* Duleek, after the joining of the whole of William's force for a pursuit,—" The Enemy retired about three Miles farther, and there posted themselves in a very advantageous Place; and the King followed them with his Horse and Dragoons, and Orders were given to Attack them there, but it being very late, and the Fight having lasted from Ten in the Morning till Nine at Night, His Majesty did not think fit to engage the Troops any farther, but ordered the Horse and Dragoons to remain in Arms all Night:" &c.

Story, on this retreat of the French foot and Irish horse, asserts: "I enquired at (of) several, who they were that managed the Retreat the *Irish* made that Day so much to their Advantage, for (not to say worse of them than they deserve) it was in good Order so far as we could see them (I mean with the Horse and *French* Foot) whatsoever they did afterwards; but I could hear of none in particular," &c. And, in the second portion of his work, having related the joining of the whole of the retiring Irish force at Duleek, he speaks of what *he* considers the incompleteness of the victory, on account of the obstacles presented by this retreat. "Our Army," says he, "then pressed hard upon them, but meeting with a great many Difficulties in the Ground, and being obliged to pursue in Order, our Horse had only the Opportunity of cutting down some of their Foot, and most of the Rest got over the Pass at *Duleek;* then Night coming on, prevented us from making so entire a Victory of it, as could have been wished for"[n].

Note 139, Page 55.

The Irish cavalry and French infantry, on arriving, after their good retreat from the Boyne, at Dublin, are greatly alarmed by the aspect of affairs there, and particularly, (according to the Author,) by a report, that King James had left orders, that every man should shift for himself.

On this "*sauve qui peut*" rumour, see Note 135. Lauzun gives this account of how *he* found matters in Dublin on his return there, the morning after the battle of the Boyne, and of the directions which had been left for him by the King before his departure. "Arrivant à Dublin, la frayeur prit lorsque l'on sut le Roi parti; que le Gouverneur auquel il avoit donné des ordres pour nous avait quitté[o], et que les trois régimens de la garnison s'étaient dissipés;

[n] Story's Impartial History, p. 89; and Continuation, p. 23.—Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 400-401.—Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick, tome i. pp. 70, 71, 72.—Lauzun's despatch, as previously cited.— Griffyth's Villare Hibernicum, p. 8.

[o] The Governor of Dublin, Colonel Simon Luttrell, was, as has been seen, in Note 133, dispatched to Leixlip, by James's order. But the Colonel and his Militia returned, and, as will presently appear, did not evacuate Dublin till dusk. Simon Luttrell, unlike his brother Henry, sacrificed everything for his principles, left his country, and died in the French Service, in 1698. The in-

dissipés; qu'il n'y avait pain ni secours; à la merci des Protestans; avec Wacop à l'entrée de la ville, qui disait *de la part du Roi,* de *gagner Kinsale ou Limerick le mieux que l'on pourrait.*"

The state of Dublin, on this day, that after the battle, is thus in part described by the Williamite author of the Villare Hibernicum. "All this Day, being *Wednesday,* nothing was to be seen in *Dublin,* but Officers and Carriages, and the Principal Persons of the Town, their Wives and Families going away; others coming in dusty and weary, getting away as fast as they could. About four in the Afternoon, the Protestants were affrighted with the Appearance of the *Irish* Horse, which were drawn out of the City early in the Morning, and which they hop'd had been quite gone, entering into the Town, followed by the *French* and *Irish* Foot, in a full Body; but they only marched through the Town to go farther; the Militia that kept the City followed them, only the Governour remained. At last, he resolved to march also, and to drive two or three hundred of the Principal Prisoners before him: but while they were preparing for this, a false Allarm was spread, that a Party of *English* being Landed at the Harbour, were just at the *Towns-end;* it was too dusky to disprove this by View, and they had not Leasure to send a Messenger, but in Hast shifted for themselves"[p].

Note 140, Page 55.

The death of the Marshal Duke of Schonberg, early in the action at the Boyne, occasions such an interruption to a pursuit, as to greatly facilitate the Jacobite retreat, &c.

"A la verité," says the Duke of Berwick, of the backwardness shown in molesting James's rear-guard, on the retreat from the Boyne, "cette inaction pouvoit venir de la mort de Schomberg, qui avoit été tué dans la mêlée du côté d'Old-Bridge dans une des charges que nous y fîmes, & l'on peut (sans faire tort au Prince d'Orange) assûrer que Schomberg étoit meilleur Général que lui. Quoi qu'il en soit, les ennemis nous laisserent aller tranquillement." Respecting the circumstances of the veteran Marshal's death, the Duke affirms: "Schomberg fut tué par un Exempt & quelques Gardes-du-Corps, lesquels le prirent, à cause de son Cordon bleu[q], pour le Prince d'Orange." King James asserts of the Marshal, that he "was sayd to be kill'd by Sir Charles Take, or O'Toule, an Exempt of the Guards as he was passing the ford,"—that is, at Old-Bridge. William's friend and Marechal-de-Camp at the battle, the Earl of Portland, in his narrative of the engagement previously quoted, states: "There were 30 Officers and others of the enemys Life Guard, who, coming fiercely up, were all killed but 5; and these, at last, endeavouring to escape through the village (i. e. of Old-Bridge) did most unfortunately meet therein with the Duke of Schomberg, whom they there kill'd, with a pistol-shot." Captain Parker says, of the different versions, in William's army, of the manner in

scription to his memory in Paris, in gilt letters, on a slab of black marble, says of him, that "cum Rege Catholico pro fide Catholicâ exulare maluit, et militando victitare, quam domi pacatam vitam agere, et amplissimis possessionibus gaudere."

[p] Manuscript Copy of Lauzun's despatch.—Griffyth's Villare Hibernicum, p. 11.

[q] The Blue Riband of the Order of the Garter.

in which the Duke met his death, "That which passed current in the army that day, and indeed seems most probable was, that he was shot by a trooper, that had deserted from his own regiment about a year before, and was then in King *James's* guards."

Story gives this character of the Duke: "He was certainly a Man of the best Education in the World, and knew Men and Things beyond most of his Time, being Courteous and Civil to every Body, and yet had Something always that look'd so Great in him, that he commanded Respect from Men of all Qualities and Stations. . . . . As to his Person, he was of a middle Stature, well proportion'd, fair complection'd, a very sound hardy Man of his Age, and sate an Horse the best of any Man; he loved constantly to be neat in his Clothes, and in his Conversation he was always pleasant: he was fourscore and two when he died, and yet when he came to be unbowelled, his Heart, Intrails and Brains, were as fresh and as sound, as if he had been but twenty; so that it's probable he might have lived several Years, if Providence had not ordered it otherways"[r].

Note 141, Page 56.

The Count de Lauzun alleged to have been so impatient to get back to France, that he could not bear the idea of continuing the war in Ireland; and others of the French Officers, from a similar desire of returning home, were thought to have looked on the contest as hopeless.

So far back as the summer of 1689, when it was decided, that Lauzun should supersede Rosen in Ireland, the writer of an official letter from France, in the Stuart Papers, who mentions his having conversed with Lauzun, on the subject of his destination for Ireland, affirms that Lauzun said: "If there were a man to whom he wished the greatest plague he could invent, it should be to be in his circumstances, and to be sent into Ireland. That he was grown old, and desired quiet; and instead of that, undertook a desperate business; only fit for somebody who had neither reputation, nor interest, nor quiet, nor anything else to lose." On these sentiments of Lauzun, the Jacobite writer adds: "I believe no General in France but would have been ambitious to restore the King, and to venture their lives in such a cause." By the extract, in Note 126, from Lauzun's despatch of July 26th, 1690, from Limerick, and still more from the whole of that document, it is evident, he wished to get back to France, as soon as possible. In Note 43, the existence of a similar feeling, on the part of the French Officers employed in Ireland, is likewise apparent, by the extract given from Montesquieu.

One of the chief objects of complaint, amongst the French in general, was the difficulty of supplying themselves here with bread; which was indispensable to their health, though not to that of the Irish. M. de la Hoguette, one of Lauzun's principal Officers, in a letter from Galway, August 25th, 1690, to his official correspondent in France, observes, amongst the several details

[r] Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick, tome i. pp. 72, 75.—Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. p. 400.—Earl of Portland's Narrative of the Fight at the Boyne as cited in Note 124.—Memoirs of Captain Parker, pp. 20-21. — Story's Impartial History, pp. 85-86.

details which he gives, of the bad effects of such a want, on the constitutions of his men: "Monseigneur, il est bon de vous dire, que ce qui fait une impossibilité de subsistence pour nous, n'en est pas une pour les Irlandois, lesquels avec du laict, du bled, et de la viande, vivent fort bien, sans se soucir de pain, et sans en estre incommodez." The same Officer, in his despatch, gives *this* representation of his views respecting the condition of Ireland, from which it is manifest, how much he (as well as Lauzun) desired to be recalled to France. Apparently alluding, by the words "nostre desastre," to the affair of the Boyne, he says: "Voila, Monseigneur, la scituation dans laquelle nous sommes depuis nostre desastre, dans laquelle il ne nous est pas seulement permis de pouvoir esperer de rien faire, qui nous fasse le moindre honneur, ny d'utilité au service du Roy, puisque si les ennemis nous attaquoient icy[s], la seule faim nous y feroit perir; et que quand mesme on les empescheroit de prendre cette place, le pays est dans une telle extremité, que ny les trouppes qui y demeureront, tant Françoises qu'Irlandoises, ny les places qui resteroient dans l'obeissance du Roy d'Angleterre, ne se peuvent soutenir en rien que par l'entretien et la paye du Roy[t]; c'est à dire, par une armée de mer et de terre, avec touttes les choses qui y conviennent; et pardessus le tout, un chef françois pour commander dans le pays. Je ne sçay, Monseigneur, si le Roy seroit en estat, dans la conjoncture presente, de faire cette depense, et si mesme il seroit encore à temps de l'entreprendre, quand il le voudroit; mais je vous prie tousjours de compter bien surement, que sans touttes les circonstances que je vous marque cy dessus, cette affaire-cy est insoutenable absolument, et que les trouppes que le Roy y laissera sont trouppes perdues."

What a degree of misunderstanding and distrust existed between the French and the Irish,—which must have been a further reason for the former wishing to get back to their own country,—may be inferred from another extract of this Officer's despatch, while William was before Limerick, relative to the state of feeling between Boisseleau, the French Governor of the place, and the Irish garrison. Having premised of the Governor, in reference to his garrison, "comme il est homme de courage et d'ambition, il ne negligera rien pour leur en inspirer," M. de la Hoguette adds: "Mais il a affaire à des esprits si extraordinaires, que je doute qu'il puisse trouver le secret de les ménager; ainsi je craindray, jusques à la fin du siege, qu'ils ne lui jouent quelque mauvais tour, surtout dans le moindre eschec qui pourra arriver à sa garnison"[u]. (The orthography of these extracts is given, as in the MS.)

Note 142, Page 57.

The Duke of Tyrconnell sends off his wife (an English lady) to France, along with his own wealth, and the King's treasure.

Frances Jennings was the daughter of Richard Jennings, Esq., of Sandridge, in Hertfordshire, and elder sister of the famous Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough. Miss Jennings is described,

[s] In Galway.

[t] Louis XIV.

[u] Macpherson's Original Papers, vol. i. pp. 314-316.—Lauzun's despatch, and Notes 43 and

described, in Grammont's Memoirs, as eminently beautiful in person, and agreeable in conversation. She was first married in 1665 to Sir George, otherwise Count Hamilton, (grandson of James, first Earl of Abercorn,) "a younger brother, and without fortune." He rose to be a Maréchal de Camp in the French service, and died leaving her the mother of three daughters, Elizabeth, Frances, and Mary, afterwards married to the Viscounts Ross, Dillon, and Kingsland. She became the wife of her former admirer, Colonel Richard Talbot, at Paris, in 1679. By the Colonel, subsequently Duke of Tyrconnell, she had two daughters; one of whom, Lady Charlotte Talbot, became Princess de Vintimiglia; and the other seems to have died young, as neither her name, nor any further particulars respecting her, are known.

After the Duke of Tyrconnell's death, in 1691, the Duchess and her daughters lived abroad, on a small pension from the Court of France. Having, subsequent to 1708, been restored a portion of the Duke's property, she returned to the Irish metropolis. She appears to have devoted the rest of her life to religion; founded a nunnery in King-street; and died in Dublin, March 12th, 1731, at a very advanced age. "Her death," says Walpole, "was occasioned by her falling out of her bed on the floor, in a winter's night; and being too feeble to rise or to call, was found in the morning so perished with cold, that she died in a few hours." She is mentioned to have been described, by those who saw her in her old age, as "low in stature, and extremely emaciated; without the least trace of having ever been a beauty."

Lord Melfort speaks, in no measured terms, of the Duchess of Tyrconnell, in his correspondence; both as regards her general character, and her conduct, in the above-mentioned removal of the treasure from Ireland. Writing, in October, 1689, from Paris, to King James, in Ireland, his Lordship says: "There is one other thing, if it could be effectuate, were of infinite use; which is the getting the duchess of Tyrconnel, for her health, to come into France. I did not know she had been so well known here as she is; but the terms they give her, and which, for your service, I may repeat unto you, is, that she has (*l'ame la plus noire qui se puisse concevoir*). I think it would help to keep that peace, so necessary for you, and prevent that caballing humour, which has very ill effects." Writing from Rome to Father Maxwell, in October, in 1690, his Lordship observes: "I think his (Tyrconnell's) Dutchess robbing in a manner Irlande of so much mony, & pretending it was the King's, should be no great commendation. But she is of the number of the fortunat may doe what they please, & shall be better looked on than others, whatever their services are." However, a very considerable allowance should be made in those statements of his Lordship, for the hostility existing between him, and the Duke and Duchess of Tyrconnell[v].

NOTE 143,

126.—MS. Copy of M. de la Hoguette's despatch from Galway, August 25th, 1690.

[v] Jesse's Memoirs of the Court of England during the Reign of the Stuarts, vol. iv. pp. 142-158.—Transactions of the Camden Society, No. XIV. p. 122.— Oraison Funebre de My lord Richard Talbot, &c. (as in Note 119), p. 51.—Macpherson's Original Papers, vol. i. pp. 335, 337.—Earl of Melfort's MS. Correspondence from Rome (as cited in Note 105), vol. iii. p. 124.

NOTE 143, Pages 57–58.

The Duke of Tyrconnell stated to have done everything, to induce his countrymen, instead of relying on France for aid, that was then barely able to defend herself, rather to treat with William, who would probably grant any conditions, sooner than be detained, by a war in Ireland, from attacking France on the Continent.

James, along with what he tells us, of the Court of France, on his return from Ireland after the battle of the Boyne, being in so "disponding" a mood respecting Ireland, as to consider, that any supply sent there would be only thrown away, also informs us, that, for the purpose of landing in England, in consequence of Tourville's defeat of the English and Dutch fleets at Beachy-Head, "he made use of the first occasion to press his being allowed to goe aboard the (French) Fleet, but his Most Christian Majesty replyd, *That* would signify nothing *without land forces* which he Sayd *were not to be spared*, because the Duke of Bandenburg threaten'd to join Count Waldeck with his troops." This, James remarks, "was but a poor evasion to answer a certain demonstration, that the King's landing in England would hinder the P^ce^ of Orange and fourty thousand men from joining the Enemie in Flanders the ensuing Campaign, would probably break the neck of the war, and lay his enemies at his mercy, which he fail'd not to urge, but the Court of France was so disponding in the matter," &c.

Of the assertion of Louis XIV., that *land forces could not be spared*, even for invading England, at a time the French were masters of the sea, and the island was drained of regular troops for William's army in Ireland, James, as we find by a citation in his Memoirs, wrote word to the Duke of Tyrconnell, so early as the 24th of July. William did not encamp before Limerick till the 9th of August. In this interval, especially at such a fine season, James's letter could reach Tyrconnell. The opinion, which the French Officers seem to have entertained, as to the impossibility of supporting a contest in Ireland against the English and Dutch, without greater supplies than it would be expedient for France to give, has been already referred to. Under such circumstances, therefore, the Duke of Tyrconnell *might* think he best consulted the welfare of his countrymen, *if* he could induce them to make peace with William, from whom, under *all* the circumstances of his situation, it was not unnatural to expect eligible terms, in consideration of the submission of Ireland[w]. See Note 152.

NOTE 144, Page 58.

The generality of the Irish nation unwilling to treat at all with William, as not expecting the due performance of any treaty by the English, who had so often infringed the public faith.

The general belief, on the part of the Irish, that there was no confidence to be placed in any compact which might be entered into by the English with them, has been popularly expressed

[w] Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 411, 413.—Dalrymple's Memoirs, part ii. book v. vol. iii. pp. 15-21: London, 1790.—Story's Imp. Hist., p. 112, and Cont. Hist., p. 36.—Notes 137 and 141.

pressed in these Irish verses, referred to by O'Halloran, and our learned associate, Mr. Hardiman :

"Ná béan comann ne ḟear Gallda,
Má níṁ, ní ḟeṗṗde duit,
Beiḋ coiḋḋe ar tí do ṁeallta,
Comann an ḟir Gallda duit."

"Ne'er with an Englishman in friendship be;
Should'st thou be so, 'twill be the worse for thee;
By treachery he'll destroy thee, if he can;
Such is th' affection of an Englishman."

The reproach of the English with bad faith by the Irish, which is represented to have commenced at a very early period of the connexion between the two islands, is recorded on another important occasion, or in Queen Elizabeth's reign, as well as in those of James II. and William III., to have prevented the conclusion of peace, between the Irish and English. The Annals of the Four Masters, having related how, in 1596, Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormonde, and Myler Magrath, Archbishop of Cashel, were deputed by the Anglo-Irish government to meet for the conclusion of a peace, on apparently fair terms, with the Chieftains of Tyrone and Tirconnell, O'Neill and O'Donnell, at Dundalk, then give this account of the reasons of the Irish Chieftains, for refusing such conditions: "O'Neill, O'Donnell, and all the Chiefs of the Province who were then along with them, went into Council upon those conditions, which were brought to them; and having reflected, for a long time, upon the many that had been ruined by the Galls since their arrival in Erin[x], by specious promises, which they had *not* performed, and the numbers of the high-born Princes, Gentlemen, and Chieftains, who came to premature deaths, without any reason at all, except to rob them of their patrimonies, they feared very much, that what was [then] promised would not be fulfilled to them; so that they finally resolved upon rejecting the peace."

How far justifiable, or unjustifiable, nearly a century after this negociation, or during the Jacobite war, was the aversion of the Irish, to conclude *any* treaty of peace with the English, may be further explained by a reference to the immediate *conduct*, and remote *causes* of the *conduct*, observed with respect to the Treaty of Limerick[y].

A modern English writer assigns the following reasons for the several breaches of national faith by his countrymen in Ireland, since its invasion by them. "The English," says he, "had been[z], *though a superior people, yet not sufficiently so, to warrant the attempt at dominion by mere force; they had been obliged, therefore, to affect an unity of interests and equality of rights with their victims, which their illiberality forbad them really to intend, and their insufficient refinement incapacitated them to effect.* They had, in consequence, continually violated the most solemn compacts, to which their want of brute power obliged them to have recourse"[a].

NOTE 145,

[x] See remark on the translation of the extract from Keating, given in Note 64, p. 251.

[y] Compare Notes 69, 278, and 281.

[z] These italics in the original.

[a] O'Halloran's Introduction to the History and Antiquities of Ireland, part iii. chap. iii. pp. 253-

NOTE 145, Page 59.

William, after his success at the Boyne, slowly proceeded to Dublin, where he was joyfully received, by the race of English settlers that were established there, in consequence of Cromwell's former success in Ireland.

The battle of the Boyne took place on Tuesday, July 1st, and the distance between the site of the engagement and Dublin is only about twenty-two miles; yet none of William's army entered the Irish metropolis, until eight in the evening of Thursday, the 3rd of July. The Villare Hibernicum says: "Till Afternoon this *Thursday, July* the 3rd. the Protestants in *Dublin* did not hear a Word of the English Army; in the mean Time they had Reports, That the *Irish* and *French* were coming back, and very near them, which gave a Damp to their Briskness; but this blowing over, and the certain Account of the *English* Army being come, they then perceived themselves at Liberty. The Protestants ran about, saluting and embracing one another; and blessing God for this wonderful Deliverance, as if they had been alive from the Dead, the Streets were fill'd with Crowds and Shouts, and the Roman *Catholicks* now lay in the same Terrors, as we had done some few Days before.

"At Eight this Night one Troop of Dragoons came as Guard to an Officer, that came to take Charge of the Stores. It was impossible, the King himself coming after this, could be welcom'd with equal Joy, as this one Troop; the Protestants hung about the Horses, and were ready to pull the Men off them, as they march'd up to the Castle.

"Next Morning being *Fryday*, the 4th, the Duke of *Ormond*, and Monsieur *Overkirke*, came in with nine Troops of Horse, and the King being encamped by *Finglass*, came on *Sunday* to *St. Patrick's* Church, and heard a Sermon, preach'd by Dr. *King*, concerning the Power of God: *Of which that which seem'd to us greatest on Earth, mighty Armies, was a faint Shadow.* The King went back to his Camp to Dinner, not suffering any Soldiers to come into the City, except a few for Guards"[b].

NOTE 146, Page 59.

William marched with his army to Waterford, which was immediately surrendered.

The capitulation took place, according to Harris, on the 25th of July. The Villare Hibernicum says: "The Garrison marched out with their Arms and Baggage, the Number of 1600, and were conducted to *Mallow*, 12 Miles on their Way to *Lymerick:* The Garrison would

254: London, 1772.—Hardiman's History of Galway, chap. iv. p. 68.—Annals of the Four Masters at A. D. 1596.—Vindiciæ Hibernicæ, &c., Dedicated by Permission to His Royal Highness, the Duke of Sussex, by a Clergyman of the Church of England, pp. 3, 4, 90, 91: London, Ridgway and Son, Piccadilly, 1838.

[b] Griffyth's Villare Hibernicum, pp. 12-13.

would not have had so good Terms, only His Majesty had Compassion on 300 Protestant Families in the Town"[c].

NOTE 147, Page 59.

The strong fortress of Kilkenny also reduced by William, for want, as it was frequently represented, of a sufficient garrison, to defend it.

"The Army," says Story, "rested a Day (July 15th) at *Castle Dermot*, and the next Day (16th) marched beyond *Carlow*, sending forwards a Party of Horse, under the Command of the Duke of *Ormond* to take possession of *Kilkenny;*" and, he adds, that, on the 19th, "His Majesty dined with the Duke of *Ormond* at his Castle of *Kilkenny;*" which "House was preserved by the Count *de Lauzun*, with all the Goods and Furniture, and left in a good Condition, not without the Cellars well furnished with what they had not Time to drink at their going off." The town had been evacuated by the Irish garrison, and "at their going off, they made the Inhabitants give them a Sum of Money, to save the Town from Plundring"[d].

NOTE 148, Page 59.

William alleged, on his march from Dublin to Waterford, to have sent part of his forces, to reduce Athlone.

This is *not* correct. It was, according to Story, on Wednesday, July 9th, or several days before William arrived at Waterford, that he detached the force, under Lieutenant-General James Douglas, against Athlone. That Officer came before Athlone on Thursday, July 17th, and on Friday, the 25th, (or early in the morning of the same day upon which Waterford surrendered), he retired from before Athlone to Mullingar, for further orders, which he subsequently received, to rejoin the main army[e].

NOTE 149, Page 60.

The Province of Connaught, or that tract of land between the Shannon and the Sea, to be justly regarded as the Citadel of Ireland, for refuge against a successful enemy.

Colonel O'Kelly appears to speak of Connaught as including the County Clare, or according to what was the most ancient and natural boundary of his native Province, with reference to Munster—the river Shannon. In this war, Clare being combined with Connaught in the same resistance to William, the language of Dymmok in Queen Elizabeth's reign, or when Clare,

[c] Harris's Life of William III., p. 281.—Griffyth's Villare Hibernicum, pp. 14-15.

[d] Story's Impartial History, pp. 107-108.—Griffyth's Villare Hibernicum, p. 14.

[e] Story's Impartial History, pp. 99, 100, 102, 103, 104, 109, 110, and Continuation, &c., pp. 31, 32, 35.—Letters of Lieutenant General James Douglas to the Earl of Portland and William III., in Clarke's Correspondence, Nos. LXX. and LXXI. Trinity College MSS.

Clare, for a time, was appointed to be a portion of Connaught, instead of Munster, will illustrate the Colonel's description. Having premised, how Connaught included all the territory bounded by the Ocean between the river Erne which flows (out of Lough Erne) into the sea near Ballyshannon in Donegal, and the river Shannon which reaches the sea below Limerick, the English writer observes of Connaught, according to those limits: "It is in a manner an Iland, bycause to the north and west, y^t^ hath the sea, to the south and easte the Shenin, and to the northeast, the loughe and ryver of Erne, onely one small slipp of grounde betweene the Shenin and the Erne leaveth that parte vninclosed. It is devided at this present into sixe countyes. Clare, Sligo, Mayo, Gallwaye, Roscommon and Letrim."

Lieutenant-General Keatinge, who notes, that, when "after the defeat at the Boyne, the Irish army retired behind the Shannon, *this* was well judged," says, that, in a military point of view, "the great object in the map of Ireland is the Shannon. This great chain of lakes," he adds, "cuts off an entire Province from the rest of Ireland, and may be classed with the Elbe, and almost with the Rhine; whose banks furnish so many important events, in the military history of Europe"[f].

NOTE 150, Page 60.

Lieutenant-General James Douglas, with the Williamite troops despatched to reduce Athlone, on hearing of Brigadier Patrick Sarsfield's approach from Limerick, retires from Athlone, and hastily retreats, to rejoin William.

The force with which Douglas was despatched against Athlone, consisted of fifteen regiments; of which ten were infantry, three, horse, and two, dragoons. These, at their *full* complements, would make about 12,000 men. Douglas's artillery amounted to twelve or fourteen pieces; of which ten or twelve were cannon, and two howitzers, or mortars. The stock of gunpowder for this train was, however, insufficient, amounting to but eighteen barrels; of which he had consumed fifteen, before he retired from Athlone on Mullingar.

Of the loss, plundering, &c., connected with this expedition and retreat, until the alleged junction of Douglas with William, on the 8th of August, at Cahirconlish, five or six miles south-east of Limerick, Story, who was with Douglas's force, says: "We lost in this Expedition not above thirty Men [?] before the Town, and the Enemy very few; but in our March to and again, what with Sickness, hard Marching, the Rapparees surprising [men] as they straggled, and several other Disadvantages, we fell short of our Number three or four Hundred; though before we got to the King's Army we kill'd and took Prisoners a great many Thousands, but *more of these had* FOUR *Feet than* TWO. All the poor Protestants thereabouts were now in a worse Condition than before, for *they had enjoyed the Benefit of the Irish Protections till our coming*

[f] O'Conor's Dissertations on the History of Ireland, sect. xxii. p. 289.—Hardiman's O'Flaherty's West Connaught, p. 125.—Rev. Richard Butler's Dymmok's Treatice of Ireland, pp. 17, 19.—Keatinge's Defence of Ireland, chap. i. p. 4, chap. v. p. 32.

coming thither; and then shewing themselves Friends to us, put them under a Necessity of retreating with us; which a great many did, leaving all their Harvest at that Time ready to cut down, *&c.*, and yet *were hardly used by our own Men.*" In speaking of the commencement by Douglas, on the 30th July, of his march to rejoin William, after some days' rest at Ballymore, the same writer informs us, that the route taken was "out of all the publick Roads from *Dublin*, and so," he continues, "were most of our future Marches, till we joyn'd the King's Army."

The Villare Hibernicum supplies the following particulars (under different dates from Story) as to the amount of William's army advancing upon Limerick, after the junction of Douglas and Kirke with the King:

"*August* 4. The Regiments that were sent to reduce the town of *Waterford*, and Fort of *Duncannon*, under the Command of Major General *Kirk*, joyned our Camp.

"*August* 5. A Detachment of 600 Horse were sent from our Camp to reinforce the Garrison of *Youghal*, and prevent any Design the Enemy may have upon it; and this Evening Lieutenant General *Douglas* joyned us from *Athlone*.

"On the 6. Our Army, consisting now of 38,500 Effective Men[g], decamped from *Goolen-Bridge*, and marched in Two Bodies towards *Lymerick*, &c.[h]

NOTE 151, Page 61.

The Count de Lauzun, Commander of the French Forces, after having surveyed and walked round the out-works, and other defences, of Limerick, not yet completed, publicly announces the place indefensible, and, as if in despair, commands his own troops to march off, next day, to Galway.

King James, in mentioning the approach of William and his army to Limerick, says of the state of the town: "It was the place of greatest strenght and consequence that now remain'd in the King's possession, but very far from such a regular fortification as those the world of late has been acquainted with, there was little or no hopes of its houlding out against a numerous and victorious Army, which wanted no necessarys for a formal Siege." And, elsewhere, in the royal Memoirs, Limerick is spoken of as "a place that scarce deserued the name of a forteress." Accordingly, "Lausun," says the Abbé Mac Geoghegan, "après avoir visité les fortifications de Limerick, dit, en jurant, que son Maître prendroit cette place avec des pommes cuites." The Abbé adds, that, on the approach of the English, "M. de Lauzun s'en alla à Gallway avec ce qui restoit des François, afin de les embarquer pour la France." King James, in noticing this desertion of Limerick, by "all" the French troops under Lausun, mentions

[g] Harris, from Burnet, says William's army at Limerick were "not above 20,000."

[h] Story's Impartial History, pp. 99-106, and Continuation, pp. 31, 32, 36.— MS. Copies of Official Military Papers, and Lieutenant-General Douglas's Letters as previously cited.—Transactions of the Camden Society, No. 14, p. 138.—Griffyth's Villare Hibernicum, p. 18.

mentions him as likewise "takeing with him a great quantety of amunition &c; so that instead of assistance during the Siege the Irish were weaken'd by them in their stores, which might haue been necessary for their defence, thō indeed *after the Siege was raised* the Duke of Tirconnel prevail'd with Monsr Lausune to return most of the amunition back, which the late consumption made them stand in present need of."

This retreat of the French seems to have considerably increased the expectation, among the higher circles in England, of the fall of Limerick. Lord Ranelagh, writing from London, August 7th, 1690, in answer to two letters from the Irish Williamite Secretary at War, the first from Carrick, the last from "the camp near Cashel," says: "I hope y^r next will bear date from Limerick; for I cannot think my countrymen will give you much trouble there, when they once see your army, and know the King is at the head of it." Lord, afterwards the celebrated Duke of, Marlborough, likewise writing to the Irish Williamite Secretary at War from London, August 12th, 1690, observes: "Your nuse of the french having left Lymrick was very wellcom, sense it can not but make the busness much easier"[i].

NOTE 152, Pages 61–62.

William alleged to have made no great haste towards Limerick, in order to afford the Duke of Tyrconnell the more time, to bring the Irish to a treaty.

The writer of this note has never met, in official sources of information, with any trace of such an agreement between William III. and the Duke of Tyrconnell, as this alluded to by Colonel O'Kelly. From the under-cited authorities, it is evident, that William's delay, in marching against Limerick, after the battle of the Boyne, may be adequately explained by the general difficulties of his position, which rendered him uncertain *when* he might be obliged to quit Ireland for England. These difficulties were,—disaffection and conspiracy in Scotland and England,—very few regular troops there, on account of the regiments having been almost all drawn away, to swell his army in Ireland,—the defeat of the English and Dutch fleets, off Beachy-Head, by the French under Tourville, and descents expected in several directions,—the apprehension of some French frigates being detached to burn the shipping along the Irish coasts containing the supplies for his army in Ireland,—and, on the Continent, the overthrow of the Allied forces, under the Prince de Waldeck, by the French, under the Marshal de Luxembourg, at the battle of Fleurus[k].

NOTE 123,

[i] Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 415, 420, 421.—Mac Geoghegan, Histoire de l'Irlande, tome iii. p. 743.—Letters of Lords Ranelagh and Marlborough, in Correspondence of the Irish Williamite Secretary at War, Trinity College Library.

[k] Dalrymple's Memoirs, &c., part ii. book v. vol. iii. pp. 11-24, and Appendix to book v.—MS. Correspondence of George Clarke, Esq., William III.'s Irish Secretary at War, in Trinity College, Letters xl. xli. xlv. xlvi. xlvii. xlix. lxiii. lxvii. lxviii. lxxiii. lxxvi. &c. — Story's Impartial History, pp. 87, 99, 100, 104, 107, 110, 111, 112, and Continuation, pp. 21, 22, 31, 35, 36.—Memoirs of

Note 153, Page 62.

The defence of Limerick against William being finally decided upon, according to the opinion of Brigadier Sarsfield and the majority of the Irish Colonels, the necessary dispositions are made for the purpose.

King James states, that, on the town being summoned to surrender by William, "there was some debate about their answer which in their present Situation was not to be wonder'd at, but at last it was resolved to defend the place, and accordingly Monsr Boisleau the Governour writ back to the Prince of Orange's Secretary (to avoid shocking that Prince too much, by not giving him the title of King) That he hoped he should merit his opinion more, by a vigorous defence, than a shamefull surrender of a forteress he had been entrusted with: So prepared himself accordingly."

The arrangements for the defence are thus noticed by the Duke of Berwick: "Nous laissâmes M. de Boisseleau, François, Capitaine aux Gardes du Roi Très-Chrétien, & Maréchal de Camp, pour commander dans la ville, avec toute notre infanterie Irlandoise, qui montoit à *environ vingt mille* hommes, *dont pourtant il n'y avoit pas plus de la* MOITIÉ *qui fût armée.* Nous tînmes la campagne avec notre cavalerie, qui pouvoit faire *trois mille cinq cents* chevaux. Nous campâmes d'abord à cinq milles de Limerick, en deçà de la riviere de Shannon, qui la traverse, afin de garder la communication libre avec la ville"[l].

Note 154, Page 62.

William, the fortieth day from the action at the Boyne, comes before Limerick.

"On the 9*th*, (of August) the whole Army approached that Strong Hold of *Limerick* without any considerable Loss, the greatest Part of their (the Irish) Army being Encamped beyond the River (Shannon), in the County of *Clare*"[m].

Note 155, Page 64.

Brigadier Sarsfield's surprise of William's principal convoy, with artillery, ammunition, &c., for attacking Limerick, which makes the Irish reject every idea of a capitulation.

This dashing achievement of Brigadier Patrick Sarsfield is described by Story. Having premised of the English, in reference to this affair: "There were Six Twenty four Pounders, Two Eighteen Pounders, a great Quantity of Ammunition, much Provisions, their Tin Boats, and Abundance

King James II., vol. ii. pp. 401, 404, 405, 408, 409, 410, 411, 413.—Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick, tome i. pp. 73-75.

[l] Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 415-416.—Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick, tome i. p. 76.

[m] Story's Continuation of the History of the Wars of Ireland, p. 36.

Abundance of other Things all at this Time upon the Road from *Dublin*, under the Care of two Troops of Colonel Viller's Horse"—that the day after the English "got to *Limerick*, a *Frenchman* (as was reported) a Gunner of theirs, ran away from them into Town, and gave the Enemy an Account where the Train lay, as also of those Guns and other Things that were coming up"—and that on Monday, August 11th, in the morning, "came one *Manus O'Brien*, a substantial Country Gentleman to the Camp, and gave Notice that *Sarsfield* in the Night had passed the River with a Body of Horse, and design'd Something extraordinary,"—the matter is related thus:

"When *Sarsfield* heard what the *Frenchman* had told, he was pretty sure, that if those Guns, Boats, and other Materials came up to us, the Town would not be able to hold out; and therefore he resolves to run a Hazard, and destroy them in their March, if it were possible; if he succeeded, then he broke our Measures; but if not, then he designed for *France*, if he did but survive the Attempt: In order to which, he takes all the best Horse and Dragoons that were in Town, and that very Night marches over the *Shannon*, at a Place called *Killalow*, a Bishop's See on the *Shannon*, Twelve Miles above our Camp. The Messenger that brought the News was not much taken Notice of at first, most People looking upon it as a Dream: A Great Officer however called him aside, and after some indifferent Questions, askt him about a Prey of Cattel, in such a Place; which the Gentleman complain'd of afterwards, saying, he was sorry too see General Officers mind Cattel more than the King's Honour. But after he met with some Acquaintance, he was brought to the King, who, to prevent the worst, gave Orders that a Party of Five hundred Horse should be made ready, and march to meet the Guns: But whether his Majesty's Orders were not delivered to the Officer in Chief that was to command the Party, or where the Fault lay, I am no competent Judge: but it was certainly One or Two of the Clock in the Morning before the Party marched, which they did then very softly, till about an Hour after they saw a great Light in the Air, and heard a strange rumbling Noise, which some conjectur'd to be the Train blown up, as it really was. For on *Sunday* Night our Guns lay at *Cashell*, and on *Munday* they marched beyond *Cullen*, to a little old ruinous Castle, called *Ballenedy*, not seven Miles from our Camp, and directly in the Rear of it, where they encamped on a small Piece of plain green Ground, there being several Earthen Fences on one Side, and the old Castle on the other: If they had feared the least Danger, it had been easie to draw the Guns and every Thing else within the Ruins of that old Castle, and then it had been difficult for an Army, much more a Party, to have touched them: Nay, it was easie to place them and the Carriages in such a Figure upon the very Spot where they stood, that it had been certain Death to have come nigh them; but thinking themselves at Home, so nigh the Camp, and not fearing an Enemy in such a Place, especially since they had no Notice sent them of it; they turn'd most of their Horses out to Grass, as being wearied with marching before, and the Guard they left was but a very slender one, the Rest most of them going to Sleep; but some of them awoke in the next World; for *Sarsfield* all that Day lurked amongst the Mountains, and having Notice where, and how our Men lay, he had those that guided him through By-ways to the very Spot, where he fell in amongst them before they were aware, and cut several of them to Pieces, with a great many of the

 Waggoners,

Waggoners, and some Country People that were coming to the Camp with Provisions. The Officer commanding in Chief, when he saw how it was, commanded to sound to Horse, but those that endeavoured to fetch them up, were killed as they went out, or else saw it was too late to return: The Officers and others made what Resistance they could, but were at last obliged every Man to shift for himself, which many of them did, though they lost all their Horses, and some of them Goods to a considerable Value: There was one Lieutenant *Bell* and some few more of the Troopers killed, with Waggoners and Country People, to the Number in all of about Sixty. Then the *Irish* got up what Horses they could meet withal, belonging either to the Troops or Train: some broke the Boats, and others drew all the Carriages and Waggons, with the Bread, Ammunition, and as many of the Guns as they could get in so short a Time into one Heap; the Guns they filled with Powder, and put their Mouths in the Ground that they might certainly split; what they could pick up in a Hurry they took away, and then laying a Train to the Rest, which being fired at their going off, blew up all with an Astonishing Noise; the Guns that were filled with Powder flying up from the Carriages into the Air, and yet two of them received no Damage, though two more were split and made unserviceable: every Thing likewise that would burn, was reduced to Ashes, before any could prevent it. The *Irish* took no Prisoners, only a Lieutenant of Colonel *Earl's* being sick in a House hard by, was stript and brought to *Sarsfield*, who us'd him very civilly, telling him, if he had not succeeded in that Enterprise, he had then gone to *France*. Our Party of Horse that was sent from the Camp, came after the Business was over, in Sight of the Enemies Rear; but wheeling towards the Left, to endeavour to intercept their Passage over the *Shannon*, they unhappily went another Way; since, if our Party had been Fortunate, they had a fair Opportunity first to save the Guns, and then to Revenge their Loss, and if either had been done, the Town had surrendred without much more Battering."

"This News," remarks the Williamite Chaplain, "was very unwelcome to every Body in the Camp, the very private Men," he adds, "shewing a greater Concern at the Loss, than one could expect from such Kind of People." In Limerick, on the other hand, "the garison," observe King James's Memoirs, "was hugely encouraged by this signal advantage"[n].

Note 156, Pages 63–64.

The Duke of Tyrconnell, and his adherents, accused of joining with Count de Lauzun and the French, in regretting Brigadier Sarsfield's success against William's convoy, and likewise decrying that achievement, as one which could not prevent the fall of Limerick, &c., and which consequently should not induce the Irish, to reject treating with the enemy in time.

In the copy of M. de la Hoguette's despatch, mentioned in Note 141, it is stated of Tyrconnell and Lauzun, with respect to the enterprize against the Williamite artillery, &c., that it was *they* detached ("*ils* detacherent") Sarsfield upon that undertaking. The Duke of Berwick

[n] Story's Impartial History, pp. 118-121.—Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. p. 416.

wick says, with still more probability, of the Duke of Tyrconnell, as King James's Viceroy, entrusted with the supreme command of the royal forces, on his Majesty's departure from Ireland, that it was *he*, the Duke, detached Brigadier Sarsfield on that service. The words of the Duke of Berwick, in reference to the Viceroy, on this head, are: "Ayant su qu'un grand convoi d'artillerie & de munitions de guerre alloit au camp devant Limerick, *il* détacha le Brigadier Sarsfield," &c. As to the other charges, connected with that exploit in the text, against the Duke of Tyrconnell, &c., compare Notes 137, 141, 143[o].

Note 157, Pages 64–65.

The desertion and irregularities of the French under Lauzun, when their assistance was most required, tend to discourage the Irish Army and people.

"This piece of conduct," says King James of the French, "in abandoning a country they were sent to succour, and which it was so much the intrest of France to support at so critical a juncture, when the last stake was engaged, and the Irish resolved to make a vigorous defence, was such a paredox as could scarce be fathomed; some discontented persons sayd, that Mons[r] Lausune and the French being excessiue weary of the Country, had a mind Limerick should be taken, to excuse their leaveing it, and that therefore they cared not how things went, nor what disorder they commited"[p].

Note 158, Page 68.

Letters to the Duke of Tyrconnell at Galway, from the Governor of Limerick, announcing the capture of the outworks by the enemy, with such an advance towards the walls, and battering of the town by the artillery of the besiegers, that the Irish cavalry should be at hand, in case of further danger.

After having related the surprise of William's convoy by Brigadier Sarsfield, King James's Memoirs add: "However the Prince of Orange resolved to go on with the Siege and sent to Waterford for another train of Artillery, and on the 17th open'd the trenches before the Town: assoon as the great guns arriued they began to batter the place with great fury, which soon liveled the high towers, from whence the besieged could fire into the trenches, and took two redoubts and a strong fort (thō not without loss) for the Garison disputed every inch of ground with all the vallour and resolution imaginable; on the 20th they made a vigorous sallie which retarded the Enemies works, and were not repulsed till after they had made a great slaughter of the besiegers, who never ceased all the time throwing bombes and red hot bullets into the Town, a thing the inhabitants had been unacquainted with, however were not disheartened, but generously concurred with the troops, to doe, or suffer any thing for so just a cause and rather than fall into the hands of such unnatural and cruel invaders of their Laws, Liberties,

[o] Authorities in Notes referred to.—Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick as cited in Note 135, and tome i. p. 80.

[p] Memoirs of King Jas. II., vol. ii. pp. 420-421.

Liberties, and Religion. But notwithstanding all the opposition they were able to make, by the 24th the Enemie had finished their battery of 30 pieces of Cannon and in two days more advanced their trenches within therty paces of the ditch; there was by this time a great breach in the wall near St. John's Gate, and part of the palessados beaten down of the Counterscarp," &c.

King James speaks of William's cannon as but "30 pieces," and *excusably*, since the Williamite account of the siege, in the London Gazette of September 1st–4th, 1690, says: "24th, we finished all our Batteries, on which were mounted 30 Pieces of Cannon." But this statement, as to the number of William's cannon at "30 pieces," was most probably owing to the printer's having put an 0, instead of a 6, after the figure of 3. In the engraved Williamite plan, entitled "*A Prospect of Limerick bearing due West, exactly shewing ye Approaches, Batteries, and Breach,*" &c., there are marked, on William's four batteries of cannon, a total of thirty-*six* pieces; on the fifth or mortar battery, four mortars are represented; so that the King had employed *altogether*, against Limerick, a train of FORTY pieces of artillery. Of these, besides the four mortars casting bombs into the town, twelve of the other guns are engraved as shooting "red hot balls."

Captain Peter Drake, of Drakerath, in the County of Meath, who was in Limerick during the siege, has mentioned, in connexion with the battering and bombardment of the town by this formidable artillery, a curious "Instance," as he entitles it, "of the Interposition of Divine Providence in my Behalf, by which," he adds, "I have been so often since rescued from Calamity, and the Jaws of Death."

"There was," says he, "between our House and the Town-wall, a large Magazine. The Besiegers ordered two Pieces of Ordnance to be levelled at this Building; and several Shots passed through, and hit on the Gable-end, within which was the Apartment, where I slept with one Captain Plunket of Lord Gormanstown's Regiment. This Gentleman was to mount Guard that Day, and going out very early, left me a-bed. About two Hours after, I went out to speak to one of the Servants to get me a clean Shirt, and before I had Time to return, a Ball had beat down the Wall, a great Part of which had fallen on, and demolished the Bed. It then passed through my Father's Bed-chamber, broke the Posts of the Bed, where he and my Mother were asleep, but, thank Heaven, had no worse Effect, than putting the Family in a Consternation."

The Williamite account of the siege in the London Gazette, says, after the last assault and repulse which led to the retreat of William, "Divers Deserters are come out of the Town, who tell us, they have lost a great many Men, and that our Cannon and Bombs have made a terrible Havock." Nevertheless, from the examination of John Ryder, who bore arms in the place during the siege, it appears, whatever were the number of the Irish garrison and town's-people destroyed by the artillery, "That there were but a few Houses and little Hay burnt or demolished in Lymerick during the Siege, they," adds Ryder, "having covered their Hay with raw Hides"[q].

NOTE 159,

[q] Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. p. 417.—London Gazette, from Monday, September 1, to Thursday, September 4, 1690, No. 2589.—Story's Continuation of the History of the Wars of Ire-

NOTE 159, Pages 69–70.

William, on the nineteenth day from his coming before Limerick, or August 27th, O. S., 1690, *having effected a large breach, orders a general attack upon the place, when his troops, after forcing their way into the town, and a combat of several hours, are repulsed with considerable loss.*

The Duke of Berwick and Story, the former of whom was with his father's army at the time, and the latter with that of William, give the following Jacobite and Williamite accounts of the defeat of William's last great assault on Limerick, Wednesday, August 27th, 1690.

The Duke having premised respecting the besiegers, how "ils ouvrirent la tranchée au loin sur la gauche, ils dresserent des batteries, firent une breche de cent toises, & puis sommerent la garnison de se rendre," thus proceeds: "Les Irlandois n'y voulurent point entendre, de maniere que le Prince d'Orange fit donner l'assaut général par *dix mille* hommes. La tranchée n'étant qu'à deux toises des palissades, & n'y ayant point des fossés, les ennemis furent sur le haut de la breche, avant que l'on eût l'alarme de l'attaque[r]. La décharge d'une batterie que Boisseleau avoit pratiquée en dedans, les arrêta un peu; mais bientôt ils descendirent dans la ville. Les troupes Irlandoises s'avancerent de tous côtés, & ensuite chargerent les ennemis avec tant de bravoure dans les rues, qu'ils les rechasserent jusques sur le haut de la breche, où ils voulurent se loger. Le Brigadier Talbot, qui se trouvoit alors dans l'ouvrage à cornes avec cinq cents hommes, accourut pardehors le long du mur, & les chargeant parderriere, les chassa, & puis rentra par la breche, où il se posta. Dans cette action, les ennemis eurent deux mille hommes tués sur la place[s]; de notre côté, il n'y en eut pas *quatre cents.*"

Story, after relating the preparatory arrangements for the assault, describes it as follows: "About Half an Hour after Three, the Signal being given by firing three Pieces of Cannon, the Granadeers being in the furthest Angle of our Trenches, leapt over, and run towards the Counterscarp, firing their Pieces, and throwing their Granades. This gave the Alarm to the *Irish*, who had their Guns all ready, and discharged great and small Shot upon us as fast as 'twas possible: Our Men were not behind them in either; so that in less than in two Minutes the Noise was so terrible, that one would have thought the very Skies ready to rent in sunder. This was seconded

land, pp. 38, 39. — Memoirs of Captain Peter Drake, pp. 1-2: Dublin, S. Powell, Crane Lane, 1755. — MS. Examination of John Ryder taken before Eben Warren, Esq., one of their Majesties' (K. William's & Q. Mary's) Justices of the Peace for the C° Kilkenny, September 17th, 1690.

[r] Thus the garrison (strange to say!) would appear to have been taken off their guard! And this statement of the Duke of Berwick is supported by that of Sir Arthur Rawdon's correspondent in William's "Camp, before Limbrick, August 29, 1690," or two days after the unsuccessful assault. That writer says: "We got their countersign—got into the breach, but were beaten back."—(Mr. D. Campbell to Sir Arthur Rawdon, in Rawdon Papers, pp. 326, 337, 338.)

[s] The royal Memoirs, as will be presently seen, more correctly calculate William's loss on this occasion, as "at least two thousand men killed and wonded."—(Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 417-418.)

seconded with Dust, Smoke, and all the Terrors that the Art of Man could invent, to ruin and undo one another; and to make it the more uneasie, the Day it self was excessive hot to the By-standers, and much more sure in all Respects to those upon Action. Captain *Carlile*, of my Lord *Drogheda's* Regiment, run on with his Granadeers to the Counterscarp, and tho' he received two Wounds between that and the Trenches, yet he went forwards, and commanded his Men to throw in their Granades; but in the leaping into the dry Ditch below the Counterscarp, an *Irishman* below shot him dead. Lieutenant *Barton* however encouraged the Men, and they got upon the Counterscarp, and all the Rest of the Granadeers were as ready as they. By this Time the *Irish* were throwing down their Arms, and running as fast as they could into Town[t]; which our Men perceiving, entred the Breach pell-mell with them, and above Half the Earl of *Drogheda's* Granadeers, and some others, were actually in Town. The Regiments that were to second the Granadeers went to the Counterscarp, and having no Orders to go any further, there stopt. The *Irish* were all running from the Walls, and quite over the Bridge, into the *English* Town[u]; but seeing but a Few of our Men enter, they were with much ado persuaded to rally; and those that were in, seeing themselves not followed, and their Ammunition being spent, they designed to retreat; but some were shot, some taken, and the Rest came out again, but very Few without being wounded. The *Irish* then ventured upon the Breach again, and from the Walls, and every Place, so pester'd us upon the Counterscarp, that after nigh three Hours resisting, Bullets, Stones, (*broken Bottles, from the very Women, who boldly stood in the Breach, and were nearer our Men than their own*) and whatever Ways could be thought on to destroy us, our Ammunition being spent, it was judged safest to return to our Trenches. When the Work was at the hottest, the *Brandenburgh* Regiment (who behaved themselves very well) were got upon the *Black Battery*, where the Enemies Powder hapned to take Fire, and blew up a great Many of them[v], the Men, Faggots, Stones, and what not, flying into the Air with a most terrible Noise. Colonel *Cutts* was commanded by the Duke of *Wyrtemberg* to march towards the Spur at the South Gate, and beat in the *Irish* that appeared there; which he did, tho' he lost several of his Men, and was himself wounded: For he went within half Musquet-shot of the Gate, and all his Men open to the Enemies Shot, who lay secure within the Spur and the Walls. The *Danes* were not idle all this while, but fired upon the Enemy with all imaginable Fury, and had several kill'd; but the Mischief was, we had but one Breach, and all towards the Left it was impossible to get into the Town when the Gates were shut, if there had been no Enemy to oppose us, without a great many Scaling-Ladders, which we had not. From Half an Hour after Three, till after Seven, there was one continued Fire of both great and small Shot, without any Intermission; insomuch

[t] See the note from the Rawdon Papers, attached to the last-cited extract from the Duke of Berwick.

[u] This sentence, so far, would appear to be a *very* great exaggeration as regards the Irish, even if the purport of it were not as much opposed to that of *other* evidence, as one statement can be to another.

[v] Mr. Campbell, in his letter to Sir Arthur Rawdon last-cited, states of these Brandenburghers (or Prussians) that "the Brandenburgh regiment lost 400."

much that the Smoke that went from the Town reached in one continued Cloud to the Top of a Mountain[w] at least six Miles off.

"When our Men drew off, some were brought up dead, and some without a Leg; others wanted Arms, and some were blind with Powder; especially a great many of the poor *Brandenburgers* looked like Furies, with the Misfortune of Gunpowder. . . . . The King stood nigh *Cromwell's* Fort all the Time, and the Business being over, He went to His Camp very much concern'd, as indeed was the whole Army; for you might have seen a Mixture of Anger and Sorrow in every bodies Countenance. The *Irish* had two small Field pieces planted in the *King's Island*, which flanckt their own Counterscarp, and in our Attack did us no small Damage, as did also two Guns more that they had planted within the Town, opposite to the Breach, and charged with Cartridge-shot."

Respecting William's "loss" at Limerick, which, in the text, is spoken of, both generally, and with reference to the last attack, as "great," the Williamite official outline of the siege in the London Gazette, headed "*From His Majesties Camp before* Limerick, August 28." (or the day after the repulse of the last assault) asserts: "What Men we lost in these Actions, we cannot precisely say, but it's thought *we may have had about* 4 *or* 500 *killed and wounded since the Beginning of the Siege;*" that is, from the 9th to the 28th of August[x].

That William's loss, however, was much greater from the 9th of August to the 28th, when the above statement was written for the London Gazette, (and still *more* so from the 9th to the 31st, till which he did not retire from before the place,) appears by a manuscript document, in the papers of his own Secretary at War for Ireland, marked CII., and very incorrectly printed by Harris.

Of the forces, engaged in the previously-described attack of the 27th,—namely, the 2nd battalion of the Guards, the 3rd battalion of Guards, Colonel Belcastel's regiment, Colonel Cambon's, Brigadier Stewart's, Colonel Cutts's, Lieutenant General Douglas's, Lord Lisburn's, Lord Meath's, the Danes, the grenadiers of the Guards and Sir John Hanmer's regiment, Colonel Gustavus Hamilton's grenadiers, Lord Drogheda's grenadiers, Colonel John Michelburne's grenadiers,—the above manuscript gives the loss in men and officers; without saying anything of the Brandenburghers, estimated, in the Rawdon Papers, to have had 400 *hors de combat*. According to this evidence, William's loss, on the 27th of August *alone*, would be, in a tabular form, as follows:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Killed & Wounded.
Officers, ...	30	133	163
Soldiers, ...	425	1160	1585
	455	1293	1748
Brandenburghers, ...			400
TOTAL, ...			2148

On

[w] "The Keeper," in County Tipperary.

[x] Compare Note 3, pp. 164-165, and Note 203, *passim*.

On the same day, as has appeared from the Duke of Berwick, the Irish had less killed than their opponents, or not 400 men.

As to the loss of the Irish ALTOGETHER, or from the beginning to the end of the siege, the Jacobite official account, or "Relation of the Raising of the Siege of Limerick," says: "There have been, during the siege, 1062 soldiers and 97 officers killed or wounded, in the troops of the King of Great Britain." The Williamite accounts say nothing positive, on the total loss of the Irish.

As to the loss of the English ALTOGETHER at Limerick, the Williamite Harris, in his Life of William III., asserts: "The numbers lost before the town were rationally computed to amount to between 1000 and 1200 men." But the Jacobite official account affirms, on that point: "The enemy have lost more than 5,000 men, the heads of the regiments, and their best officers"[y].

NOTE 160, Page 70.

William alleged, to have been unable to induce his men to renew the assault on Limerick the day after their repulse, though he offered to lead them in person. Another cause assigned, for no second assault having taken place.

"Next day," observes the Williamite Chaplain, "the Soldiers were in Hopes that his Majesty would give Orders for a second Attack, and seemed resolved to have the Town, or lose all their Lives; but this was too great a Risque to run at one Place; and they did not know how our Ammunition was sunk, especially by the former Day's Work." The Duke of Berwick, attributing this scarcity of ammunition to the destruction of so much of it by Sarsfield's successful "expedition" against William's convoy on the 12th of August, observes: "Cette expédition pouvoit avoir été la cause du manque de poudre & de boulets, où se trouverent les ennemis; & ce qui, joint à l'obstination & à la bravoure des Irlandois, détermina sans doute la retraite du Prince d'Orange, qui repassa bientôt après en Angleterre"[z].

NOTE 161, Page 70.

William, raising the siege of Limerick by night, quits his army, and proceeds to Waterford, to set sail for England.

"On *Sunday*, the last of *August*," says Story, "all the Army drew off, (having a good Body of Horse in the Rear:) As soon as the *Irish* perceived we had quitted our Trenches, they took

[y] Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick, tome i. pp. 77-78. — Story's Impartial History, pp. 128-130, and Continuation, &c., pp. 36-39. — London Gazette, No. 2589.—MS. Correspondence of William III.'s Secretary at War for Ireland, in Trinity College Library, as above referred to.—The Rawdon Papers, as previously cited: London, 1819.—MS. Copy of the "Relation of the Raising of the Siege of Limerick:" Paris, 1690.—Harris's Life of William III., p. 288, and appendix, p. lxix.

[z] Story's Continuation of the History of the Wars of Ireland, p. 39.—Note 155.—Mémoires du

took Possession of them with great Joy, and were in a small Time after over all the Ground whereon we had Encamped. . . . . His Majesty that day we Raised the Siege, went to *Cullen*, and so to *Clonmel*, from thence to *Waterford*, in order to take Shipping for *England*, accompanied with the Prince, the Duke of *Ormond*, and several of the Nobility." The King, adds Harris, "embarked at *Duncannon* on the 5th (September), with Prince *George* of *Denmark*, and other Persons of distinction; and arriving the next day in *King's-Road*, near *Bristol*, and on the 9th at *Windsor*, was received by the Queen with that joy, which none but his own could equal"[a].

Note 162, Page 70.

General wonder, amongst the Irish Jacobites that, after the raising of the Siege of Limerick, the Duke of Tyrconnell should leave Ireland, along with the Count de Lauzun, and the French troops, for France, instead of profiting by the late success, to recover Waterford, and, perhaps, all Leinster.

"Le Duc de Tircqnel," says the Duke of Berwick, "crut qu'il étoit nécessaire qu' il allât en France, pour y représenter le mauvais état des affaires, & faire sentir que, sans des secours très-considérables, on ne pouvoit soutenir l'Irlande[b]. M. de Lausun partit avec lui, & ramena en même temps les troupes Françoises." How much military succours were required by the Irish, and consequently how little qualified they seem to have been, for attempting either the recovery of Waterford, or of the Province of Leinster, may be estimated from the following circumstance, mentioned by the same authority, after his account of the raising of the siege of Limerick: "Il ne restoit dans Limerick, que cinquante barils de poudre, lors de la levée du siege; & nous n'avions pas, dans toute la partie de l'Irlande qui nous étoit soumise, de quoi y en mettre encore autant"[c].

Note 163, Page 71.

Charge against the government of the Duke of Tyrconnell, that to be one of his creatures was all that was requisite, to make a complete captain, or an able statesman.

"They insinuated," observe King James's Memoirs, respecting the embassy sent over to the King in France to complain against the Duke of Tyrconnell, "that mony and employments had been given with greater regard to private ends than the King's Service." This, however, the King speaks of, as only arising from "certain partialitys which it was hard for a man in so much power and so many provocations to keep entirely free from." The Duke of Berwick, after mentioning the political cabals connected with the depriving Lord Melfort of the office of

Maréchal de Berwick, tome i. pp. 80-81.

[a] Story's Impartial History, pp. 133-134.—Harris's Life of William III., p. 289.

[b] See Note 141.

[c] Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick, tome i. pp. 79, 81.

of Secretary of State, thus informs us of the suspicious source, in which the outcry against the Duke of Tyrconnell appears to have originated. "Le Brigadier *Luttrel* avoit été un des principaux boute-feux dans toute cette affaire," that is of Lord Melfort, "& *montra dans la suite de quoi il étoit capable;* car, après la bataille de la Boyne, le Duc de Tyrconel étant redevenu Vice-Roi d'Irlande par la retraite du Roi, Luttrel ne cessa de parler contre Tirconel, & d'exciter tout le monde contre lui: il sut si bien animer les principaux de la Nation, qu'un jour Sarsfield me vint trouver de leur part, & après m'avoir fait promettre le secret, il me dit, qu' étant convaincus de la perfidie de Tirconel, ils avoient résolu de l'arrêter, & qu' ainsi il me proposoit de leur part de prendre sur moi le commandement du Royaume. Ma réponse fut courte: je lui dis que je m'étonnois qu' ils osassent me faire une telle proposition, que tout ce que l'on pouvoit faire contre le Vice-Roi étoit crime de leze-Majesté, & que, par conséquent, s'ils ne cessoient de cabaler, je serois leur ennemi, & en avertirois le Roi & Tirconel. Mon discours fit impression, & empêcha l'exécution de leurs desseins"[d].

Note 164, Page 72.

The reasons for the Duke of Tyrconnell's departure for France, at such a juncture, variously reported.

Of the *mixed* causes, which occasioned the Duke of Tyrconnell's voyage to France along with the French troops returning there under Lauzun, and the general results of the Duke's voyage, after an interview with Louis XIV., King James's Memoirs give us this account:

"As soon as the Siege of Limerick was raised, the Duke of Tyrconnel thought it necessary to go in person to France to sollicite Supplys, which the shamefull retreat of the Prince of Orange with his victorious Army, from before a place (that scarce deserued the name of a forteress) encouraged him to hope for; perswading himself, it would be no hard matter to baffle him at last, and driue him again out of the Kingdom, if the Court of France would be prevail'd upon to second his intentions. At the first news indeed of Limerick's standing upon it's defence, and Sarsfeild surprizing the train of Artillery, his Most Christian Majesty began to conceiue some hopes again and promised armes, amunition and other necessarys at the King's entreaty, however order'd his own troops to return on pretence of a misunderstanding betwixt them and the Irish."

* * * * * * * * * *

"There had been a great partie formed against My Lord Leiftenant, and they were prepareing to send some persons to represent their grievances and complaints against him, and if possible to get the King to remoue him; but he, on the other hand, considering how necessary expedition was, not only for his own defence, but to execute what he went about, took that opertunity of goeing off with the Count de Lausune, and got the start of his adversaries so far, as to finish his business before the Deputys then sent after him arriued at St. Germains; the King

[d] Memoirs of King James II., pp. 422-425, 439.—Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick, tome i. pp. 86-88.

King indeed had done it to his hand before he came, by convinceing the Court of France, how great a pitty it were, not to second the Irish valour, when it gaue such hopes of mentaining that diversion which was so beneficial to them; so that My Lord Tyrconnel had nothing remain'd but to get the grant executed, wherein he shewed himself a diligent and active Courtier, thō now an old and infirm man, and gain'd so much credit with his Most Christ. Majesty, as to be heard by him in person (his Minister being present) and to obtain in great measure what he asked, as to cloathes, linnen, corne, arms, officers, and some little mony, upon condition he would return immediately himself, and then they promised these things should follow. Accordingly Monsr St. Ruth, Tesse, d'Vson and several other officers were sent some time after, togethar with what was promised in great measure; but his Most Christian Majestys Orders therein, were so ill observed, that the Irish received not the relief their necessitys required, nor indeed what was intended them by him"[e].

Note 165, Pages 73–74.

The Duke of Tyrconnell's voyage to France thought by some, to have arisen, from a necessity, on his part, to remove unfavourable impressions entertained towards him at the French Court, and even by King James himself, for advising him to leave Ireland, so soon after the Battle of the Boyne.

The King states, of the advice given him to leave Ireland for France, after the battle of the Boyne: " That councel was no doubt too precipitate, and it is wonderful on what grounds My Lord Tyrconnel thought fit to press it with so much earnestness, unless it was out of tenderness to the Queen, who he perceiued was so apprehensiue of the King's person, as to be in a continual agony about it; she had frequently beg'd of him to have a special care of the King's safety, and tould him, He must not wonder at her repeated instances on that head, for unless he saw her heart he could not immagin the torment it suffer'd on that account, and must allways continue to doe so, let things goe as they would; and owned afterwards that thō she was in the last extremity of grief at the loss of the Battle, and that nothing could be so afflicting to her as after haveing broke her head with thinking and her heart with vexation at the King's, her own, and her friends utter ruin, without being in a condition to relieue them, yet, that it was an unspeakable alleviation that the King was safe, for that had she heard of the loss of the Battle before that of the King's arrivall, she knew not what would haue become of her, and therefore acknowlidged it none of the least obligations to him and Monsr Lausun for pressing his Majesty to it; for thō she confessed it was a dismal thing to see him So unhappy as he was in France, yet in spight of her reason, her heart She sayd was glad he was there.

" Thō this sollicitude for the King's safety which seem'd to stifle in some sort all other considerations, was not only pardonable but commendable in the Queen, yet those who ought to haue made his own well being, and that of his Subjects, togather with his honour and reputation

[e] Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 420-422.

tation in the world, a part of their concern, should not so rashly haue advised such disheartening Councels, as to make his Majesty seem to abandon a Cause which had still so much hopes of life in it; the loss of the Battle did but force him to that which Mons[r] Rosen and other experienced Officers would have advised him too long before[f], he had all the best ports and some of the strongest places still behind him, he had leasure enough to see if the Army (which was very little diminished by the action[g]) might not be rallyd again, which his presence would hugely have contribited too, and his speedy flight must needs discourage them from; he might be sure his own people, and especially the Court of France would be hardly induced to mentain a war, which he himself so hastely abandon'd[h]. But on the other hand it was not so much wonder'd, that the King should be prevail'd upon to do it, considering the unanimous advice of his Council, of the Generals themselves, and of all persons about him; that universal pannick fear which could make those French officers (men of seruice) see visions of troops, when none could certainly be within twenty miles of them, excused in great measure the King's takeing so wrong a resolution; however," he adds, "all that would not have determined him to leaue Ireland so soon, had he not conceived it the likelyest expedient to repair his losses according to a certain scheme he had formed to himself, and which in realitie had been layd by the Court of France"[i]. Upon this "scheme" and the alleged causes of its frustration, see Notes 136 and 143.

Note 166, Page 75.

Louis XIV. interested, that William should be so occupied in Ireland, as to prevent his joining the Allies on the Continent, with the forces he had promised, and they so much needed.

With respect to the strong diversion in favour of France, and to the prejudice of England and the League of Augsburg, occasioned by the resistance of the Irish to William, the author of a contemporary Williamite pamphlet, on the subject of the forfeited estates in Ireland, says: "The Expense of reducing that Kingdom has not been so Inconsiderable, but that every Man in *England* has felt his Share of the Weight. . . . . Had that Kingdom submitted to their Majesties Government when publick Notice was given them, of their Right to the Crown of *England*, and consequently to that of *Ireland*[j], the French King had long since been obliged to

[f] See Note 119.

[g] According to the Duke of Berwick, only about 1000 men. "Dans le combat de la Boyne," says he, "nous ne perdîmes qu'environ mille hommes." —(Mémoires, tome i. p. 75.)

[h] The Earl of Ranelagh, writing to William's Secretary at War for Ireland, from "London, August 26th, 1690," says on this point: "We have lately received from France a new lampoone wch is openly sung in the streets att Paris: for fear you have not yett had it, you may here read it:

'Jacques, partant de Dublin,
Dit à Lausun, son cousin,
Ayez soin de ma couronne,
J'aurois soin de ma personne!'"

—(Clarke's MS. Correspondence, Trinity College Library.)

[i] Memoirs of King Jas. II., vol. ii. pp. 406-408.

[j] The Irish Jacobites did *not* admit of this "consequently," in William's and Mary's case.

to have sued for Peace, on such Terms as their Majesties and their Allies would have granted him." Another Williamite contemporary in 1697, observes, with reference to the war in Ireland: "That the late Troubles of this Kingdom (Ireland) and the Power the *Irish* grew to, considering the State of Affairs abroad, brought England into some Danger, all thinking Men, I believe, will allow. This they must own, that, if the Treasure which was spent in *Ireland*, and the Armies which were employ'd here, had been sent into *Flanders*, *France* had been humbled long ago, and we had been in Possession of an honourable Peace"[k]. See Note 284.

Note 167, Pages 75–78.

The outwitting of the Count de Lauzun, by the Duke of Tyrconnell, at the French Court.

The stratagem of the Duke of Tyrconnell at Lauzun's expense, related by Colonel O'Kelly, is likewise mentioned in King James's Memoirs. They add, that it might have proved of no small service to the King's cause in Ireland, from the great satisfaction it gave to Lauzun's enemy, the famous French Minister, Louvois, only that Minister not long after died, &c.[1]

Note 168, Pages 77–78.

Louis XIV. alleged, to have been so dissatisfied at Lauzun's conduct in Ireland, that, but for the intercession of King James and Queen Mary, that nobleman would have been consigned to the imprisonment he had suffered formerly, for his presumption connected with a Princess of the Blood.

The Duke of Berwick, after relating the return of Lauzun with the French troops from Ireland to France, refers to this last-mentioned circumstance of Lauzun's imprisonment, in the following summary of his life and character:

"Il étoit né Gascon, & d'une très-grande Maison. Il trouva moyen de se pousser à la Cour, & d'y devenir favori du Roi Louis XIV., qui le fit Capitaine des Gardes-du-Corps, & créa pour lui la charge de Colonel Général des Dragons. Non-seulement il traita les Ministres & les Courtisans avec la derniere hauteur, mais il poussa ses prétentions jusqu'à ne vouloir pas se

[k] Proposals for Raising a Million of Money out of the Forfeited Estates in Ireland: together with the Answer of the Irish to the Same, and a Reply thereto, p. 1: Dublin, reprinted for Eliphal Dobson in Castle-Street, and Matth. Gunne in Essex-Street, 1704. — The True Way to render Ireland Happy and Secure, or A Discourse, wherein 'tis Shewn, that 'tis the Interest both of England and Ireland, to encourage Foreign Protestants to plant in Ireland. In a Letter to the Right Honourable Robert Molesworth, one of His Majesty's Honourable Privy Council in Ireland, and one of the Members of the Honourable House of Commons, &c., pp. 16-17: Dublin, Printed by and for Andrew Crook, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, on Cork Hill, &c., and for Eliphal Dobson, at the Stationers Armes in Castle-Street, 1697.

[1] Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 432-433.—Sismondi, Histoire des Français, tome xviii. chap. 35, pp. 157-162: Bruxelles, 1842.

se contenter d'épouser en secret Mademoiselle, fille de Monsieur, Gaston de France, à quoi le Roi avoit consenti; il vouloit absolument qu'il fût permis de célébrer le mariage publiquement, avec pompe, & en présence du Roi & de toute la Famille Royale. Les Princes du Sang firent leurs représentations; sur quoi le Roi lui défendit de plus songer à ce mariage: mais Lausun, loin d'avoir pour son maître & son bienfaiteur les égards convenables, s'emporta jusqu'au point de reprocher au Roi son manque de parole, & même de casser son épée en sa présence, lui disant qu'il ne méritoit plus qu'il la tirât pour son service. Le Roi, malgré cette impertinence, lui offrit d'oublier le passé, & même de le faire Duc, Maréchal de France & Gouverneur de Province, pourvu qu'il voulût ne plus prétendre à Mademoiselle: mais il réfusa tout, de maniere que le Roi, irrité contre lui, le fit enfermer dans le château de Pignerol, où il a resté pendant nombre d'années, jusqu'a ce que Mademoiselle, qui l'avoit épousé secrétement, donna, pour le tirer de prison, à M. le Duc du Maine, la Principauté de Dombes. Il passa ensuite en Angleterre, d'où, en 1688, il revint en France avec la Reine & le Prince de Galles, ainsi que je l'ai marqué ci-devant. Le Roi Très-Chrètien, à la priere de la Reine, le fit Duc, & lui redonna toutes les entrées qu'il avoit eues auparavant. Etant passe en Irlande, à la tête des troupes auxiliaires, il y fit voir que, si jamais il avoit su quelque chose du métier de la guerre, il l'avoit alors totalement oublié[m]. Le jour de la Boyne, étant avec lui le matin, lorsque les ennemis passerent la riviere à Slane, il me dit qu'il falloit les attaquer; mais à force de chercher un champ de bataille, il donna le temps aux ennemis de déboucher, & de se former dans la plaine; après quoi j'ai marqué qu'il ne fut plus possible de les charger[n]. Il ne montra en Irlande ni capacité, ni résolution, quoique d'ailleurs on assûrât qu'il étoit très-brave de sa personne. Il avoit une sorte d'esprit, qui ne consistoit pourtant qu'à tourner tout en ridicule, à s'ingérer par-tout, *à tirer les vers du nez, & à donner des godens.* Il étoit noble dans ses manieres, généreux, & vivant très-honorablement. Il aimoit le gros jeu, & jouoit très-noblement. Sa figure étoit fort mince, & l'on ne peut comprendre comment il a pu être un homme à bonne fortune. Après la mort de Mademoiselle, il s'est marié avec la fille du Maréchal de Lorges, dont il n'eut pas d'enfans. Le Roi d'Angleterre lui avoit donné la Jarretiere"[o].

Note 169, Pages 78–79.

The Duke of Tyrconnell is believed to have carried his point in France, by corrupting the French Ministers with the royal treasure, he had previously dispatched there from Ireland; and his success also attributed to a former acquaintance between his Lady, and Louis XIV.'s principal Minister, Louvois.

The annotator of Colonel O'Kelly's work has never met with any *evidence* but this, for charging the Duke of Tyrconnell with the peculation and bribery, and his Duchess with the amorous

[m] See Note 141.

[n] See, however, Notes 130 and 131, pp. 350, 352.

[o] Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick, tome i. pp. 81-84.

amorous intrigues *here* alluded to. From not having met with any such additional evidence, as well as for other reasons, he would be inclined to consider such charges no better than rumours of the (Henry) *Luttrell* faction, circulated amongst the Anglo-Irish portion of the Duke's enemies, and the ultra Milesian or "separatist" party, of whom more presently[p].

NOTE 170, Page 79.

The Duke of Tyrconnell affirmed, to have gained over King James's English courtiers in France, by professing himself an Englishman by extraction, as his Lady was by birth, and by also adding, how opposed he was to a destruction of the English interest in Ireland, through a separation of the island from the English Crown, according to the wish of the Irish.

A contemporary Jacobite defence of the Earl of Tyrconnell's government in Ireland, printed in 1688, says: "And for the *Brittish* in *Ireland*, they have not the least Reason to be dejected, because they are sufficiently secure: Our Governor's Education, his Stake he has in *England*, his most Excellent, Charitable, *English* Lady, himself descended from a Famous Ancient Stock of *English* Nobility, TALBOT!" Nevertheless, Mr. Hallam, speaking of the Irish Viceroy in 1687, characterizes him, as one who "looked only to his master's interests, in subordination to those of his countrymen, and of his own," and observes,—"It is now ascertained, that, doubtful of the King's success in the struggle for restoring Popery in England, he had made secret overtures to some of the French agents for casting off all connexion with that kingdom, in case of James's death, and, with the aid of Louis, placing the crown of Ireland on his own head. Mr. Mazure has brought this remarkable fact to light. Bonrepos, a French emissary in England, was authorized by his court to proceed in a negociation with Tyrconnel for the separation of the two islands, in case that a Protestant should succeed to the crown of England. He had accordingly a private interview with a confidential agent of the Lord Lieutenant at Chester, in the month of October, 1687. Tyrconnel," concludes Mr. Hallam, "undertook, that, in less than a year, every thing should be prepared."

As to the existence of a wish, on the part of a great number of the Irish, after the breaking out of the Revolutionary War, to have their country separated from England and Scotland, Lord Melfort, in his "Instructions for Mr. Maxwell going into Ireland," from Paris, in 1689, states, in connexion with "what was said to be a-doing amongst the Irish in Paris and elsewhere," or at home,—"It has been debated amongst them, whether it be not their interest to join themselves to some Catholic crown able to protect them, rather than be subject to the revolutions of the Protestant kingdoms of Great Britain; and" his Lordship adds, "that most of them at Paris have been of this mind." Finally, the royal Memoirs, in mentioning the divisions amongst the Irish in 1691, or the last year of the war, during the siege of Athlone, allege, that "with the seditious petitions (which were at that time handed about the Army) and Balderic O'Donnel's hidden practices, it apear'd afterwards that there was a design of puting the Kingdom

[p] Compare Notes 163, 164, 165, 167, and 170.

Kingdom into the hands of the antient Irish, and upon an equal foot with England; this it was made O'Donnel so popular, and had raised him that mighty crowd of followers with which he liued in a manner at discretion while the war lasted, and then made his peace with the enemy without the King's privity or consent"[q].

NOTE 171, Page 80.

The Duke of Berwick, with 4000 *foot, and as many horse and dragoons, crosses the Shannon, invades Leinster, and attacks the Castle of an English knight.*

This was the Castle of Birr, the family residence of Sir Lawrence Parsons, ancestor to the present Earl of Rosse. " Tirconel," says the Duke of Berwick, " m'avoit laissé le commandement général du Royaume en son absence: sur quoi ayant envie d'étendre mes quartiers au delà de la riviere de Shannon, je passai au pont de Banaker avec toute ma cavalerie, sept bataillons, & quatre pieces de canon; j'attaquai le château de Blir: mais par la maladresse de mes canonniers, qui ne purent jamais attraper le château, je me vis obligé de lever le siege; car le Général Douglas, ayant rassemblé un très-gros corps des ennemis, vint au secours, & je ne crus pas devoir hasarder une action avec *des forces si inégales.* Je me retirai donc à deux milles en arriere, dans un très-bon poste, d'où ensuite je repassai le Shannon."

The Duke of Berwick was accompanied in this affair by Brigadier Sarsfield, to whom the English or Williamite accounts attribute the command of the Irish forces. Harris, after stating, according to those accounts, that Sarsfield invested the Castle, adds, " Lieutenant General *Douglas*, Major General *Kirk*, and Sir *John Lanier*, with a strong body, advanced that way, with a resolution not only to disturb the siege, and put relief into the Castle, but also to drive *Sarsfield* beyond the *Shannon*, and to attempt to break down the bridge of *Bannagher*, to prevent his incursions over that pass. Upon their approach, on the 19th of September, they found the enemy encamped very advantageously, two miles beyond *Bir*, among bogs and fastnesses, and were resolved to attack them; but *Sarsfield* saved them that labour, by retiring hastily to a place of more security beyond the Shannon[r]. The principal design of this expedition was upon the Bridge of *Bannagher;* but the attempt to break it down was found too hazardous at that time, not only as the enemy was very strong on the other side, but as it was defended by a Castle, and another work, which commanded it on two sides. They therefore

[q] A Vindication of the Present Government of Ireland, under his Excellency, Richard, Earl of Tirconnel—In a Letter to a Friend, p. 3: London, 1688.—Hallam's Constitutional History of England, vol. iii. p. 530: London, 1829.—Macpherson's Original Papers, vol. i. p. 340.—Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 460-461.—Story's Continuation of the Hist. of the Wars of Ireland, p. 187.

[r] Story, however, after mentioning how " *Friday* the 19th, the Enemy decamped, and marched to *Banohar-Bridge,*" adds, " tho that Night a Party of their Horse beat in our Out-Guards." Harris, also, it may be observed, says *nothing* of the Williamite force having been so much superior in number as it was, though he had, in his possession, the acknowledgment to that effect, of the Williamite Secretary at War, given in *next* Note. For another such sample of suppression, see Note 101.

fore returned to *Bir*, and raised some fortifications about that open defenceless Town, where they encamped ten or twelve days, to countenance the workmen."

A well-informed, though anonymous, local writer, having mentioned, in 1826, respecting the great modern improvements of the Castle of Birr, " the external building cannot be easily described, so various are its towers, flankers, battlements, and embrasures," adds, " on the eastern side yet stands part of that venerable fabric which baffled the attempts of General Sarsfield, of whose unsuccessful cannonading in 1690, it still exhibits the marks"[s].

Note 172, Page 80-81.

The Duke of Berwick, on an alarm of a hostile force advancing to relieve the place he was attacking, is alleged, contrary to Sarsfield's advice, to have raised the siege, and retired over the Shannon into Connaught, though having superior numbers to the enemy.

Whether Brigadier Sarsfield *did* or did *not* protest against a retreat towards the Shannon on the approach of the English to relieve Birr, the Duke of Berwick's opinion previously cited, as to the Irish force having been too unequal to the large number of the enemy to render an engagement prudent, is supported by the unpublished statement of Clarke, the Williamite Secretary of War for Ireland, who calculated upon victory, in case of an action, on account of the very superior numbers of the English. Writing to his correspondent from " Cashell, Sept. 19th, 1690," Clarke says: " My Lord, the guns I sent y^r Lordship word in my last, that were heard in the Camp, prove to be Sarsfield's at Burr, wch place he had invested, but upon the approach of Sir John Lanier quitted again. Sr John gives an account, that the body of the Irish that were there, consisted of 7 battallions of foot, 6 regiments of horse, & 4 of dragoones, & that they had 7 great guns with them; he adds in a postcript that he heard they were returning upon advice of his marching back to Rosecrea, wch news has made Lt Gen^ll Douglas, Major General Kirke, & himself resolve to return & use all means possible to fight him, of which we every moment expect a good account, *our men being so much superiour in number*"[t].

Note 173, Page 81.

William sends fresh troops to Ireland, under the command of Lord Churchill, or Marlborough, uncle, by the mother, of the Duke of Berwick.

Arabella Churchill, daughter of Sir Winstan Churchill, and sister of the celebrated John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, was, as mistress to James, Duke of York, afterwards

[s] The History of Parsonstown, in the King's County, containing the History of that Town, from the Earliest Period to the Year 1798, together with its Description at the Present Day, pp. 143-150, 165: Dublin, 1826.—Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick, tome i. pp. 84-85.—Harris's Life of William III., p. 290.—Story's Impartial History, &c., p. 138.

[t] MS. Correspondence, Letter No. CXLIII., in Trinity College Library.

James II., the mother of four children. Of these, the eldest was James Fitzjames, born August 21st, 1670, subsequently Duke of Berwick, Marshal of France, &c. Alluding to the greatness of both the uncle and the nephew, the former at the head of the Allied, and the latter as commander of the French and Spanish armies, Montesquieu observes, " Telle fut l'étoile de cette Maison de Churchill, qu'il en sortit deux hommes, dont l'un dans le même temps fut destiné à ébranler, & l'autre à soutenir, les deux plus grandes Monarchies de l'Europe." The amount of the troops, sent from England, under Marlborough, to attack Cork and Kinsale, is stated, by the Duke of Berwick, at 8,000 men[u].

NOTE 174, Page 81.

Lord Churchill, or Marlborough, though the bosom friend of James II., deserted him after William's landing in England, and was even so perfidious, as to design delivering the King into his enemy's hands.

The many obligations, under which John Churchill, afterwards Duke of Marlborough, was placed by the patronage and friendship of James II., both as Duke of York and as King of England, may be collected from the following account, in Collins's Peerage, of Marlborough, to the period of his besieging Cork and Kinsale. " John Churchill, *Duke of Marlborough*, the second but eldest surviving son of Sir Winstan Churchill, is said to have been born, at seventeen minutes after noon, on May 24th, 1650. In his youth, he was Page of Honour to James, Duke of York, by whose favour his father got him an Ensign's commission in the Guards. In 1671, he served at Tangier against the Moors; and being in the army sent next year, under the Duke of Monmouth, to the assistance of Lewis XIV. of France against the Dutch, signalized himself at the siege of Maestricht. In 1679, he attended the Duke of York into Flanders, and next year into Scotland. He likewise, in 1682, accompanied that Prince in the voyage to that Kingdom, when the Gloucester frigate, on May 5th, struck on the Lemon and Oar Sand; and was one of those persons for whose preservation his Royal Highness was particularly solicitous. On December 21st following, he was, by the interest of the Duke of York, dignified with the title of LORD CHURCHILL, *of Eyemouth, in the County of Berwick, in Scotland;* and next year, being then a General Officer, he got the command of the First Regiment of Dragoons. . . . The Duke of York succeeding to the Crown, on February 6th, 1684–5, nominated him Ambassador to the Court of France, on March 5th following; and constituted him one of the Lords of the Bedchamber, in which quality he walked at his Majesty's coronation, on April 23rd, 1685. On May 14th, ensuing, he was created a Peer of England, by the title of BARON CHURCHILL, *of Sandridge, in Hertfordshire;* assisted in defeating the Duke

[u] Sir Egerton Brydges' edition of Collins's Peerage of England, vol. i. pp. 365-369, 375.—Portrait du Maréchal de Berwick, par Milord Bolingbroke, & Ebauche de l'Eloge Historique du Maréchal de Berwick par le Président de Montesquieu, prefixed to the Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick, tome i. pp. ix. xvii. 1, 85, &c.—The London Magazine for 1734, p. 331.

Duke of Monmouth at Sedgemore, on July 6th following, being next in command to Lewis Duras, Earl of Feversham, and the same year was appointed Colonel of the Third Troop of Life-Guards. When the Prince of Orange landed in 1688[v], he was amongst the first that went over to his Highness, and, in the Convention, voted for the vacancy of the throne, and for filling it with the Prince and Princess of Orange. . . . . After their being declared King and Queen, on Ash-Wednesday, February 13th, 1688–9, Lord Churchill was called to the Council Table, and appointed one of the Lords of the Bedchamber to King William. On April 9th, 1689, two days before the coronation, he was advanced to the rank of Earl of Marlborough, and sent that year to command the English forces in the Netherlands, under Prince Waldeck, General of the Dutch troops." The following year, 1690, he was appointed to command the expedition against Cork and Kinsale.

Respecting the ingratitude and treachery, towards James II., attributed to Lord Churchill, or Marlborough, by Colonel O'Kelly, consult (amongst other authorities that might be cited) the references, here subjoined, to the Duke of Berwick, Captain John Creichton, of Lord Dunmore's Regiment of Dragoons, and King James[w].

Note 175, Page 81.

Lord Churchill, or Marlborough, attacks Cork, represented as having been provided with all necessaries for sustaining a long siege, and yet as having been taken without much opposition.

According to Story and Harris, the Earl of Marlborough landed his forces in Cork harbour, September 23rd, set about the siege of the place on the 24th, and it "held out till the 28th," says the former authority, "being five Days, and then the Garrison, about 4,500, submitted to be all Prisoners of War."

Though this garrison is correctly spoken of by King James's Memoirs as "very numerous," and though it was most likely, as the Latin version of Colonel O'Kelly intimates, "well supplied with provisions," it certainly was *not* furnished with what the Colonel terms "all Necessaryes to sustaine a long Seidge." The royal Memoirs mention Cork, as "being ill provided for a defence;" and the truth of this assertion is sufficiently proved by the MS. letter of the Dutch Major-General Scravemoer, who was with the Williamite force at the siege. This document informs us, that all the Irish store of powder, at the termination of their five days' resistance, was found to be "no more than two *small* barrels"[x]. The Memoirs add, in reference to the defence of Cork, "Colonel Maceligot, who was governour of it, shew'd more courage than prudence in refuseing the good conditions which were offer'd him at first, indeed the

[v] Printed by mistake, 1685.

[w] Sir Egerton Brydges' edition of Collins's Peerage of England, vol. i. pp. 367-369, 375, &c.—Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick, tome i. p. 34.—Capt. Creichton's Memoirs, in Scott's edition of Swift's Works, vol. xii. pp. 70-71.—Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 219, 221-224.

[x] See Note 162.

the Duke of Berwick had so little hopes of its sustaining a Siege that he had order'd him to burn the town, and retire with his garison into Kerry"[y].

NOTE 176, Page 81.

False statement alleged to have been made by the English, as to Cork having been surrendered to them, without securing conditions for the Irish garrison; and bad treatment of the latter by the English, notwithstanding those conditions.

It is *not* true, that Cork was surrendered as Colonel O'Kelly says the English alleged it to have been surrendered. On the 28th of September, a breach having been made since the day before, and the English arrangements proceeding by land and water for the storming of the place, the Governor, Colonel Mac Eligot, beat a parley, and sent the Earl of Tyrone and Colonel Rycaut to make, says Story, " Articles for its Surrender, which were these:

" I. That the Garrison should be received Prisoners of War, and *there should be no Prejudice done to the Officers, Soldiers, or Inhabitants.*

" II. That the General would use his Endeavour to *obtain His Majestie's Clemency towards them.*

" III. That they should deliver up the *Old Fort* within an Hour, and the Two Gates of the City the next Day, at Eight in the Morning.

" IV. That all the Protestants that are in Prison shall be forthwith released.

" V. That all the Arms of the Garrison and Inhabitants should be put into a secure Place. And

" VI. That an exact Account should be given of the Magazines, as well Provision as Ammunition."

What Colonel O'Kelly refers to, as the barbarous treatment inflicted upon the Irish garrison after their surrender, is thus spoken of in King James's Memoirs, and by Doctor Charles Leslie.

The former authority says, that they " found little compassion at the Enemies hands, who amongst other cruel usages, were so inhumain as to refuse to bury those who through misery dyed in prison, till they amounted to 30 or 40 at a time through a seeming neglect, or to saue trouble, but in reality that the infection of the dead and corrupting bodys might poison and destroy the rest."

" The *Irish* do grievously complain," adds Doctor Charles Leslie, " that upon the surrender of *Cork*, the *Irish* Army, tho' Prisoners of War, were, by the Conditions, to be well used, notwithstanding of which, they say, that the General narrowly escaped being Murthered by the [Protestant?]

[y] Story's Impartial History, pp. 141-143, and Continuation, pp. 44-45.—Harris's Life of William III., pp. 291-292.—Major-General Scravemoer's Letter from the Camp before Cork, Septr 29th, 1690, No. CLIX. in Clarke's Correspondence.—Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. p. 419.

[Protestant?] Inhabitants, and had no Justice done him, nor any Satisfaction, upon his Complaint to the *English* General. That several of the Earl of *Clankerty's* Servants were forced rom him, to serve Major General ——. And that the Garrison, after laying down their Arms, were *Stripped*, and Marched to a Marshy wet Ground, where they were kept with Guards *four* or *five* Days, and not being Sustained, were forced through Hungar, to Eat dead Horses that lay about them, and several of them Dyed for Want. That when they were Removed thence, they were so crowded in Jails, Houses, and Churches, that they could not all lye down at once, and had Nothing but the bare Floor to lye on, where, for Want of Sustenance, and lying in their own Excrements, with dead Carcasses, lying whole Weeks in the same Place with them, caused such Infection, that they Dyed in great Numbers Daily. And that the *Roman Catholick Inhabitants*, tho' promis'd Safty and Protection, had their Goods Seized, and themselves Stripped, and turned out of Town soon after."

So far for these accounts of King James and Doctor Leslie. From a perusal, however, of the original evidence in Clarke's Correspondence, cited by Harris, respecting the condition of Cork and its Williamite garrison subsequent to the capitulation, as well as from two official letters, dated Cork, November 17th and 20th, 1690, written by Charles Thompson, Esq., Surgeon-General to William's army in Ireland, and preserved in the State Paper Office, London, it is but JUST to add, that a great deal (though not all) of the sufferings of the Irish prisoners on this occasion, would appear to have been no more than a natural consequence of the destitution and disease, to which both the town, and the Williamite garrison themselves, are represented to have been reduced[z].

NOTE 177, Page 81-82.

The Duke of Grafton, an illegitimate son of King Charles II., slain in the attack on Cork.

"Henry Fitz-Roy, second son of Charles II., by Barbara Villiers, Duchess of Cleveland," says Collins, "was born on September 20th, 1663; and being of a brave and martial spirit, addicted himself first to the experience of maritime affairs, having been on several naval expeditions with Sir John Bury, Knight, Vice-Admiral of England: he was, by letters patent, bearing date August 16th, 1672, created Baron of Sudbury, Viscount Ipswich, and Earl of Euston, all in the County of Suffolk; also on September 11th, 1675, created DUKE OF GRAFTON, in the County of Northampton." The same authority, after mentioning, with respect to the Duke, at the siege of Cork, that "a considerable breach being made, the grenadiers were ordered to storm the town, headed by his Grace, and some resolute volunteers," adds, "but, as he was leading them on to the assault, on September 28th, he received a wound with a shot, which broke two of his ribs, whereof he died, at Cork, on October 9th, following; and his corpse

[z] Harris's Life of William III., pp. 292, 296, 297.—Story's Impartial History, pp. 141-143, and Continuation, p. 29.—Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. p. 419.—Leslie's Answer to King, p. 162.—Clarke's Correspondence, and Letters in State Paper Office, London, as referred to.

corpse was brought to England, and buried at Euston, in Suffolk." Mr. Croker asserts, that "the shot which mortally wounded the Duke of Grafton is said to have been fired by a blacksmith from a forge in 'Old Port Office Lane' (leading from the South Main Street to the Grand Parade). The place where he fell, which was then a marsh," adds Mr. Croker, "is now built upon, and the street called Grafton's Alley, in memory of the event"[a].

NOTE 178, Pages 81–82.

The Duke of Grafton, a naval commander, and as great an enemy to his uncle, King James, and the Irish nation, for their attachment to the Roman Catholic worship, as he was himself a violent assertor of Protestantism.

According to Collins, the Duke of Grafton was appointed Vice-Admiral of England, December 2nd, 1682. In that capacity, he had under his uncle's reign, or in 1687, observes the same writer, "the command of a squadron of his Majesty's ships of war, to receive Mary Sophia, Queen of Pedro II., King of Portugal, in Holland, and conduct her to Lisbon. His Grace afterwards sailed for Tunis, where he arrived on October 16th, 1687, and having brought the Corsairs of that place to amity, he returned to England in March, 1688, and, waiting on the King, was very graciously received." It would, however, appear by what King James states in connexion with the Duke's death at the siege of Cork, that his not having been elevated to a still higher rank in the navy contributed to make him desert to the Prince of Orange, some months after, at the Revolution. His Majesty, in remarking upon the fall of the Duke, thus adds respecting him: "who after haveing trecherously abandon'd the King, who loved him like a father, had no other recompence from the Vsurper than to be knocked in the head in his service in quality of a Volunteer: he who thought himself so highly injured because the King had not given him the command of the Fleet, preferable to all the antient and experienced Officers in the Kingdom." Dalrymple, too, asserts of the Duke: "He had asked the command of the fleet in place of Lord Dartmouth, but James had refused his request. Either irritated, or inflamed with the love of liberty, he went privately to the fleet, and obtained a promise from two-thirds of the Captains, that they would not oppose the Prince of Orange, and informed the Prince of what he had done."

Though Colonel O'Kelly speaks of the Duke as a warm supporter of the Protestant faith, and a proportionable hater or persecutor of the Irish for their attachment to the Roman Catholic Church, from such circumstances connected with religion as are related of the Duke, he does not seem to have been a man of much religious *consistency*, or principle. Thus, when, in 1687, the Duke of Somerset, as Lord of the Bedchamber, was stripped of his appointment by James, for "having," says Collins, "declined conducting Ferdinand Dadda, Archbishop of Amasia, Pope Innocent XI.'s Nuncio, to his public audience," the Duke of Grafton "was prevailed

[a] Sir Egerton Brydges' edition of Collins's Peerage of England, vol. i. pp. 213, 215. — Transactions of the London Camden Society, No. XIV., p. 127.

vailed on by the King to perform it; and accordingly, on the 3d of July[b] that year, he solemnly conducted him to Windsor, attended by Sir Charles Cotterel, Master of the Ceremonies, in one of his Majesty's coaches." Bishop Burnet also relates, that the Duke, shortly before his desertion, being suspected of disaffection by James, the King told him: "He was sure *he* could not pretend to act upon Principles of Conscience; for he had been so ill bred, that, as he knew little of Religion, so he regarded it less. But," adds the Bishop respecting the Duke, "he answered the King, that, tho' he had little Conscience, yet he was of a Party that had Conscience."

The occurrence which may have contributed to the peculiarly hostile feeling of the Duke against the Irish, assigned to him by Colonel O'Kelly, was probably the attempt upon his Grace's life in London, during the heat of the Revolution, or in December, 1688, on his advance, by the Prince of Orange's orders, to take possession of Tilbury Fort, where a party of Irish, belonging to King James's army, had been stationed. "As the Duke," says Harris, "was marching through the *Strand* at the head of his regiment, an *Irish* trooper, galloping down *Catherine-street*, took aim at his Grace with his carbine: One of the Duke's grenadiers was quicker than the trooper, and shot him immediately from his horse, nor did he live long enough, to confess the reason of so desperate an attempt"[c].

Note 179, Page 82.

The Williamites advance to Kinsale, and secure quarters in the Town: the Governor's orders, to commit it to the flames, not having been acted on, until too late.

Harris states of Marlborough: "The same day (29th September) that the Earl entered *Cork*, he sent a detachment of 500 horse and dragoons under Brigadier *Villiers*, to summon the Town and Forts of *Kinsale;* upon whose approach and summons, the Governour threatned to hang the Messenger, and he actually set the Town on fire; which being extinguished by the *English*, the *Irish* retreated in haste to the Old and New Forts"[d].

Note 180, Page 82.

Marlborough, whose men, in that bitter weather, could not keep the field without the shelter afforded by the Town, is thus enabled to attack the Forts of Kinsale.

The alleged neglect, to execute in time the Irish Governor's order for burning the Town of Kinsale, that the enemy might be without shelter in the late and unhealthy season, when they

[b] The 23rd of July, according to King James.

[c] Collins's Peerage, &c., *ut sup.*, vol. i. pp. 213, 214. — Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 116-119, 419-420. — Dalrymple's Memoirs, part i. book v. vol. ii. p. 23: London, 1790. — Burnet's History, &c., vol. i. p. 435: Dublin, 1734.—Harris's Life of William III., p. 155.

[d] Harris's Life of William III., p. 292.

they came before the Forts, was a serious omission. "An advanced season in the field is always fatal to foreigners in this country," says Lieutenant-General Keatinge. And Bishop Burnet, having mentioned how Marlborough, on marching to Kinsale, "found the two Forts, that commanded the Port, to be so much stronger than the Plans had represented them to be," adds, "he told me, if he had known their true Strength, he had never undertaken the Expedition, in a Season so far advanced"[e]. See Note 20, p. 181; Note 107, p. 323; Note 112, pp. 329-330; Note 113, pp. 330-331.

NOTE 181, Page 82.

Sir Edward Scot very gallantly defends the New Fort of Kinsale, in expectation of being relieved by the Duke of Berwick. Cause of Sir Edward's not having been relieved by the Duke.

After the storming of the Old Fort of Kinsale on the 3rd of October, "the Lord *Marlborough*," says Harris, "having gained this Fort, resolved to make quick work with the New one, which was much more considerable, being induced by the bad weather, scarcity of provisions, and sickness of his Men, to attack the place briskly, by that method judging he should lose fewer Men, than by a tedious Siege. Nevertheless, he summoned it in form: But *Sir Edward Scot*, the Governour, resolutely answered, 'It would be time enough to capitulate a month hence.'" It held out until the 15th, when the terms of capitulation, for the following day, were, according to Harris, agreed upon, "about mid-night."

Colonel O'Kelly's assertion, as to Sir Edward Scot having "held out for 20 Daies," is therefore incorrect, and the other statement, or that in the Latin version, as to the defence of Kinsale having been protracted "till the 20th day," is likewise wrong. Had the Latin said "*from* the 29th day," that is, of September, on which, it has been seen[f], the English first advanced from Cork to Kinsale, the assertion would be more justifiable.

Of the reasons that prevented the Duke of Berwick from endeavouring to relieve Cork or Kinsale while besieged by his uncle (at which *neglect* so much censure appears in the Latin version!) the Duke gives us this account. "J'avois cependant ramassé *sept à huit mille* hommes & j'avançai du côté de Kilmalock, pour tenter le secours; mais toutes les troupes ennemies de ce côté-la l'ayant joint[g], je me trouvai *si inférieur en nombre*, que je me contentai de l'observer; & quand son expédition fut finie, nous nous retirâmes tous dans nos quartiers"[h]. This statement of the Duke of Berwick, as to *his* having been so inferior in number to the united forces of the Williamites, is evident, from a comparison with *their* accounts.

NOTE 182,

[e] Keatinge's Defence of Ireland, chap. v. p. 28.—Burnet's History of his Own Times, vol. ii. p. 35.

[f] Note 179.

[g] Marlborough.

[h] Harris's Life of William III., pp. 292-293.—Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick, tome i. p. 85.

Note 182, Pages 82–83.

Sir Edward Scot, being at last reduced to extremities, capitulates, on most honourable terms.

Referring to the circumstance of the garrison of Cork having been obliged to surrender as prisoners of war to Marlborough, in consequence of the place, though so badly calculated to stand a siege, having been so long held out, contrary to the orders of the Duke of Berwick[i], the royal Memoirs allege of Kinsale, " Sir Edward Scot, thō he made a vigorous defence at Kingsale yet did not let slip a fit time for capitulateing, whereby he got better termes, and his men were conducted to Limerick." " On the 5th of *October*," says Story of the termination of this siege by the acquisition of the New Fort, " the Trenches were opened and the Fort held out till the 15th, when two Mines being sprung, and our Galleries ready to lay over the Ditch, the Enemy beat a Parley; and the Garrison (being about 1200) had Liberty to march out, with their Arms and Baggage, having a Party of Horse to conduct them to *Limerick*"[j].

Note 183, Pages 83–84.

Great meeting, at Limerick, of the Jacobite nobility, prelates, chief military officers, and lawyers against their form of government.

" These animositys indeed amongst themselves," observes King James, respecting the Irish, "were come to so a great pitch, that now when the Enemie gaue them some respit, their whole attention was to make war upon one an other"[k].

Note 184, Pages 85–90.

The Duke of Berwick, after some delay, consents, that Agents from the Irish, hostile to the administration of the Duke of Tyrconnell, should proceed, with their complaints, to King James, in France.

Of the appointment of those Envoys to France, from the opponents of the Duke of Tyrconnell, and other circumstances connected with their mission, the Duke of Berwick gives us this account: " Après le depart de Tirconel pour la France, Sarsfield, Simon Luttrel, frere du Brigadier, & le Brigadier Dorington me vinrent trouver à Limerick de la part de l'Assemblée Générale de la Nation, pour me dire, qu'ils avoient lieu de soupçonner que Tirconel ne représenteroit pas suffisamment à la Cour de France leurs besoins, & qu'ainsi ils me prioient de vouloir bien prendre des mesures pour le faire moi-même. Je leur répondis, que je m'étonnois

[i] See Note 175.

[j] Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. p. 419.—Story's Continuation, &c., p. 45.

[k] Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. p. 421.

m'étonnois qu'ils osassent faire de pareilles assemblées sans ma permission, que je leur défendois d'en faire à l'avenir, & que le lendemain je leur ferois savoir mes intentions sur ce dont ils m'avoient parlé. En effet, je convoquai chez moi tous les principaux Seigneurs, tant Ecclésiastiques que Laïques, & tous les Officiers Militaires jusqu'aux Colonels inclus. Je leur fis un discours à peu près comme la veille; mais pour montrer que je ne desirois que le bien, je dis que je voulois bien avoir la complaisance pour eux, d'envoyer en France des personnes de leur goût, pour représenter au vrai leur état & leurs besoins: je proposai l'Evêque de Cork[l], les deux freres Luttrel, & le Colonel Purcell. Tout le monde approuva dans l'instant mon choix, & dans peu de jours je fis partir mes députés: j'envoyai aussi le Brigadier Maxwell, Ecossois, pour expliquer au Roi les raisons que j'avois eues pour faire cette députation, & pour le supplier de vouloir bien ne pas laisser revenir le Brigadier Luttrel, ni le Colonel Purcell, les deux plus dangereux brouillons, que j'avois choisis exprès pour les éloigner. Ces Messieurs, étant à bord, soupçonnerent que Maxwell pouvoit être chargé d'instructions sur leur sujet, & *proposerent de le jetter dans la mer;* mais ils en furent empêchés par l'Evêque & l'aîné Luttrel: le premier étoit un Prélat d'une piété distinguée; & le second, d'un esprit liant, m'a toujours paru un honnête homme[m]. Malgré ce que Maxwell put représenter, le Roi permit à ces Messieurs de retourner en Irlande. Tirconel y consentit; mais il eut dans la suite lieu de s'en repentir. Comme ils craignoient d'être mis en prison, ils firent insinuer au Roi, que les Irlandois s'en prendroient à moi du traitement qu'on leur feroit; & ce fut cette considération qui détermina le Roi à leur permettre de s'en retourner en Irlande"[n].

Note 185, Pages 90–95.

General result of the embassy of the Agents of the discontented Irish to France.

"My Lord Tyrconnel's back," observe the royal Memoirs, "was no sooner turn'd (when he came from Ireland) but the discontented part of the Army dispatched away the Bishopp of Cork, Coll. Symon, and Henry Lutterell, and Coll: Nicolas Pursel to S[t]. Germains, with instructions to solicit his repeal; adressing themselves to his Majesty to this efect, That since with the remains of a broken Army they had stopped a victorious one, and hoped to bring next year an other into the field of aboue twenty thousand foot and neen (*nine*) thousand hors and Dragoons, they desired a Generall fit to command such a body of men, who might depend upon no orders but his Majesty's alone; that My Lord Tyrconnel was not qualifyd for such a superintendance as he had hithertoo exercised, that his age and infermitys made him require more sleep than was consistant with so much business, that his want of experience in military affairs render'd him exceeding slow in his resolves, and uncapable of laying projects; which no depending General Officers would do for him, first by takeing a great deal of pains to make

[l] See Note 33, p. 195, and Note 91, pp. 308-309.

[m] See Note 139, pp. 358-359.

[n] Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick, tome i. pp. 88-90.

make him conceiue it; and then either have it rejected, or he to haue the honour of it, if successfull; whereas they had to do with enemys who wanted not Commanders of great abilities and long experience in the war: they insinuated also that mony and imployments had been given with greater regard to private ends, than the King's Service, that his management in fine was universally disaproued of, and that should he return with the Same authority again, it would utterly dishearten the body of the Nation; they complained of the disponding Message he sent to the King, after the battle of the Boin, which occasion'd his Majestys leaveing the Kingdom, whereas had he but stayd a few hours longer in Dublin, he had seen such a number of fine troops, as would haue tempted him not to have abandon'd them; that dureing the Siege of Limerick, nothing but beans and oates were given to the Soldiers for some time, which they eat raw out of their pockets, while there was wheat enough in the Town; they expressed likewise much disatisfaction at the conduct of those of his partie, particularly Mr. Antony and Richard Hamilton, and had prevail'd with the Duke to displace same, dureing the Lord Lieftenant's absence, as Collonel Macdonnell from his government of Galway, and My Lord Riverston from his imployment of Secretary of War (which the Duke of Berwick writ to the King he did upon intelligence of their treateing with the Enemie about the Surrender of Galway and Limerick) concluding at last with Several personal reflections, particularly against the Duke of Tyrconnel, and indeed against all that had any ty to his intrest.

"Assoon as My Lord Tyrconnel heard of these Deputies from the Army, thō he had finished his business, and was on his way to Brest, however it alarmed him very much; he writ to the King, that he wonder'd the Duke of Berwick could be so far overseen as to suffer Henry Lutterel to go to St Germain's, unless it were with the same view he himself had formerly sent My Lord Mountjoy°; and so thinking to cross bite them, perswaded the King to keep them there now he had them, not doubting but matters would go on more to his Satisfaction in their absence; for thō Sarsfield's head (he Sayd) now that it was turn'd to popularity was quite out of its natural Situation, yet he hoped when he came back, to set it right again, if his Councellors Hen: Lutterel and Col: Pursel were kept from him; so beg'd of his Majesty to do it, assureing him he would use the softest and gentleest means imaginable to bring people to reason, but if that would not do was resolved to secure the proudest amongst them and send him into France: And indeed he put that method in practice ere he was out of it, for while he was waiting for a wind at Brest, hearing of a person that was sent by Mr. Randal Macdonnel into Ireland, and suspecting he had instructions for those of the other partie, prevail'd with the Intendant of Brest to clap him up, till his Majestys orders were known about him.

"These and other considerations, so prepossessed the King against these Deputys, that at their arrival at St Germains he refused to see them; but they being cunning and insinuating people,

° That is, to have him detained in France, as a person too dangerous to be allowed to remain in Ireland. Events proved, how just was the Duke of Tyrconnell's aversion to Henry Luttrell, a bad man, the father of a bad man, and the grandfather of a bad man.

people, and back'd not only by men of distinction in the Army, but at Court too, gain'd so much credit at last, as to make the King ballance with himself, whether partie he should endeavour to satisfy; but My Lord Tyrconnel being actually return'd, he thought it not proper to recall him, nor to alter measures already settled with the Court of France, least that chief Minister [Louvois] might turn such instability in Councells to the King's further prejudice, against whom he was but too much bent already. The King therefore resolved to support his own authority in My Lord Tyrconnel, and let things goe on in the methods already agreed upon, and hoped to send back the Army Ambassadors in such a temper, as would make them live easily with him; which cost the King a great deal of trouble and pains, and was lost labour in the end. But it was the King's hard fate not only to suffer by his Rebellious Subjects, but to be ill serued by his Allies, and tormented by divisions amongst his own people; as if his enemies gaue him not disquiet enough, but that his friends must also come into their aid, to exercise his patience, and agrevate his sufferings by turns"[p].

NOTE 186, Page 95.

Heavy burden on Connaught, the County Limerick, and the remaining portions of Munster, of which the Jacobite territory consisted, imposed by the number of Jacobite refugees, with their cattle, that came there from the other parts of Ireland, and especially from Ulster, then occupied by the Williamites.

Story observes respecting the native Irish: "It has been an ancient Custom amongst them, still to remove out of the Way with their Cattle and all their Substance, at the Approach of an Enemy." Of the inconvenient multitudes of the Ulster Irish, in particular, alluded to by Colonel O'Kelly, as having retired, in this manner, into the territory occupied by King James's forces, the Williamite Chaplain, in describing the return of those emigrants to the North, in October, 1691, after the conclusion of the war by the Treaty of Limerick, says: "All the Roads and other Places leading from the Counties of *Kerry* and *Clare* towards the North, are now full of Nothing but Creights, and vast Stocks of Cattle driving homewards," &c.

Yet, of the crowding of so many of the inhabitants of the other parts of the island into that occupied by King James's army during the winter of 1690–91, the same writer acquaints us with this pleasant and characteristic result: "It's observable, that there have not been so many Marriages for many Years before amongst the *Irish*, as was last Winter in *Limerick*, *Galway*, and all *Connaught* over; whether it was out of Confidence that *they should certainly be Masters of the Kingdom after all*, or else that they were crowded into a narrower Compass, and so had the more Opportunities of Courting, I leave others to judg"[q]. See Note 170.

NOTE 187,

[p] Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 422-425.

[q] Story's Continuation, &c., pp. 146, 196-197, 270-271.

Note 187, Page 95.

Disorders committed in their quarters by King James's army—the Williamite troops acting so likewise, in the territory under their occupation.

Dalrymple, having remarked how, during the military operations of the summer in Ireland, "both sides had kept up their spirits, because that season had passed in various successes to both," says: "But, when the armies retired into their winter quarters, the people of Ireland found themselves oppressed with miseries which admitted of no alleviation, because they were attended with no variety. The armies spread themselves in parties, placed at small distances from each other, all over the frontiers of the provinces they possessed, to cover them, and to get provisions and forage with the greater ease. Whilst the armies had been ranged in camps against each other, the common laws of war were observed, because it was the interest of all to respect them; and the soldiers had not injured the country, partly because they were supplied from public magazines and by public officers, and partly because they still however depended for many things upon the country-people. But they had no sooner got into cantonments, than they indulged in the wantonness of cruelty, because it was attended with no danger; and plundered friends and foes alike, for which the want of pay among the English, and the brass pay of the Irish soldiers, furnished them with excuses. The Germans, French, and Danes of the English army," he adds, "declared without scruple, that they considered themselves as in an enemy's country; and they were too numerous to be punished"[r].

Note 188, Pages 95–96.

The Duke of Berwick stated, to have been more mindful of his youthful pleasures, than attentive to the conduct of his troops.

The Duke gives a different representation of his conduct. "Pendant cet hivre," says he, "il ne se passa rien de considérable, & je ne fus occupé que de la visite du pays & des postes, du rétablissement des troupes, & de l'approvisionnement des magasins"[s].

Note 189, Page 97.

Necessity of a particular account of the coinage of copper or base money in Ireland by King James II., owing to the great evils it was considered to have occasioned.

The establishment of a brass or inferior description of coinage in Ireland under James II., was *not* such a "new design" as the Latin translator of Colonel O'Kelly seems to have considered it.

"In

[r] Dalrymple's Memoirs, part ii. book v. vol. iii. pp. 48-49: London, 1790.

[s] Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick, tome i. pp. 90-91.

In the latter end of the reign of Henry VIII., observes Cox, "the Necessities of the State obliged the King to Coyn Brass or mixt Moneys, and to make it currant in *Ireland* by Proclamation to the great Dissatisfaction of all the People, especially the Soldiers." In Harris's Ware, the Proclamation to that effect is spoken of, as one "prohibiting the Importation of this Money into *England*, under the Penalty of forfeiting Treble the Value, and of Fine and Imprisonment." Under Henry's successor, Edward VI., this sort of base coin continued to circulate in Ireland, since we read, in Cox, of the King being "advised to lower the Value of Brass Money." In the next reign, or that of Mary, the same annalist mentions the sending over, in 1558, by the Lord Deputy, Thomas, Earl of Sussex, of "an Order to coyne Brass Money; and to make it currant by Proclamation; which he did." After the statement, in Harris's Ware, of that Queen's having "coined Shillings for *Ireland* in two Periods of her Reign," it is added, "and both of a very vile Metal, little better than Copper." Simon, who characterizes this coinage for Ireland, to have been "of as coarse and base a metal, as any made use of, in the two last reigns," informs us, at the same time, of Mary, how, "in order that she might ingratiate herself with her people in *England*," she "prohibited the currency of the base money *there*, and ordered gold and silver to be made of a better standard."

Again, in Elizabeth's reign, or the year 1601, an *exclusively* base coin was fabricated for Ireland, respecting which the English historian Carte says: "The regular payment of her army in *Ireland*, in gold and silver coin, had drawn thither a large quantity of the *specie* of *England:* and, a great part of it coming, either by excursions, plunder, or traffick, into the hands of the rebels, they were enabled to purchase in *France*, *Flanders*, and *Hollande*, whatever armes, ammunition and provisions they wanted. To prevent this inconvenience, her Majesty, who had, in the beginning of her reign, acquired great glory, by reforming the coin of *England* to the true standard[t], thought fit to cause a base sort of money to be coined in the Tower of *London:* and by a Proclamation, on *May* 21[?] ordered it to be current *only in Ireland*, and there to be taken in all payments, as if it were sterling[u]. Great quantities of this money being sent over thither, there was, in a short time, *no other to be seen;* and, it being of little service for purchasing munitions in foreign countries, where it would pass for no more than its intrinsick value, the rebels, already distressed by the forts erected in their countries, and

[t] "About this time (1560) the coin, which had been so debased, during the three former reigns, and in the beginning of this, was restored to near its former purity, and intrinsic value, as well in this kingdom, as in England."—(Simon's Essay on Irish Coins, p. 36: Dublin, 1810.)

[u] The Queen's Proclamation, May 20th, 1601, states, that if any person or persons should refuse the said mixed monies, according to their denomination, or valuation, that is shilling for shilling, and *sic de cæteris*, being tendered in payment of wages, fees, stipends, or debts, that they should be punished as contemners of her Majesty's royal prerogative and commands; and in order to make this coin more current, it was also ordered by the said Proclamation that, after the 10th of July next ensuing, all other monies current in this kingdom (Ireland) should be annulled esteemed as bullion, and not as the lawful and current coin of said realm.—(Simon's Essay, &c., pp. 38, 90-94.)

and the garrisons which destroyed everything that could serve for sustenance, were soon reduced to the necessity either of perishing by famine, as vast multitudes did[v], or of making their submission."

The Irish historian, Don Philip O'Sullivan Beare, after laying down, that, in the long war of his countrymen against Elizabeth, "Non armis, sed artibus varijs, Ibernos fuisse superatos," thus alludes to this brass money, and the other policy by which it's *imposition* upon Ireland was accompanied: "Nec est prætereundum aliud Protestantium stratagemma, qui Catholicorum agros, municipia, segetes, armenta, ferro, flammaque corrumpebant, vt quos virtute superare nō poterant, fame, & inedia vincerent, neque suorum quidem Prouincialium, vel Ibernorum factionis Anglicæ finibus interdum parcentes, frumentum & armentum interuertendo, & agriculturam prohibendo, ne commeatus esset, quo Catholici potiti bellum gererent. Ahena moneta Reginæ iussu excusa mittitur in Iberniam anno 1601. qua partim Regina facultatibus consumptis exercitum alebat, partim Ibernicum aurum & argentum est surreptum. Quæ simul ac bellum est confectum, nihil valere cępit magna iactura Ibernorū, etiā tributariorum Reginæ, maximè mercatorum. Quippé persuasum habuerunt Protestantes nunquā finiendum fuisse Ibernicum bellum, dum Ibernis commeatus suppeteret, vel aurum, & argentum, quo illum compararent: exercitui verò suo Angliam victum suppeditaturam. Hæ causę fuerunt, quamobrem tanta vis Ibernorum pauperum exteras gentes, maximè Hispaniam, & Galliam inundauerit." And, in another place, inquiring "Quemadmodum Catholici sint viribus diminuti," after mentioning the various contrivances, by which "Angli, in summum discrimen amittendæ Iberniæ deducti," resolved to prevent this, O'Sullivan adds: "Principio ænea moneta excusa in Iberniam mittitur, qua omne Ibernum aurum, & argentum in Angliam subtrahitur, ipsaque breui cępit nullius esse pretij. Quo effectum est vt Iberni pecunia sua defraudati sint ad ingentem paupertatem redacti. Segetes quoque scinduntur, & alia damna inferuntur."

Moryson, as cited by Simon, speaks of the above-mentioned money for Ireland as "this bitter pill, which impoverished not only the rebels, but her Majesty's best servants in this kingdom, only enriching her paymasters sitting quietly at home, while others adventured daily their blood in the service." Simon computes, that "if at that time (1601) the merchant had complied, and parted with his sterling money; if he had brought it to the office, there to receive twenty-one shillings of the base money (in reality not worth above three shillings and four-pence) for every twenty shillings of sterling money, *his stock, if twelve thousand pounds, must at once have been reduced to three thousand pounds, nay, to two thousand pounds*, for the goldsmiths did not value these shillings at more than two pence each."

Elizabeth's successor, King James I., in his Proclamation of November 16th, 1604, boasts of having restored to the "realme of Ireland monies of pure silver, in lieu of the base coyne, with which the necessity of the tymes, by accidend of warres, constrayned our sister, the late Queen of happy memory, to pay the armies."

NOTE 190,

[v] See Note 78, pp. 291, 292.

[w] Cox's Hibernia-Anglicana, vol. i. pp. 280, 293, 307. — Harris's Ware, vol. ii. p. 217. — Simon's Essay on Irish Coins, pp. 34, 35, 39, 40,

Note 190, Pages 97–98.

James II., on arriving in Ireland, in March, 1689, *finds the country drained of gold and silver, by the flight to England of the wealthier class, or those of English race, with their effects.*

It has been seen, in Note 83, by the account which the Irish Viceroy gave the King, after his landing in Ireland in March, 1689, that, besides the great deficiency of the supporters of the royal cause, or the Irish in general, in almost all the requisites for an army but men, his Irish government had "no mony in cash"[x]. In this financial emergency, the first monetary measure adopted by the King, after his arrival in Dublin, was to issue, on the 25th of March, "a Proclamation," says Simon, "for raising the value of English and foreign gold and silver coins." This writer, who informs us, that previous to the breaking out of the Revolution, "the exchange between England and Ireland was then at par in the strictest sense of the word," and that "gold and silver must have been very plentiful here in the latter end of the preceding reign, probably owing to its currency being raised in 1683," adds, in reference to the above mentioned Proclamation, and the circumstances which occasioned it: "But now the scene changes, on the prospect of a civil war; the Protestant merchant, the monied man, secures his effects, and flies to England. Without money, how could King James maintain his army? Its value, therefore, must be raised, and as Guineas are less cumbersome and of an easier carriage than Crowns, or any other silver coins, he raises the value of English gold twenty *per cent.*, and the English silver eight one third *per cent.* only, and other foreign gold and silver species in proportion; that what little money was left in the Kingdom, and the few thousand livres he had borrowed from the French King, might go a greater way"[y].

Note 191, Page 99.

The Jacobite copper coinage, erroneously stated not to have been proceeded with until August, 1689.

Having observed, how neither by the provisions of the royal Proclamation of the 25th of March, 1689, nor by those of another Proclamation of the 4th of May following, money came in fast enough, the King, says Simon, "laid aside the patent by him granted but four years before to Sir John Knox, and then in the hands of Colonel Roger Moore, and having given an order for seizing on that gentleman's engines and tools for coining, set up mints of his own, one at Limerick, in the deanery-house, and the other in Dublin, in Capel-street; which last consisted of two presses, one called the James-press, and the other the Duchess; over which

41, 42, 43.—Carte's History of England, vol. iii. p. 689: London, 1752.—O'Sullevan Beare's Historiæ Catholicæ Iberniæ Compendium, pp. 117, 118, 168, 169.

[x] See, also, Notes 48, 88, 105.

[y] Simon's Essay on Irish Coins, pp. 56-57.

which were appointed several Officers, *viz.* six Commissioners divided into two classes, the first and second, four Comptrollers, two Secretaries, one for each class, two Warders, one Treasurer, four tellers, four feeders, eight laborers at the fly, two porters, a messenger, a storekeeper, and two door-keepers. Each set of men were obliged to work at each press twelve hours night and day, wherefore a double set of hands was required. The Commissioners in Dublin were John Trinder, Thomas Goddard, William Talbot, William Brumfield, Francis Rice, and Edward Fox, Esqrs.; and Walter Plunket, at Limerick. The Secretaries, Mr. John Tringer, and Mr. Samuel Clark, Mr. Hewlet, Treasurer, Messrs. Holland, Morgan, Osborn, and Dempsey, Comptrollers. This settled, they went to work, and King James, on the eighteenth of June, issued a Proclamation for making two sorts of money, of brass and copper mixed-metal, current in this Kingdom. The one for twelve, and the other for six pence."

Colonel O'Kelly, in supposing King James's mint was not set to work till the sixth month, O. S., or August, 1689, is wrong, as appears by the following passage from Snelling's Supplement to Simon's work: "The gun[z] money of James the Second, we think commenced with the six pence, as it is the only piece with June 1689 on it, the other months found on them are July. Aug. Sept. 7 ber. Nov. Dec. Jan. and Feb. Of the shillings there are of every month from July 1689 to June 1690, and one of September 1690."

This last piece would seem to have been coined at the mint in Limerick, since from the battle of the Boyne, in the previous July, Dublin was in William's possession; Limerick henceforward, or till the end of the war, in the autumn of 1691, was the Jacobite metropolis of Ireland; and we know, moreover, from Bishop Nicolson, that, within this last period, money *was* coined there. The dates of other pieces mentioned by Snelling, besides those above stated, would also show Colonel O'Kelly to be wrong, in having assigned August as the month, in which the coinage of the brass money began[a].

NOTE 192,

[z] Snelling here alludes to the metal, amongst others, of "old guns," which the King caused to be coined, as a temporary equivalent for gold and silver money, and with which, by his Proclamation from Dublin Castle, June 18th, 1689, he accordingly bound himself to redeem such coin, when the "present necessity" for issuing it should expire. A similar minting of gun-metal into a circulating medium, or representative of real money, when the precious metals were *not* to be had, was resorted to by a celebrated French General, in Italy, fifty-nine years before the Jacobite coinage of 1689, in Ireland. Amongst the various means by which the Marquis de Toiras (afterwards Marshal of France) managed to defend Casal, in 1630, against the Imperial, Spanish, and Piedmontese forces under Spinola, we are informed, by a French writer, that "L'argent manquant à Toiras, il donna sa vaisselle d'argent, et cette ressource étant épuisée, il fit fondre une piéce de canon; donna à la monnaie qu'on en tira la même valeur que si elle eût été d'argent; en fit fabriquer ainsi pour 110,000 livres, et s'obligea, au nom du Roi, (Louis XIII.,) à indemniser, après la levée du siége, le banquier qui se chargea de prendre cette monnaie pour la valeur qu'on y avait affectée. Il se maintint ainsi dans Casal," &c.—(King's State of the Protestants of Ireland, sect. xi. p. 112: Dublin, 1713.—Copy of King James's Proclamation above-cited.—Dictionnaire Historique et Biographique des Généraux Français, tome ii. pp. 147-150: Paris, 1821.)

[a] Simon's Essay on Irish Coins, pp. 57-58; and Snelling's Supplement, p. 6.—Nicolson's Irish Historical Library, pp. 62-63: London, 1776.

NOTE 192, Page 99.

When this money first appeared, the Protestants in Dublin seemed reluctant to take it, but were soon forced to do so, &c.

"In this wretched Sort of Money the Popish Soldiers were paid their Subsistence," exclaims the Williamite Harris, "and the Protestant Tradesmen and Creditors obliged to receive it, for their Goods and Debts; and it was reasonably computed," he complains, "that they lost upwards of £60,000 a Month by this cruel Stratagem!" But Simon alleges: "Although great part of the copper and brass money was forced on the Protestants, by taking their goods, and giving them this coin in payment, yet it appears from a Proclamation issued the 23rd of February, 1690, that the Roman Catholic subjects were far the greater sufferers by it; since, as the Proclamation says, it was found by experience, that they had then in their possession the whole or the greater part of the said coin."

A late Irish Protestant historian, Mr. O'Driscol, in noticing the financial measures of James and William for the War of the Revolution, has these observations, as to the comparative grievances of the Irish Protestants and Roman Catholics, from the brass money. "The two Kings, who divided the British empire at this time, were both driven, by their necessities, to schemes of finance. William, having been reared in the counting-house of Holland, was the abler contriver. He laid the basis of the debt of England by borrowing gold, and pawning the revenue of the country to the lender. James did not understand the matter, or could get no one to lend upon his security; and the alchemy of banking, or converting paper into gold, was not yet discovered. But his plan was not very different.

"James's plan was, to convert copper, or other metal of small value, into gold and silver. He coined a large quantity of base metal into pieces, upon which he stamped a nominal value, and made them *a legal tender* for crowns, half crowns, and other silver and gold coin. By his proclamation, this new coinage was to be received in all dealings, except only in the payment of trust-money, or money due on bills, bonds, or mortgages, and except for customs on imported commodities. These exceptions were soon removed—all but the latter.

"James promised, that this coin should, at the end of the war, be received in payments at the Exchequer, and exchanged for sterling money. A respectable historian (Leland) says, that this plan of finance was against all 'law, reason, and humanity,' and that it has rendered the name of James 'horrible to Irish Protestants.' It was not against law, because a law was made for the purpose; and reason and humanity seem to have little to do with financial schemes. James's was as good as many of later date. His bank failed undoubtedly, so have many other banks; but the Protestants did not suffer more by the failure, than people of other creeds. The Catholics were far the greatest holders of James's promissory tokens.

"James's plan was a copper bank, set up *instanter*, with an immediate *bank restriction*. There might have been, no doubt, an over-issue, but if the Protestants lost, they had least right of any to complain, for they did all they could to break the banker, and finally succeeded in

in driving him out of the kingdom, copper notes and all. The Catholics lost by the coin very severely, and they lost their estates also. The Protestants, though they lost by this early experiment in banking, recovered the land, which was ample compensation"[b].

Note 193, Page 99.

The brass money circulates well at first throughout Ireland, from the previous want of any coin, among the people, to carry on trade.

The Jacobite journal, after mentioning the first issuing of the brass six-penny coins in 1689, says: "Nor can enough be made for the payment of the army, which is very well satisfied with them; and they pass now in the country without difficulty"[c].

Note 194, Pages 99–100.

Decline of this money, on its being more abundantly coined; on the merchants, who found it useless abroad, proportionably raising the price of their goods; on the country-people doing the same with their commodities; on the French troops, who were paid in silver, undervaluing it; and on the great ones, attached to James's own Court, doing so likewise.

"But," observe King James's Memoirs respecting the brass money, "this proveing too easy a resource when his Majestys wants encreased, occasion'd the coining twice as much as was ye usual current cash of the Nation, which made it such a drug, that things were soon sould for treble the rate they had formerly been at, and brought a mighty Scarcety of corn, cloath and indeed of all things necessary for life; because no one was willing to part with his goods for mony of so low a value, if they could any ways subsist without it; but what quite ruined the credit of this new invention, was the bringing in of some french mony with other necessary succors, which caused such a confusion between the great inequality of coins, that the importation of forraign gold and silver, which generally is the most solid benifit to a Country, proved in some measure the ruin of this." And, in another place, the royal Memoirs thus allude to the effect which the conduct of the French was supposed to have had, in reducing the value of the brass money. "Their dispiseing the brass mony brought the credit of it so low, as it never had any sort of currency afterwards, and was one of the most essential strokes to the King's intrests that had happen'd of a long time; for it made him depend upon supplys of mony from France, which was so exceeding hard to be got, so long a comeing, and so little when it came, that it only served to make his authority linger a while longer, but could not preserue it from certain death in the end"[d].

Note 195,

[b] Harris's Ware, vol. ii. p. 220.—Simon's Essay on Irish Coins, p. 63.—O'Driscol's History of Ireland, vol. ii. pp. 38, 39, 40: London, 1827.

[c] Macpherson's Original Papers, vol. i. p. 197.

[d] Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 370, 421.

NOTE 195, Page 101.

This coin considered, to have been calculated to ruin Ireland entirely, by destroying trade—and yet the Irish Jacobites maintain the war against William III., by means of an extensive foreign traffic.

O'Halloran, who, as having been born at Limerick in 1728, or only about thirty-seven years after the War of the Revolution, refers to, and could learn, several things from immediate contemporaries, as to the state of King James's adherents during that contest, informs us,—notwithstanding what Colonel O'Kelly affirms, as to the territory occupied by the Irish army having been deprived of foreign commerce,—that it was by a barter-trade with France, in which the Irish gave their wool, hides, tallow, and butter, for powder, ball, and arms, the war was so long maintained against William III. And what O'Halloran states, to that effect, is supported by the official information of William's Lord Justice for Ireland, Coningesby, in the State Paper Office, London.

"By this expedient," says the Irish writer, in reference to the brass money, "the landlords received no rents; at least, the payments made were of no real value. They then sent their wool, their hides, their tallow, and butter to France, to barter for powder, ball, and arms. Notwithstanding this distress, they knew King William wished for peace as much as they, and the more solicitous he was for it, the more obstinate were they in refusing it." Writing from Dublin Castle, February 17th, 1691, the Williamite Lord Justice observes: "My notion proves intirely true, that it is *not* the King of France supplies the Irish; he not being at one penny's expense to do it. But it is the advantagious trade hither for hides and tallow that does it; and while the merchants can make such vast advantages, with so little hazard, they will furnish them to the end of the world; for *the profit is at this time about cent per cent*, and *the trade with Ireland is better than the trade with the Indies*, and so will continue to be, as long as their cattle hold out."

That what O'Halloran says, as to the necessity of a peace to William having been calculated upon by the Irish, when they persevered in their resistance by means of this barter-trade, is proved to have been a just calculation on the part of the latter, by the private admissions of William's Ministers themselves. In the same letter from which the last-cited passage is taken, the Williamite Lord Justice for Ireland, writing to the King's Minister, Lord Sydney, exclaims: "You know, my Lord, how little inclined I am to show any favour to the Irish, more then what is absolutely necessary for our own sakes; but, I protest, I see every day so many difficulties & uncertainties in our management, that I cant help wishing the war were ended upon any terms"[e]. And the Marquis of Caermarthen, another of William's Ministers, writing to the King in Holland, from London, February 20th, 1691, and remarking that "affairs in Ireland" seemed "to be in so ill a posture, and so likely to be worse than better," that he offered to go there,

[e] See Notes 7 and 250.

there, to endeavour to set them to rights as Lord Lieutenant, says: "Your Majesty will easily believe that, my circumstances considered, I should not have named myself, but that I would rather perish in endeavouring to save this government, than perish with it, which (as infirm as I am) I may probably do, if Ireland should cost another year's war"[f].

Note 196, Page 102.

Detection, early in November, 1690, by Sarsfield, of a correspondence between some members of King James's Government and the enemy, about a passage of the Shannon by the latter, and a betrayal to them of Galway and Limerick.

The origin of the "conspiracy," thus alleged to have been detected in November, 1690, by Brigadier Sarsfield, may, perhaps, be traced to the following passage of a letter of the Williamite Lords Justices for Ireland, Sydney and Coningesby, from Dublin, October 5th, 1690, to the British Government, in London. "A person," says that Williamite document, "well recommended to us, & fitt for such a service, is imployed by us to goe into Lymerick, if possible, or otherwise as neere it as he can, to find out the condicõn of the place, & to try whether the Governor, or any others who may be properly made use of in such an occasion, may be dealt withall, to deliver up the place, from whome we expect to heare in a few dayes." And further on, the same letter says: "We have alsoe, by a letter sent last night to my Lord Granard, encouraged his treating with Coll. Grace for the delivering up of Athlone, haveing promised life & estate to him & his son on those tearmes, which my Lord Granard sent us word, he believed would be accepted." Colonel Grace, however, did *not* accept of those "tearmes," that Lord Granard "believed" he would, but was killed, at the defence of the place, against Lieutenant-General Ginkell, the following June[g].

Note 197, Page 102.

The Duke of Berwick stated, to have been with difficulty prevailed upon by Sarsfield, to dismiss Lord Riverston from his office of Secretary, and his Lordship's brother-in-law from the Government of Galway.

For those dismissions of Lord Riverston and Colonel Mac Donnell, by the Duke of Berwick, during the Duke of Tyrconnell's absence in France, see Note 185.

Of

[f] Ferrar's History of Limerick, p. 369: Limerick, 1787.—O'Halloran's Introduction to the Study of the History and Antiquities of Ireland, Appendix, pp. 370, 376, 377, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383: London, 1772.—Story's Continuation, &c., pp. 47-48.—Harris's Life of William III., pp. 305-308.—Paper, endorsed, "Extract of a Letter from Mr. Coningesby, Dublin 17. Feby 169$\frac{0}{1}$," and Lord Sydney's Letter of March 3rd, 169$\frac{0}{1}$ in State Paper Office.—Dalrymple's Memoirs, appendix to part ii. book vi. vol. iii. pp. 177-179: London, 1790.

[g] State Paper, *ut sup.* — London Gazette, No. 2678, and No. 2679.—Harris's Life of William III., pp. 319-321.

Of Thomas Nugent, or Lord Riverston, second son of Richard Nugent, second Earl of Westmeath, Lodge says, that he "was seated at Pallace, in the County of Galway, and being bred to the profession of the law, was appointed by Privy Seal, 12 September, 1685, of Council, learned in the law, to K. James II., and 23rd April, 1686, Sir Richard Reynell's successor, as one of the Justices of the King's Bench; the day after which, the King ordered that he, Denis Daly, Justice of the Common Pleas, and Charles Ingleby, Baron of the Exchequer, should be admitted to their respective places, without taking the Oath of Supremacy.—15 October, 1687, he succeeded Richard Pyne, as Chief Justice of the said Court; and by patent, dated by the King at Dublin, 3 April, 1689, was created Baron Nugent of Riverston, in Westmeath; but the title, being conferred after the King had *abdicated* the English Crown, is not allowed in this Kingdom[h].—He was also, 6 July, 1689, made a Commissioner of the Treasury in Ireland, as he was again, 17 June, 1690, with Richard, Duke of Tyrconnel, Henry, Lord Dover, Bruno Talbot, and Sir Stephen Rice; but was outlawed for being engaged in *rebellion* against K. William." He died, according to the same authority, in May, 1715, leaving by his wife, Mariana, daughter of Viscount Kingsland, whom he married in 1680, three sons and five daughters. The present representative of this Jacobite title is William Thomas Nugent, fifth Baron Riverston. He married a daughter of Michael Bellew, Esq., of Mount Bellew, County Galway, (grandfather to Sir Michael Dillon Bellew, created a Baronet, August 15th, 1838), and has issue.

Colonel (or as he is termed by Lodge, Brigadier-General) Alexander Mac Donnell, otherwise Mac Gregor, of Dromersnaw, in the County of Leitrim, was married in 1685, to Lady Jane Nugent, the fifth and youngest sister of Thomas, first Lord Riverston. Colonel Mac Donnell, who was Mayor of Galway for the year 1690, "until the 8th of December," according to Mr. Hardiman, was then "removed by order of Government," and his place supplied by Arthur French, Esquire[i].

Note 198, Page 104.

Excellent information, privately conveyed to Sarsfield from Dublin, by the industrious sagacity of his trusty spies, who penetrated every project of the enemy.

Story, under the head of "the Present State of the Irish Army," in the winter of 1690–91, says: "They are very watchful and diligent, having always good Intelligence, which is the Life of any Action." And the contemporary official paper on the condition of King James's adherents

[h] "The dignity of Baron Riverston," says a later work, "was conferred upon this branch of the Nugent family by King James II., when that Monarch was in the full and unrestrained possession of the regal power in Ireland—*de facto* and *de jure* King; it is therefore held, although the title is as yet unacknowledged, that the creation was a good and legal one."—(Burke's Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary, &c.; *ut infra.*)

[i] Note above referred to.—Archdall's Lodge's Peerage, vol. i. pp. 241-245.—Hardiman's History of Galway, p. 220. — Burke's Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Peerage and Baronetage of the British Empire, pp. 86, 1036: London, 1849.

adherents in Connaught, &c., previously mentioned as having been sent to London for William's inspection, after setting forth that "The Irish gentry, looking upon themselves undone, seeme desperately resolved to hold out to the last, tho sencible they cannot abide it," adds, "but, however, they are mightily encouraged by their intellegence which is verry good, their spyes giving them a constant account of all things that are done here," namely, in those portions of the island occupied by William's forces[k].

Note 199, Pages 104–105.

Attempts of the Williamite forces to pass the Shannon into Connaught, in the winter of 1690–91, *at Lanesborough, Jamestown, &c., defeated with loss by the Jacobites, under the Duke of Berwick and Brigadier Sarsfield, and by the great severity of the season.*

"The English," according to King James's Memoirs, "made an attempt during the winter to pass the Shannon at Lanesborough, James Town, and Banaker bridg, at one and the same time, but the Duke of Berwick sent out parties which prevented them and endeavour'd what he could to molest them in his turn all the winter long"[l].

Story thus describes those Williamite movements, at the end of December, and beginning of January, 1690–91, to penetrate into Connaught. "We had now," he observes, "a Part of our Army on their March towards *Lanesborough-Pass*, Commanded by Major-General *Kirk* and Sir *John Laneir*; the Foot were my Lord *Lisburn's* Regiment, my Lord *George Hambleton's*, part of Col. *Brewer's*, some of Major-General *Kirk's*, and several other: A Party of the Militia also were ordered from *Dublin*, and those in the Country were to be up on all Hands. At the same time, Lieutenant General *Douglas* was to march towards *Sligo*, and fall upon the *Irish* on that Side.

"On *Wednesday*, the 31*st December*, part of our Army under Colonel *Brewer*, went towards *Lanesborough*: The Enemy appeared on the Bog on this Side the Town, being, as they say, nigh Three Thousand, and had cut several Trenches cross the Causeys, that go through the Bog towards the Town; these they disputed for some Time, but losing some of their Men, they retired into Town, and from thence to beyond the *Shanon*, defacing the Fort on this Side, and breaking the Bridge behind them: (*You'l say they were not very closely*

[k] Story, Imp. Hist., p. 160.—State Paper, *ut sup.*

[l] Under this head, the same authority says of the native guerillas, armed peasantry, or Rapparees, "But nothing did it so much as the Rapperees who performed many bould actions"—of which an instance is then given in "One O'Connor, who with sixty men on horsback and as many on foot surprized two companys of Granadeers, whom they cut to pieces, then went to Philips Town in King's country [County] where they killed a hundred and twenty Dragoons, burnt the Town, and carryd away a great booty of horses." The Williamite Chaplain speaks of those Jacobite irregulars, during the winter between 1690 and 1691, as "Doing much more Mischief at this Time o' th' Year, than any Thing that had the Face of an Army could pretend to."—(King James, *ut infra.* — Story's Continuation, &c., pp. 49, 55.)

closely pursued, that had Time to do all this). However, our Men took Possession of the Town and Fort, as they had left it; and if we had had the Boats, we might have gone over; the Enemy quitting the other Side for at least Three Days[m]; but then we were too small a Party: and before the Rest of our Men came up, Three Regiments of the *Irish* were posted on the other Side the River, and then little hapned of Moment, only some small Firings, and sometimes they made Truces, Colonel *Clifford* and the other *Irish* Officers drinking Healths over to our Men, and those on our Side returning the Complement."

"But I heard of Nothing further remarkable at *Lanesborough*, except one Captain *Edgworth's* defending a Pass with One Hundred Men against a much greater Body of the *Irish*; and after our Men had laid there in the Cold a Fortnight, they were ordered back, being much harassed with Cold and Hunger. The Boats were never brought to the River[n]; and Lieutenant-General *Douglas* went as far as *James-Town*, and then retired again into the *North*, without doing any Thing remarkable"[o]. Compare with the failure of this *winter* expedition, Note 180, and its references to other Notes.

Note 200, Pages 105–106.

Judge Denis Daly, upon suspicion of maintaining a private correspondence with the Williamites, is committed to prison in Galway, by the Duke of Berwick, early in January, 1690–91.

Of this gentleman, Lodge says: "Denis Daly, of Carrownekelly[p], in the County of Galway, Esq., was Second Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, and a Privy Counsellor in the reign of K. James II. He continued to fill this station at the Revolution, and with such impartiality and integrity (in those arduous times), as added lustre to his judicial character."

The Judge does not, however, appear to have stood so well with the Irish or Jacobite side, by which he rose, and on which he *professed* himself to be, as he stood with their opponents, the English, or Williamites. On the 4th of May, 1689, he was impeached by the House of Commons of King James's Parliament, and after the matter had been brought on and put off in the House upon the 31st of May and the 1st of June, he seems finally, or on the 4th, to have gotten out of the dilemma in which he was placed, by a mode, which would have been less likely to succeed on the *other* side of the Channel, than on *this*. "The Commons Quarrel to Judge *Dally*," says a contemporary letter from Dublin, dated June 12th, 1689, "for which they impeached him, was, upon some private Discourse he had with Sir *Alick Bourk*, and some other Gentlemen, in which he disapproved of the Commons Proceedings, and said, they were a Kind of *Massanello's* Assembly, and that it could not be expected that Men, from whom the King took Estates, would fight for him, or to this Effect[q]. . . . . *Tuesday*, the 4*th* instant, we

[m] Query, only apparently, or as a stratagem?

[n] From this assertion of Story, should not even "the Plunder of a *few* Islands" spoken of by Colonel O'Kelly, be understood, at *such* a season, as that of *very* few?

[o] Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. p. 433. — Story's Impartial History, &c., pp. 155, 156, 158.

[p] Now Dunsandle.

[q] This was said, with respect to the proceedings

we had an Alarum that *Derry* was burnt with Bombs, that the King's Army had taken it, and put all in it to the Sword; *Nugent* of *Carlandstown* brought this News into the House of Commons, just when they were putting to the Vote, whether they should prosecute the Impeachment against *Judge Dally;* some think *Nugent*, being his Friend, did it designedly; the News was received with loud Huzzas, and in that good and jolly Humour, they acquitted the Judge: But our *Friday's* Express brought us another Account," &c., respecting Derry.

As to Colonel O'Kelly's statement concerning the Judge,—of his having been imprisoned, for privately corresponding, though a member of King James's Government, with his Sovereign's enemies, to facilitate their invasion of Connaught,—the *fact* of the Judge having maintained such a correspondence is *allowed*, under the events of July, 1691, by William's biographer, Harris. That Williamite writer, after styling the Judge, "a worthy judge under K. *James*," says: "He, and some other *Irish* Gentlemen, had held a correspondence with the *English* Government for several months, and had once proposed the surrendering of *Galway*, which occasioned part of the Army's march to the *Shannon* the foregoing year," as described in the preceding Note.

The representative of this gentleman, at the latter end of the last century, was the Right Hon. Denis Daly, many years Member in the Irish Parliament for the County Galway; distinguished for his eloquence and ability; and characterized by Henry Grattan, as "one of the best and brightest characters Ireland ever produced." His eldest son, James, after having also represented that County many years in Parliament, was, by the title of Baron of Dunsandle and Clan Conal, County Galway, raised to the Peerage of Ireland, June 6th, 1845[r].

Note 201, Page 106.

Lord Riverston only held the office of Secretary, during the absence of Sir Richard Nagle, a lawyer also, and generally esteemed as a man of ability and integrity.

In Mr. Croker's MS., the word "Cleomenes" is interpreted into "Lord Dungannon." But the writer of this note has never met with the name of *any* such Lord in the service of King James II., either as a Secretary, or in any other official employment[s]. The "lawyer," in whose *absence* Lord Riverston is spoken of by Colonel O'Kelly as holding the office of Secretary, can only have been Sir Richard Nagle, who, having been Attorney-General to King James,

of the House, for the Repeal of the Act of Settlement, &c. See Notes 89 and 90.

[r] Archdall's Lodge's Peerage, vol. iii. pp. 204, 396.—The Journal of the Proceedings of the Parliament in Ireland, with the Establishment of their Forces there, pp. 8, 13, 15, 20; Licensed July 6, 1689: London, printed for Robert Clavell, &c., 1689. — Harris's Life of William III., p. 328. — Burke's Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Peerage and Baronetage of the British Empire, pp. 341-342: London, 1848.

[s] Lewis Trevor *was* Viscount Dungannon at the period of the Revolution, and did *not* sit in the Parliament, held by King James in Ireland. — (Harris's Life of William III., appendix xxxi., pp. xxxii.-xxxiii.)

James, was, on the retirement of Lord Melfort, appointed, by the Duke of Tyrconnell's interest, Secretary of State, in the summer of 1689, as well as Secretary at War, to his Majesty, and returned from France with the Duke in January, 1691, to which he most probably sailed along with his Grace, in the French fleet, after the raising of the siege of Limerick; leaving the duties of Secretary to be fulfilled *ad interim* by Lord Riverston.

The Duke of Berwick, in relating the circumstances which led to the transfer of that post from Lord Melfort to Sir Richard Nagle, gives Sir Richard this character: "Le Chevalier Nagle, Irlandois, & Procureur Général, eut à la sollicitation de Tirconel, la charge de *Secrétaire d'Etat.* C'étoit un très-honnête homme, de bon sens, & très-habile dans son métier, mais nullement versé dans les affaires d'Etat."

The return of Sir Richard Nagle from France to Limerick, with the Duke of Tyrconnell, in January, 1691, is thus mentioned in a letter in the State Paper Office, London, from Lieutenant-General Ginkell to the English Secretary at War, Blathwayt, endorsed, "To be shewn ye King," and dated from Dublin, 24th January, 1691: "Nous avons nouvelles que Monsr de Tyrconnel est arrivé à Lymrick avec le *Secrétaire Neagle*, & le Baron Rūys, (Rice) & qu'ils ont emmenez 15 ou 16 vaisseaux marchands, avec tous sortes des provisions," &c.[t]

Note 202, Page 107.

The Duke of Tyrconnell stated, to have brought with him from France no troops, very few arms, little provisions, and no money; and it was confidently said, he brought not above a fortnight's provisions, for the garrisons of Galway and Limerick, &c.

"Vers le milieu de Janvier," says the Duke of Berwick, "le Duc de Tyrconel revint en Irlande." A letter, dated Clancarty House, Dublin, January 24th, 1690–91, from the Williamite Lords Justices, Porter and Coningesby, to Lord Sydney, states: "Wee are well assured, that Tirconnell is now landed with 16 ships, with provisions and armes, but noe men. They had but 3 men of warr with them."

The nature of the supply which the Duke of Tyrconnell received from the French Minister[u], and the great necessity under which the Irish were for assistance at the time, are thus described in the royal Memoirs: "My Lord Leiftenant at his arrival in January $\frac{90}{1}$ found the Soldiers so miserably naked, that it moued compassion, nor were the Officers any better; so he thought in the first place to cloath the latter, which he proportioned to doe for fiue louis d'ors a piece, and *that they might not think it too mean a cloath*, resolued to *wear a sute of the same himself*, but they having more mind of the mony, he sent a man into France only to buy linen, and

[t] Transactions of the London Camden Society, No. XIV. pp. 73, 75. — Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick, tome i. pp. 86-87.—A Relation of what most Remarkably happened during the last Campaign in Ireland between his Majesty's Army Royal and the Forces of the Prince of Orange, &c., p. 6. — MS. Copies of King James's Irish Proclamations.—Copy of Lieutenant-General Ginkell's unpublished Letter, as above cited, &c.

[u] See Note 164.

and distribited the greatest part of the mony he had brought amongst them; he could not giue less than a hundred crowns to a Collonel for Cloaths, equipage, and all necessarys, and so proportionably downwards two hundred crowns to a Brigadeer, and four hundred to a Major General, this tooke theerteen thousand louis d'ors, and he brought but fourteen thousand with him, besides ten thousand he left at Brest to buy meal, &c.; so there remain'd but a thousand louis d'ors for all other necessary provisions, caisons, carts, carriages for the artillery, &c., nothing of which could be had or made to moue without mony: in this situation the number of men instead of augmenting the strength only serued to multiply difficultys, and encreas the burthen"[v].

NOTE 203, Page 109.

The Duke of Tyrconnell, after landing from France in Ireland, orders, that every one coming from France should be strictly searched for letters, that they might be brought to the Chief Secretary, Sir Richard Nagle, for detention or transmission, as he, after perusal, should think fit.

It has been remarked, in Note 3, what power the government in these countries had, till some years after the War of the Revolution, to prevent the printing of any production they might not wish to "license."

In addition to this power, the existence of a system of intercepting and destroying obnoxious letters is alluded to in contemporary documents, as practised both by the Jacobite and Williamite government, during the contest in Ireland. Thus, shortly after the arrival of King James in Dublin, in the spring of 1689, a Williamite, residing in the Irish metropolis, writes, as follows, to his correspondent in London: "I have not omitted to give a Weekly Account of the present State of Affairs here, but I fear a Miscarriage in the Post, or some other Way, may prevent their coming to your Hands, by Reason of these distracted Times. The Pacquets have been stopt; no less than Ten came in the last Time together; there being as Many now due. They, when ever they come, are carried to the Lord Chancellours[w], where *they are all viewed and opened,* and *such as are not lik'd, committed to the Flames.*"

Thus, also, in reference to William III.'s unsuccessful siege of Limerick, a letter of Lord Melfort, King James's Embassador at Rome, dated September 16th, 1690, in answer to his correspondent, Mr. Nelson, states: "There is mor care taken, than ever has been seen, to *seize all letters from Ireland,* & they are *all sent to Whytehall, and burnt*"[x]. See, in connexion with this assertion, Note 159, p. 377.

NOTE 204,

[v] Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick, tome i. p. 91. — Letter of Williamite Lords Justices for Ireland, &c.—Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 433-434.

[w] Alexander Fitton, Lord Gawsworth.

[x] An Account of the Present, Miserable, State of Affairs in Ireland, &c., as in Note 3.—Lord Melfort's MS. Correspondence, vol. iii. pp. 52-53.

Note 204, Page 110.

The Duke of Tyrconnell then called in the brass money, though he is said to have brought no silver coin, to pay the soldiery, &c.

This measure of decrying the brass money seems, by the Williamite accounts, to have been attended, for a time, with good effects in the Jacobite quarters; perhaps, from some general impression having spread amongst the Irish, that the Duke of Tyrconnell would not have cried down that base coin, unless he had brought either a greater quantity of French money from the Continent than King James tells us was brought[y]; or that more would soon be on the way from France to Ireland. But, howsoever this *may* have been, for some time after the Duke of Tyrconnell's crying down of the brass money, subsequent to his return from France, we are informed by Harris, from his contemporary Williamite sources of intelligence respecting the condition of the Irish, that " they had exceeding plentiful markets occasioned by crying down the currency of the brass money, beef at 6 or 7s. a quarter, and a good fat sheep at half a crown or three shillings, and other things in proportion."

The Williamite Lord Justice Coningesby, in his letter from Dublin of February 17th, 1690–91, to Lord Sydney, likewise says, in reference to the Duke of Tyrconnell's decree respecting the brass money, and the effects of that decree in the Williamite as well as the Jacobite quarters: " They have cried down the brass money, and have found a way of returning it again upon us, with vast advantage to themselves, so that we must be forced to cry it down too, or otherwise it will be left in the Protestants hands, & they be the loosers; whereas it is now all in their custody, & they will be the loosers. Besides, it being most part of the currant money they have amongst them, crying it down in our quarters will destroy all commerce with them, & consequently prevent their carrying provisions from us to them, which now they daily do, to their great relief & support."

Accordingly, the Williamite government, " on the 22nd of *February* following," says Harris, "intirely took away all currency from the said money[z]".

Note 205, Page 111.

The Duke of Tyrconnell unsuccessful, notwithstanding his precautions, to intercept letters, from the Agents of the Irish Army in France, to Sarsfield, &c.

King James's Memoirs state, that the Duke of Tyrconnell, on his return from France, " haveing brought a patent of an Earle for Coll: Sarsfeild, it put him in a good temper enough,

[y] This supposition is not discountenanced by the Williamite intelligence, on that point, from the Jacobite quarters, cited by Harris: " That Tyrconnell had brought with him from France *only* £60,000," &c. For what he *did* bring, see Note 202.

[z] Harris's Life of William III., pp. 279-280, 301-302. — Copy of the Lord Justice's Letter, above specified, in State Paper Office, London.

enough, and he being realy zealous in the King's service, engaged for the quiet comportment of the other muteneers, and acted heartely in conjunction with the Lord Lieftenant while his[a] former Councellors were absent, which made him[b] press the King mightely to keep them where they were." According to the inscription attached to the French engraving of Sarsfield, the titles conferred by this patent of King James were, Earl of Lucan, Viscount of Tully, and Baron of Rosberry[c].

Note 206, Page 113.

From Limerick, the Duke of Tyrconnell went to Galway, and was there as magnificently received, as became the King's Lieutenant, &c.

"The only comforth My Lord Tyrconnel had," observe the royal Memoirs, "was to find himself well enough receiud at his return, notwithstanding the factious endeavours of his Enemies"[d].

Note 207, Page 113.

During the festivities at Galway, in honour of the Duke of Tyrconnell's visit, the Irish soldiery were in want of bread, the common people ready to starve, and the nation, in general, reduced to the greatest hardships.

"All this while want and miserie encreased amongst the Irish troops, the fleet which Mons[r] Louuois promised with provisions, &c., was not yet arrived, thō it was near the end of March, which forced the Lord Lieftenant to press its departure with great earnestness, and at the same time to represent its insufficiency when it came, their necessitys being greater than immagined, even to occasion mutenys in several places; the garison of Thureley (Thurles) had unanimously layd down their armes, saying, they would not serue only to be starved, but upon perswasions and promises were prevail'd upon to take them up again, which was become the only method

[a] Sarsfield's.

[b] Tyrconnell.

[c] The lettering, in capitals, under this engraving, connected with Sarsfield's titles, &c., runs thus: "Patrick Sarsfield, Earl of Lucan, Viscount of Tully, Baron of Rosberry, and a Colonel of the Life Guards to James the Second, Commander in Chief of the Forces in Ireland, and afterwards General Officer in the French Service, killed in the battle of Neerwinde, or Landen." The lettering, in Italics, showing the *authority* for the engraving, is as follows: "*Mylady Bingham Pinxit. M. A. Bregeon F^e. Tilliard Sculpsit. After the Original Picture in the Possession of Sir Charles Bingham, Bart., at Caf^tebarin the County of Mayo, in the Kingdom of Ireland.*" By the way, would not the publication of engravings of the eminent men of Ireland be an interesting object for some National Art Union, or Society? — (Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. p. 434.— Copies of Engraving of the Earl of Lucan, belonging to John Edward Pigot, Esq., 89, Leeson-street, Dublin, and to J. T. Gilbert, Esq., Secretary of The Celtic Society.)

[d] Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. p. 434.

method of keeping men to their duty; for their was no chastizeing nor even reprimanding an Officer, for he presently cryd, He would serue no longer, and there was no obligeing them to it without pay; nor was it possible to keep the Soldiers togather without subsistance at least, whereas for a long time, ere the fleet arriued from France, they were reduced to halfe a pound a bread a day to each Soldier, and even wood was grown so scarce that the French Intendant at Galway, proposed the sending bisket rather than meal, there not being wherewithall to bake it; that they had been forced to buy the ruins of houses and old ships for bakeing the flouer they had already, and that now instead of deserters comeing to them[e], the excessiue misery occasion'd great desertion amongst the Irish themselues"[f].

NOTE 208, Page 114.

The arrival of Lieutenant-General St. Ruth most earnestly desired by the generality of the Irish, but delayed so long, that the most confident began to doubt of its taking place.

"It was now the begining of May and there was yet no news of the Fleet, thō for a month they had been reduced to eat hors flesh, nor had the Soldiers seen a bit of bread, nor any sort of drink but water, for aboue that time: besides by the account which My Lord Tyrconnel had of what this Fleet would bring when it came, he perceiued it would fall infinitly short of supplying them with those necessarys, that were in a manner indispensebly required; there was so little mony, and so small a quantity of provisions, that all My Lord Tyrconnel aimed at was only to giue the Soldiers, *each a penny a day*, and their bread, with rations to the Officers in proportion, yet upon computation he found it would not reach for two months, unless the King sent a thousand pistoles more, which he earnestly beg'd of his Majesty to doe, thō he spared it out of his small allowance, and retrenched it from the necessary expence of his family. Thus was the King press'd and teazed with more vehemence, as the difficulty of answering their expectations encreased; it was a grievous affliction to him, not (*to*) be able to relieve them, but he could not do impossible things."

"This put the Irish under a necessity of equiping, paying, cloathing, and provideing for an Army, in a manner without mony, cloaths, amunition, or provisions, except what came from France, which was so little, and so long a comeing, that they had all like to haue perished ere it arriued, and yet were under a necessity all the while of repaireing their fortifications, thō the poor Soldiers had scarce a piece of bread to eat, or a handful of straw to ly upon, when they return'd tired from their worke; so that under such an universal indigence, togather with want of discipline, and union amongst themselves, it was a miracle they brought it so far as they did"[g].

NOTE 209,

[e] See Note 210.

[f] Memoirs of King Jas. II., vol. ii. pp. 436-437.

[g] Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 438, 439, 440.

NOTE 209, Page 114.

When despair was general, the French fleet appeared, May 9th, 1691, *and landed Lieutenant-General St. Ruth, and the Maréchaux de Camp, D'Usson and De Tessé, &c., at Limerick.*

"Le Sieur de Saint-Ruth, Lieutenant Général," who, says the Duke of Berwick, "avoit avec lui Messieurs d'Usson & Chevalier de Tessé, Maréchaux de Camp," reached Limerick, according to the London Gazette, on the 8th of May, 1691, "with Provisions, Cloaths, and Ammunition, but *no Men*[h] *nor Money!*"

The principal circumstances connected with the condition of the Irish, immediately previous and subsequent to the French General's arrival, until the commencement of hostilities, are thus described in the royal Memoirs: "Before this the English Army was prepareing to take the field in Ireland, and the Irish as yet heard nothing of the Fleet from France, thō they were at the last extremity, and writ to the King in case it came not in a few days they would need no enemy to destroy them. The Duke of Tyrconnel had however been makeing all the preparation he could in the intrim, and had found means with great difficulty to get two pare of broagues, a pare of breeches, and a pare of stockings for each foot Souldier, which with the coats and shirts they expected from France, would cover them at least; he had distribited the little he had as long as it lasted, with as much equality as possible; haveing sent part of what was at Galway to Sligo by sea, and to Athlone upon men's backs, for want of Carriages. At last upon the 8th of May the French fleet appeared in the river of Limerick, it was like the gaining of a victory to people in so great distress; they sung Te Deum as soon as it arriued, and went heartely to work to put things in redyness to take the field, but thō this Fleet brought some armes, cloaths, ammunition, and provisions, it brought it seems *no mony*, for want of which they were hard put to it to get carriages and other necessarys which were still wanting, but by paying tradesmen and workemen, part mony, part little necessarys of apparrel, part fair words, and part promises, *in which they were liberal enough*, workemen were prevail'd upon to do their best and at last they got to gather 170 caissons, four hundred small cartes, and carriages for ten field pieces; they proportioned the little mony they had left to pay *a penny a day to each Soldier for three weeks*[i], which was all infine it would reach too, so My Lord Lieftenant repeated his earnest petition to the King, to send him a thousand pistoles more, which would continue *that* pay three months, by which time, he sayd, the matter would be decided, and that since the fate of a Kingdom depended upon it, he took the freedom to tell him, *He ought to sell his shirt from his back rather than fail.*"

Having shown how even *this* sum could not be granted, the royal Memoirs then mention the

[h] Yet the Jacobite army is often ignorantly written of, as if it had been, in this campaign, a *mixed* force, or an "Irish *and French* army;" and similar language is frequently used, without adequate reason, in reference to other periods of this war.

[i] Compare this *pay* of the Irish troops with the extra *guineas* distributed by Baron de Ginkell to *his* men, for *their* "greater Encouragement," by the "powerful Influence of GOLD," as mentioned in Note 219, p. 426.

the diminution of the military power of the Viceroy, occasioned by the arrival of St. Ruth: "On this Fleet came Monsr St Ruth with other French Officers, as also those gentlemen who had been in France to sollicite the Duke of Tyrconnell's removeal; which thō the King had not yeelded too, however had so far given way to their advice as to abridg his power in reference to the military affairs, the direction of which was vested in a manner wholy in St Ruth. So that My Lord Tyrconnel who before could haue made a Lieftenant General, had not power now to make a Collonel, which so lower'd his credit in the Army that little regard was had to his authority; but he prudently submited, and left the whole management of it to St Ruth, who seemingly carryd fair, but in the bottom was prepossessed against him, which those gentlemen that came with him from France had leasure and opertunity to doe, so that when St Ruth writ to the King for more mony, he desired it might not be remitted to My Lord Tyrconnel's hands"[j].

NOTE 210, Page 116.

The foreign troops in King William's army discouraged from deserting to that of King James, by learning the latter was without money, owing to St. Ruth's not having brought any from France.

On the efforts of King James's officers in Ireland, in 1690–91, to weaken William's army by the encouragement of desertion from it, Harris says: "A Declaration of Brigadier *Dorrington's*, dated at *Limerick*, the 13th of *December* (wherein he styles him self Governour of the City and County of *Limerick*) was taken up in the streets of Cashel, intended to inveigle his Majesty's army to desert to the *Irish* quarters. After several invectives against his Majesty, he promises great things to all who should forsake his service, and such who had no mind to serve in K. *James's* army, should have all necessary accommodations to transport them to *France* . . . . After the Lord *Tyrconnel's* return from *France* to *Limerick*, he also, on the 27th of *January* published a Declaration of the like import with that of Col. *Dorrington*, but couched in more modest terms, and founded upon the extremities under which King *William's* army laboured for want of pay, promising rewards in Gold and Silver to such as should desert his service, and conveniencies to transport themselves to *France*, if they had no mind to serve K. *James*." Harris adds, that "these temptations had very little effect."

But King James observes on that head, notwithstanding the bad condition in which his forces were, "It was very wonderfull that the extream miserie and universal wants the Irish Army was in, should not deterr the Enemie from deserting over to it, which they did in great numbers; and shew'd so general a disposition to it, that My Lord Tyrconnel assured the King, that had he but so much mony to spare, as would reach a pistole a piece, and subsist them afterwards, he believed a therd part of the Prince of Orange's Army would haue come over"[k].

NOTE 211,

[j] Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick, tome i. p. 97.—London Gazette, No. 2664.—Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 450, 451, 452.

[k] Harris's Life of William III., p. 299, and Appendix, p. lxx.—Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. p. 435.

Note 211, Page 117.

Lieutenant-General Baron de Ginkell attacks Ballymore, and is stated to have taken it without opposition, on the 8th of June, 1691 *; the Governor and garrison being made prisoners of war.*

Colonel O'Kelly has been incorrect in asserting, that Ballymore was taken "without opposition" by Baron de Ginkell. The Dutch General came before Ballymore about twelve o'clock on the 7th of June, and summoned the Irish Governor, Colonel Ullick Burke, to surrender. But Burke held out until the next day. Then, there being no greater artillery in the place, according to Story, than "two small *Turkish* Pieces, mounted upon old Cart-Wheels," as opposed to four batteries of cannon and one of mortars,—the works of the Fort being found unable to stand against the very superior fire of those five batteries,—and the Irish Engineer, Lieutenant-Colonel Burton, being slain,—the place was surrendered at discretion. By Ginkell's letter from Dublin, of May 24th, 1691, to Lord Nottingham, acquainting his Lordship with the design of marching towards the Shannon, the Dutch General appears to have considered Ballymore, as incapable of offering any opposition of consequence, to the force *he* could bring against it. "La résolution," he observes, "est prise de marcher droit à la riviere, si tost que nous aurions pris Ballymoor, qu'apparament ne fera pas de longue résistance"[1].

Note 212, Page 118.

On the 19*th of June, Ginkell advanced to Athlone, and having battered that portion of the town, on the Leinster side of the Shannon, with his artillery, carried it by assault, on the* 20*th, &c.*

Baron de Ginkell remained, according to Story, until the 18th, at Ballymore; repairing and strengthening the works, which Ullick Burke's resistance had obliged him to batter down. On the 18th, he marched from Ballymore to Ballyburn Pass, where he encamped for the night; was joined by the Duke of Wirtemberg and Count Nassau, with 7000 foreign mercenaries; and himself went out, with a party of horse, to reconnoitre Athlone. "Very early" next morning, June 19th, it is added, that the advance-guard of his army, (then about 18,000 men,) moved forward, to drive the Irish outposts into the works of the English Town of Athlone, or that half of it on the Leinster side of the Shannon, which was not effected, till near "nine a clock."

Of this last circumstance, and the capture of the English Town by Ginkell, King James's Memoirs, after mentioning the appearance of the Williamite forces before Athlone, give this account:

[1] Archdall's Lodge's Peerage, vol. ii. p. 153.—Story's Continuation, &c., pp. 87-91, and Errata.—MS. Letter of Ullick Burke to Baron de Ginkell, dated Mullingar, June 11th, 1691, and marked DCI., in Clarke's Correspondence, Trinity College Library.—Harris's Life of William III., p. 318. — MS. Letter of Baron de Ginkell, &c., in State Paper Office, London.

account: "Coll: Fitzgerald the Governour sent out some Granadeers to dispute the passes and defilés, to retard their aproach, which was done with courage and prudence enough, still retireing before them, which cost the enemie many men; but at last their whole Army and Artillerry comeing up, they raised a battery the next day and had soon made a breach in the slender wall, so that on the 20th the Enemie appointed foure thousand detached men to make an assault; there was not aboue three or four hundred in the town on Limpster side, however they defended the breach for some time, till at least two hundred of their men were kill'd or wounded, and the rest so exhausted with eight and forty houres continual action (whereas the Enemie were relieved by their whole Army) that they were forced to retire to the bridg, where they sustain'd all the power of the Rebells[m] till they had broaken down two Arches of it, and thereby stoped at least all communication with the other Town"[n].

"In this war, pregnant with acts of heroism and sacrifice to country," says a late Irish historian, "this is an achievement, which might claim the pencil of Tacitus, or the descriptive powers of Thucydides, to give it immortality. But the Irish have had no historians, and notwithstanding numerous such instances of heroism during the campaign, the malignity of their conquerors has succeeded in stamping the national character with *cowardice* in their domestic wars"[o]. See, also, Note 216.

Note 213, Page 118.

St. Ruth, having been informed, late on June 20th, of the fall of the English Town of Athlone, advanced, with a body of horse and foot (variously called 1500 *and* 15,000*), and encamped within a convenient distance of the Irish Town of Athlone.*

"The Irish Army," says the last-cited authority, "by this time was got into a tollerable readiness to march, and as this action happen'd, came and encamped at a little distance from the Town at Connoagh side; had it been in a condition to take the field sooner, it had prevented the loss of the other Town; but the late arrival of the Fleet with other unavoidable impediments, made that impracticable, however they doubted not but to put a stop to the Enemies further progress, and prevent their passing the river."

With reference to Ginkell's project in general, of seeking to force a passage across the Shannon into Connaught in front of Athlone, and the Irish army so near to succour the place, the Duke of Berwick observes: "Les armées étant assemblées, le Sieur Ginckle, Général des ennemis, marcha vis-à-vis d'Athlone, & s'étant emparé facilement d'un fauxbourg, qui y étoit, résolut d'attaquer la place, la riviere de Shannon entre deux; projet d'autant plus chimérique, que cette riviere est fort large, qu'il n'y avoit qu'un gué très-profond, près du pont, à passer environ six hommes de front, & que l'armée du Roi étoit campée à deux milles d'Athlone

[m] See Note 21, p. 185.

[n] Story's Continuation, &c., pp. 91-95. — Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. p. 453.

[o] Military History of the Irish Nation, &c., by the late Matthew O'Conor, Esq., pp. 137-138: Dublin, 1845.

d'Athlone du même côté de la riviere, par conséquent, à portée d'y envoyer tel nombre de troupes qu'il seroit nécessaire."

The great difference between the numbers of men with which St. Ruth is stated, in the English and Latin texts, to have advanced to Athlone on the 21st of June, and encamped near the Irish town, after the capture of the English town by Ginkell, will be observed; the English speaking of but "1500 horse and foot"—the Latin mentioning so many as "15,000!" This can, perhaps, be reconciled by supposing, that St. Ruth hurried forward to Athlone at first with but 1500 horse and foot, and was followed the same day by as many more as made up 15,000.

The best estimate which the writer of this note has been able to form of the largest force St. Ruth had about Athlone during the siege, or both inclusive of the troops encamped with himself some miles to the rear of the place, and of those detached from them to garrison it, would make the whole between 22,000 and 23,000 infantry and cavalry[p].

Note 214, Pages 118–119.

St. Ruth alleged not to have imagined, that the Duke of Tyrconnell would have meddled with any but the Civil Administration, instead of interfering likewise with the Government of the Army; King James, having promised to write to the Duke to that effect, although his Majesty at the same time asserted, it would not be fit to insert anything in the Commission given to the French General, that might seem to lessen the authority of the Crown, through the person of its Viceroy.

The King, as has appeared in Note 209, so far circumscribed the Duke's previous power in military matters, on account of the complaints against him, as to transfer the regulation of appointments in the Irish Army to St. Ruth, who was also, no doubt, designed to have had the actual command over that army in the field. Yet, partly, as Colonel O'Kelly intimates, from a wish not to lessen too much the dignity of the royal authority in the Duke's person, and partly, as the King's Memoirs allege, from a feeling of gratitude for the Duke's past services, we find St. Ruth is mentioned, by the Duke of Berwick, to have been sent to Ireland, "pour commander l'armée *sous* le Vice-Roi!"—an unlucky loop-hole for that ruinous discord in the face of an enemy, which arose when the Viceroy, as well as the French General, appeared together in the same army. The royal Memoirs refer to the failure of the King's endeavour, to effect some sort of compromise between the conflicting factions represented by Tyrconnell and St. Ruth, as well as to the other bad effects which such dissensions had, both abroad and at home, in weakening the Irish means of resistance, in this last and decisive campaign.

After stating of the King, that "the continual complaints, dissentions and animositys amongst his own people perplexed him more than all the rest, whereas it was of the greatest importance to

[p] Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 453-454.—Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick, tome i. pp. 97-98.—Memoirs of Captain Parker, p. 25, &c.

to mentain an unity," the Memoirs say, " The Duke of Tyrconnel's signal services clamed a right to a continuation in the high station he had put him, and yet not being so versed in the leading of an Army and management of Military Affairs as many whose sole profession it was (which his ill-willers failled not to represent, togather with certain partialitys which it was hard for a man in so much power and so many provocations to keep entirely free from,) put the King in great doubts, which side to incline too, or how to keep the ballance so even, as that though he could not make them friends to one an other, at least he might keep all sides in amity with himself; for besides the four Envoys from the Army, others had sent up remonstrances against his conduct." As to the Duke of Tyrconnell, " what gaue him most disquiet, he sayd, was to find by his Majesty's couldness to him, he had giuen too much credit to the insinuation of his enemys; whilst they, on the other hand, were dissatisfyd he did not giue more, and the Court of France the less inclined to giue a helping hand to people that pulled so many different ways"[q].

NOTE 215, Page 121.

Baron de Ginkell, having taken the Leinster part of the town of Athlone, and occupied that bank of the Shannon, with his guns, in various positions, battered both the Castle and the trench along the river, night and day, till he reduced the Connaught part of the town to ashes, &c.

Captain Robert Parker, of the Earl of Meath's Regiment (or present 18th Royal Irish Foot) then serving in General Ginkell's army, after mentioning their capture of the English Town of Athlone, adds, they "the same night threw up an intrenchment along the river side, beginning above the bridge, and carrying it on below the works of the other town." The Irish, besides "a deep and rapid river between them and us," he observes, " had also on their side of the river, and about the middle of the town, a large strong castle or tower, which over-looked all our works." Respecting the arrangement and amount of the artillery of the English, he says, " they caused the intrenchment, on the river side, to be raised very high, and made very strong; with embrasures for *fifty battering cannon* and *eight mortars*[r]. With these," he continues, " we soon battered down that face of the castle which lay next us, and from which they had annoyed us with their small arms, and a couple of drakes"—i. e. long guns. " We had also beat down and levelled their works on the river side," &c.

Mr. Daniel M'Neal, a correspondent of Sir Arthur Rawdon, writing to him from Ginkell's " Camp, Athlone, June 28, 1691," states: " We have battered the Castle all down on this side, and have so cannonaded the enemy's part of Athlone, as I believe never town was. All day yesterday, and this day, we have played from five batteries, one of 8, one of 6, one of 5, one

[q] Note previously cited, and Notes 164, 184, and 185.—Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick, tome i. pp. 80, 97, 99, 100, 103, 104.—Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 439-440.

[r] The " Battery of Mortars," marked I in Story's plan of the siege of Athlone, has *ten* mortars (or two more than Parker mentions) set down upon it. —(Cont. Hist., pp. 106-107.)

one of 4, and one of 3, besides the mortar batteries. We have laid very level a great part of the works to the water side, where they design to attack in going over. . . . . Our carcasses[s] have burnt all the thatched houses in the enemy's quarters; we dismounted all the enemy's cannon, so that we can now stand almost at the water side to look over. . . . Thirteen squadron of waggon horses are set out for Dublin for more ammunition; you may judge how fast we play them with our cannon, when our whole artillery is employed."

As to the effects of this battering and bombardment upon the town, which the Williamite Chaplain, Story, speaks of as going on night and day, Colonel Felix O'Neill, who was present in the Irish army, in his letter to the Countess of Antrim from Aughrim, July 10th, 1691, asserts, that, previous to the surprise of Athlone by the English on the 30th of June, "the place was so ruined, and the passages so filled up with lumber and stones, that there was not room for 2 men in a breast to march any way."

Finally, Story, in giving an account of the surprise of the town by his countrymen, on that day, says: "The Rubbish and Stuff thrown down by our Cannon was more difficult to climb over than a great Part of the Enemies Works, which occasioned our Soldiers to Swear and Curse, even amongst the Bullets themselves." Nor is this destruction to be wondered at, since, in referring to Ginkell's great rejoicings after the town was taken, it, remarks the Williamite Chaplain, "had cost us 12000 Cannon Bullets, 600 Bombs, nigh 50 Tun of Powder, and a great many Tun of Stones, shot out of our Mortars"[t].

Note 216, Page 121.

The efforts of the English, to force an entrance across the river, had always failed, through the gallant resistance of the regiments, sent from the Irish camp, to defend the town, &c.

King James, having stated with respect to Ginkell's design of "passing the riuer," how the English "fell immediately upon making a bridg of boats under the cover of their Cannon, which batter'd the Castle all the while very furiously," adds: "nevertheless the Irish, *thō they had no other Artillery but a few field pieces*[u], prevented that design; this put the Enemie upon endeavouring to throw planks over the broken arches of the bridg, which they had in a great measure effected, when one Custume with eight or ten men proffer'd to pull them down again;

[s] The English translator and editor of Feuquieres' Memoirs has thus defined that military implement of destruction called "a carcass." It "is," he observes, "an Invention of an oval Form, made of Iron Ribs, and filled with a Composition of Meal-Powder, Saltpetre, Sulphur, broken Glass, Shavings of Horn, Pitch, Turpentine, Tallow, and Linseed Oil, and then covered with a pitch'd Cloth; it is primed with Meal-Powder and Quickmatch, and fired out of a Mortar; its Design is to set Houses on Fire. It is lifted into the Mortar by two small Cords, fixed to its Sides." — (Marquis de Feuquieres' Memoirs, vol. ii. appendix: London, 1735.)

[t] Memoirs of Captain Parker, p. 26.—The Rawdon Papers, pp. 344, 345, 346, 347, 349.—Story, Continuation, &c., pp. 99, 101, 105, 108, 114, 115.

[u] When the town was taken, Story says, this *field* artillery was found to be but *eight* pieces, or "six brass Guns, and two Mortars."—(Continuation, &c., p. 108.)

again; this was joyfully accepted, and accordingly with courage and strength even beyond what men were thought capable of, they threw down the planks and beams notwithstanding the continual fire of the Enemy, and held it out till they had finished their worke, thō most of them were killed in the action. This forced the Enemie to try an other method, and endeavour to carry on their work, by a close gallerie upon the bridg, but the Irish found means to set it on fire, which so disheartned the English, that they held a council of war whether they should not rais the Siege; and had they not, by great fortune just at that time, found a fordable place on the river, they had certainly done it."

The Williamite Chaplain, in his narrative of the siege, has this passage illustrative of the bravery shown by the Irish soldiery: "The 26th. was spent in firing from seven Batteries upon the Enemies Works, and a great many were kill'd in endeavouring to repair them. About thirty Waggons loaden with Powder come to the Camp; and that Night we possess our selves of all the Bridge, except one Arch at the farther End on *Connaught* Side, which was broken down, and we repair another broken Arch in our Possession; and all Night our Guns and Mortars play most furiously. . . . The General and the other Great Officers resolve to try what can be done in forcing our Way through *Athlone* it self, and therefore we labour hard to gain the Bridge; but what we got here was Inch by Inch as it were, the Enemy sticking very close to it, though great Numbers of them were slain by our Guns: And this Service cost us great Store of Ammunition."

Colonel Felix O'Neill, after observing of the English, in his letter to the Countess of Antrim, how "they raised their batteries and trenches so very high, that a cat could scarce appear without being knocked in the head by great or small shot, and all these disadvantages," alleges, of the courage of the Irish soldiers: "and notwithstanding the French Generals acknowledged, they never saw more resolution and firmness, in any men of any nation; nay, blamed the men for their forwardness, and cried them up for brave fellows, as intrepid as lions"[v]. See, likewise, Note 212.

Note 217, Page 121.

St. Ruth and his French Officers believed, that all Ginkell's efforts to force the passage of the river would be of no avail, inasmuch as such a design was vain or impracticable.

Captain Parker represents the Williamite army to have been generally of the same unfavourable opinion, regarding Ginkell's attempt to cross the Shannon at Athlone, as Colonel O'Kelly affirms that St. Ruth and the other French Generals were, and as the Duke of Berwick, by the extract from his Memoirs, given in Note 213, appears to have been. Having premised, respecting the "difficulties" in the way of such an attempt—"Notwithstanding all these difficulties, our Generals seemed resolved on passing the river at this place, for they judged, from the extreme dryness of the season, that it might probably be fordable," the Williamite

[v] Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 453-454. — Story, Continuation of the History of the Wars of Ireland, pp. 101-102. — The Rawdon Papers, pp. 346-347.

liamite Captain adds: "Yet however the undertaking seemed rash, and almost desperate to every one but themselves, even though the river should prove to be fordable"[x]. See Note 220.

NOTE 218, Pages 121, 122.

The French Officers, through overmuch confidence, delay the timely demolition of the rampart towards the western or Connaught side of Athlone, by which, in case of need, troops from the Irish camp might enter to support those in the town; though St. Ruth, on finding Ginkell bent upon proceeding with his design, at last, or on the evening of June 29th, ordered the rampart to be levelled accordingly; which order, being neglected by D'Usson, occasioned the misfortune of the following day.

"The begining of this misfortune," say the royal Memoirs, "was oweing in great measure to that spirit of opposition and contradiction, which different humours and intrest are sure to rais when *there is no one that has authority sufficient to make himself be obeyed;* on one hand Monsr d'Vson *the governour*, would have had a regular garison of choice men fixed in the place proper to sustain an attack, but St Ruth had a mind to accustom his new raised troops to fire and discipline, so made them rowle by turns, and as another expedient proposed, that considering the slightness of the work and the armys being so near, to demollish the Curtin on their own side, that a whole battallion might march into the place at once to relieve the garison and mentain the pass: but Monsr d'Vson in his turn opposed that, saying, Their business was to defend not demolish forteresses, and was so confident the English would never attempt so bould an action, that he was at breakefast a cannon shot from the Town when the Enemie made the assault; for which *St Ruth (had he liued) would have called him to an account;* he made hast indeed to the Town upon the first alarme, but was born down and run over by the men that fled."

According to Colonel Felix O'Neill, St. Ruth *gave* the order above-mentioned for the preservation of the town, but it was neglected to be executed by the French Engineers. "The French engineers," observes the Irish Colonel, "were more in fault than any, for they were ordered by the General to rase the works on our side the town, except the trench next the river, that, whensoever we were attacked, our whole battalion might march, with sword in hand, to cut off the enemy as fast as they could pass the river." That neglect, on the part of the Engineers, was "an unexcusable false step," continues the Colonel, who, in allusion to such as were for throwing the blame of the loss of Athlone on St. Ruth, asserts: "These are men that would have *French* Generals cried out upon, and that would willingly discourage all mankind, nay, accept of conditions, if they knew how." Colonel O'Neill, in this last statement, appears to reflect on those who were partizans of the Duke of Tyrconnell, in opposition to St. Ruth[y].

NOTE 219,

[w] Memoirs of Captain Parker, p. 26.

[x] Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. p. 455.—

[y] Colonel O'Neill's Letter in Rawdon Papers, pp. 346, 347, 348.

NOTE 219, Page 122.

Ginkell, June 30th, detaches 8000 of his best troops to attack the ford, who, passing the river, enter the town (as it is said) without any opposition; the Irish regiments who were to defend the passage, being surprised through the (alleged) neglect or treachery of their commanding officer, Maxwell.

After the defeat of Ginkell's attempt upon the place on the 29th of June, by the burning of his "close gallerie," already mentioned[y], "it was generally believed on both sides," says Captain Parker, "we should make no further attempts here, but endeavour to pass at some other place. And indeed it looked something like it, for next day we were drawing off our cannon and mortars, and all combustible matters out of our trenches, and that, after such a manner, that the enemy might easily perceive it."

Harris, having observed, that, for the attack which was secretly preparing by the English, "the General (Ginkell) commanded, that the detachment drawn out the day before should be brought down at six in the evening, being the usual hour of relieving the Guards, that the Enemy might have no suspicion of the design, which succeeded accordingly," adds: "As a lucky Omen to the attempt, two Officers from the enemy at this juncture swam over the river, and assured the General, 'now was his time; for that the *Irish* were mighty secure, thinking the destruction of the works on the bridge would certainly oblige them (the English) to draw off, and that it was impossible to attempt passing the river in the face of their (the Irish) works, especially as their army was so near; and further, that 3 of the most indifferent *Irish* Regiments[z] were only then upon guard, the rest being secure in their camp.' All circumstances concurring with the inclinations of the brave Commanders, the signal for passing the River was to be the tolling of the Church Bell. About 2000 detached Men were prepared to be commanded by Major General *Mackay*, assisted by Major General *Tettau*, the Prince of *Hesse*, and Brigadier *la Melloniere*, Major General *Talmach* going also a Volunteer with a party of Grenadiers commanded by Col. *Gustavus Hamilton*[a]. The signal being given six minutes after six o'clock, Captain *Sandys* and two Lieutenants led the first party of sixty Grenadiers, twenty

[y] See Note 216, p. 424.

[z] King James (as well as the Duke of Berwick, hereafter quoted), states those Irish regiments to have been but *two*, instead of *three*. "It was," observe the royal Memoirs, "an additional misfortune to the King's affairs (which always contribited more to the enemies success than their own vallour or experience) that there happen'd that day to be upon the guard *two* regiments which *consisted most of recruts*, who making but a feeble resistance, the enemie soon made good the passage, enter'd the Town and obliged the garison to retire to the camp."—(Memoirs, vol. ii. pp. 454-455.)

[a] Harris omits this circumstance, mentioned by Story: "And for the greater Encouragement to the Soldiers, the General destributed a Sum of Guinea's amongst them, knowing the powerful Influence of Gold, tho our Army had as little Occasion for such Gratuities (I mean as to that Point of whetting their Courage) as any in all the World, and have done as much without them."—(Cont. Hist. p. 106.) The Irish soldier had but 1*d.* a day!

twenty abreast, all in armour, seconded by another strong detachment of Grenadiers (which were to be supported by six battalions of foot) and with unparallelled resolution took the ford a little to the left of the bridge in the face of a Bastion, the river being very rapid and deep[b], and the passage difficult by reason of some large stones. At the same time, the *English* from their Batteries and Works played upon the Enemy, who fired as quick as possible upon those in the river: but, by an incredible effort of bravery, they forced their way through fire and smoak, and, having gained the opposite bank, laid planks over the broken part of the bridge, and prepared their Pontoons; by which means the *English* made their passage so quick, that in less than half an hour they were Masters of the town, and in possession of the Works, which lay intire towards the Enemy's Camp; the *Irish* being so amazed at the suddenness of the attack, and resolution of the assailants, that they abandoned the place, and fled to the army though not without considerable loss."

Of the conduct of Brigadier, Major General, or Colonel Thomas Maxwell, to whose supposed "neglect or treachery" Colonel O'Kelly ascribes the circumstance of Athlone having been surprised, the Duke of Berwick gives this very different account: "Maxwell, Maréchal de Camp de jour, qui s'y trouvoit alors commandant à son tour, eut beau avertir Saint-Ruth des préparatifs qu'il voyoit faire, & demander un renfort de troupes, n'ayant *que deux bataillons de nouvelles troupes* (car on y relevoit la garde comme dans une tranchée), on lui répondit que s'il avoit peur, on y envoyeroit un autre Officier Général: les ennemis donc se jetterent dans l'eau & attaquerent la breche, que nos troupes abandonnerent *après une décharge.* Maxwell y fit ferme avec quelques Officiers; mais la plupart ayant été tués à ses côtés, il fut pris, & alors les ennemis coulerent le long du rempart"[c].

It should be noted here, that Maxwell was a partizan of Tyrconnell as opposed to St. Ruth, and that what the Duke of Berwick writes of this campaign of 1691, was evidently derived from a Tyrconnellite source. Colonels O'Kelly and O'Neill, on the other hand, were the partizans of St. Ruth against Tyrconnell.

NOTE 220,

[b] Of the actual depth of the river, as ascertained some days before, by three Danes appointed for the purpose, Captain Parker says: "The *deepest* part of the river took them up to the *navel:* but it *had not been known so low in the memory of any living.*" The Williamite Lord Chancellor and Lord Justice for Ireland, Sir Charles Porter, in his unpublished letter, Dublin, June 29th, 1691, describing this trial of the depth of the river by the three Danes, alleges: "they found it not above *knee* deep in *most* places, & that 20 might march a breast." With respect to the condition of the fortifications on the Irish side, in the direction where the English attacked, Story states: "The Ford was a little to the left of the Bridge over against a Bastion of the Enemies, where a Breach was made already." And King James, mentioning how the English having "found a fordable place in the river," it "encouraged them to a fresh attempt," adds, "haveing already made such breaches in the wall by three batteries which playd cross the water, that *the river was become the sole defence.*"—(Authorities, *ut infra.*)

[c] Memoirs of Captain Parker, pp. 26, 27, 28.—Harris's Life of William III., pp. 319, 320.—Memoires du Maréchal de Berwick, tome i. pp. 89, 98, 99.—Lord Chancellor Porter's Letter in State Paper Office.—Story's Imp. Hist., p. 97, and Cont. Hist., pp. 30, 106, 108, 109.—Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. p. 454.

NOTE 220, Page 122.

Immediately on gaining the place, the English manned the wall which covered the Connaught side of the town, and, raising the draw-bridge, prevented all relief entering the place from the Irish Camp.

Captain Parker, after observing, "we were masters of the town before *St. Ruth* knew anything of the matter," says: "As soon as he heard it, he marched down in great haste to drive us back again; but here he found, when it was too late, that he had been guilty of a great mistake, in leaving the works on the back part of the town standing, and in good repair; for *these were now a defence for us against himself,* and indeed this was the only thing that induced our Generals to attempt passing the river; for had he destroyed these works, *we should never have been able to defend the town against his whole army,* especially as the castle, which still held out, was crowded with men; for though we had battered down that face of it which lay to the water, yet the other parts remained intire, and had a number of men in them." See, also, Note 217.

The Duke of Berwick informs us, that, when the English assaulted the place, "Saint-Ruth entendant l'attaque, & craignant quelque malheur, y envoya le Major Général, Jean Hamilton, avec deux brigades d'infanterie; mais il étoit trop tard, car *il trouva le rempart bordé des troupes ennemies,* & ainsi il fut obligé de retourner au camp"[d].

NOTE 221, Page 123.

Maxwell asserted to have refused bullets, when called for by the Irish soldiery in the town, asking them, "Whether they would shoot against the birds of the air?" and was likewise alleged, to have ordered the men to take their rest, as there would be no action till night, so that most of them were asleep, and few or none at their posts, when the enemy entered the town.

Colonel Felix O'Neill, who, in speaking of the defence of Athlone, gives it as his opinion, that "no place was ever better defended than it was, till the very day that it was lost, *by as perfect a surprise as ever was,*" thus refers to Major-General Maxwell's alleged conduct in connexion with that surprise: "Whose fault that was, I will not take upon me to decide, but certain it is, that our men sent thrice for ammunition, and could not have it; and when powder was had, *ball was wanting,* and that when Major General Maxwell, who was for that day called to by Cormack O'Neil's men for ammunition, he asked them often, whether they designed to kill larks?" or, as the Irish Colonel adds, in reference to Maxwell's Scotch mode of speaking, "*lavracks* he called them."

From what Captain Parker asserts, respecting the state in which the Irish garrison were found

[d] Memoirs of Captain Parker, p. 29.—Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick, tome i. p. 99.

found when the English made their assault on the place, it is as evident, that the Irish soldiery were taken by surprise, as Colonel O'Neill and Colonel O'Kelly represent them to have been. The Williamite Captain, who was was himself with the body of troops appointed by Lieutenant-General Ginkell to make that assault, having mentioned how the signal was given, says: "On a sudden we bounced over our works into the river, and *were a good way on before the enemy perceived us.* This rouzed them *as it were out of sleep,* and they began to fire upon us *after a confused manner;* but *the cannon from our batteries, and the small arms from our trenches, fired continually over our heads, until we had gained the opposite bank,* so that *they did us very little hurt;* and then they were in such consternation, that they made little or no resistance."

This likewise appears to have been the fact, from what Story alleges of the small loss of the Williamites in carrying the town, which he makes to have been but forty-six in killed and wounded: amongst whom no more than twelve were slain, and thirty-four hurt. "We lost," he observes, "in this Action only 12 men, and Lieutenant Col. *Collumbine* with 4 more Officers and 30 Soldiers wounded"[e].

NOTE 222, Page 123.

Maxwell, a Scotchman by birth, and, according to Colonel O'Kelly, only by pretence a Roman Catholic, as well as a person of mean extraction, &c.

Colonel O'Kelly's account of this Scotch officer is, to say the least of it, incorrect. Thomas Maxwell is related to have been of a very good family in his native country; probably a branch of the Maxwells of Nithsdale. Previous to the retirement of King James II. into France, or on November 18th, 1688, he was appointed in England Colonel of a Regiment of Dragoons (the present Fourth Dragoons, or Queen's Own Regiment), in place of James Berkeley, Viscount Fitzharding; and, as a Roman Catholic, following the fortunes of King James, he was succeeded in command of that regiment, December 31st, by the Viscount, its former Colonel. Maxwell rejoined King James in Ireland in 1689; was made Colonel of the Regiment of *Irish* Dragoons, to which Daniel Macgennis was Lieutenant Colonel, and ——— Callaghane Major; and, in the course of the war there against the Prince of Orange, during that and the two ensuing years, became Brigadier and Major-General in the Irish Army. The confidence placed by the Duke of Berwick in Maxwell, when sent with the representatives of the discontented party in the Irish Army, &c., into France, has been already seen. After his capture at Athlone, he mentions, in a letter of thanks to George Clarke, the Irish Williamite Secretary at War, that he met with the best treatment as a prisoner, both at Dublin Castle and Chester Castle. He afterwards passed over to France, to rejoin King James's Army there, and as Brigadier of Dragoons, at the head of two Regiments of Irish Dragoons (spoken of by Marshal Catinat as performing "*des choses surprenantes de valeur & de bon ordre*

[e] Rawdon Papers, pp. 346, 347.—Memoirs of Captain Parker, pp. 28, 29.—Story, Cont. Hist., p. 108.

ordre dans le combat,") was killed at the battle of Marsaglia in Piedmont, gained over the Duke of Savoy and the Allies by Catinat, October 4th, 1693. Brigadier Maxwell was married to Jane, Duchess of Norfolk, widow of Henry, the sixth Duke of Norfolk, and Earl Marshal of England, a lady "remarkable for her beauty and accomplishments," who died August 28th, 1693[f].

Note 223, Page 125.

The Duke of Tyrconnell took advantage of the seasonable pretext afforded him, by the irritation of the Army against him, to leave the Camp, and return to Limerick.

King James, having mentioned how, on the fall of Athlone, St. Ruth "thought fit to decamp, and marched that night a mile towards Balinasto (Ballinasloe), and having passed the river Suck, stayd there three days, from whence he continued his march to Acrim," or Aughrim, then adds: "My Lord Tyrconnel left the camp and return'd to Limerick, those animositys increasing (as usually they do by misfortune) he thought it more prudent to yield awhile, than by opiniatring increas the distemper."

The Duke of Berwick, after relating the retreat of St. Ruth to Aughrim, thus refers to the cause of the Duke of Tyrconnell's departure from the Irish Army to Limerick: "Quoique le Vice-Roi eût pour Saint-Ruth tous les égards imaginables, & qu'il le laissât le maître de tout faire, celui-ci étant naturellement fort vain, *supportoit impatiemment d'avoir un supérieur à l'armée:* ainsi se servant de ces mêmes brouillons, dont j'ai parlé, il se mit à déclamer contre Tirconel, & fit tant qu'il l'obligea à quitter l'armée, & à se retirer à Limerick"[g]. See Notes 214, 218, 219.

Note 224, Page 127.

Balldearg O'Donnell was popular among the old Irish, principally those of Ulster, who superstitiously believed he was the person, pointed out by an ancient prediction, that was to liberate Ireland from the English yoke.

Lord Melfort, King James's Embassador at Rome, writing to his correspondent, Mr. Nelson, September 9th, 1690, remarks: "There is a new life got amongst the Irishmen upon the

[f] Granger's Biographical History of England, vol. iv. p. 152: London, 1779.—Noble's Continuation of Granger, vol. i. p. 184.—Beatson's Political Index, vol. ii. p. 188: London, 1805.—Leslie's Answer to King, pp. 149, 150: London, 1692.—A Relation of what most Remarkably happened during the Last Campaign in Ireland betwixt his Majesties Army Royal and the Forces of the Prince of Orange, &c., p. 3: Dublin, 1689.—Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. p. 372.—Berwick, as cited in Notes 184 and 219.—King's State of the Protestants of Ireland, &c., appendix, pp. 276, 277: Dublin, 1713.—Letter of Major-General Maxwell from Chester Castle, August 19th, 1691, in Clarke's Correspondence, Trinity College Library.—MS. Collections from Official Documents in Paris.—Mémoires & Correspondence du Maréchal de Catinat, par M. de St. Gervais, tome ii. pp. 218, 219, 222, 223, 232, 240: Paris, 1836.

[g] Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 455,

the arivall of the old heir of the familly of Tyrconnel, Odonald, of whom they pretend a prophecy, that he is to obtain a victory of the English near Limmerick. So far the people ar led by this fancy, that the very Fryars, & some of the Bishops, have taken arms to follow him; but I am affray'd, that they will forgett all, when danger draws neer."

Story, in connexion with the military transactions of the 18th of August, 1690, at the first siege, or successful defence, of Limerick, against William III., speaks as follows of O'Donnell, and the Irish predictions connected with his presence there: "About this Time, we had an Account of one *Balderock Rho ODonnel*, of the ancient Family of *Tyrconnel*: this Man was born and educated in *Spain*. But there being a Prophecy amongst the *Irish*, that he should free his Country from the *English*, doing great Matters in his own Person, and more by his Conduct, he was sent for on Purpose, and came to *Limerick*. It's incredible how fast the vulgar *Irish* flocked to him at his first Coming; so that he had got in a small Time 7 or 8,000 *Rapparees*, and such like People together, and began to make a Figure; but after a while the Business cool'd, and they were weary of one another: and he is only now a Colonel in *Limerick*. They had another Prophecy also, That he should come to the Field above *Cromwell's* Fort, where stands an old Church, where on a Stone hard by we should pitch our utmost Colours, and afterwards be undone, with a thousand such like Fopperies, not worth the Naming." Nevertheless, Story elsewhere admits, in alluding to Irish predictions: "I have heard also Some of the *Irish* tell us before we got thither, that we should *not* succeed at the first Siege of *Limerick;* and they had no other Reason for it, but because one of their Prophesies said so." O'Donnell is likewise noticed in the *London Gazette*, as "that Baldarick ODonnel, whose Name has been made great Use of among those of the Irish, who build much upon Prophecies."

Mr. Croker, in noting how "a prophecy was generally current in Ireland, that an O'Donnell, with a red mark, should free his country from the dominion of England," adds, "hence his soubriquet of Baldearg—'*Ball*, a stain, spot, or speck, either natural or artificial,' and *Dearg*, crimson.'" But this soubriquet is related to have been borne in Ireland above 1200 years before the War of the Revolution; as O'Flaherty, noticing a miracle, alleged to have been connected, in St. Patrick's time, with the birth, to the first Christian King of Thomond, of a son, called Achaius *Balldearg*, thus gives the derivation of the Irish sirname by which O'Donnell was known in the seventeenth, as Achaius was in the fifth, century. "Puer tum natus Achaius *Balldearg* vocatus est, i. e. vestigii rubei, vel artus rubei. *Ball* enim Hibernis idem est aliquando quod artus vel membrum, aliquando quod vestigium: & *Dearg* idem quod rubeum. Mansit enim in ejus carne, in testimonium miraculi, quoddam rubeum vestigium[h]".

NOTE 225,

456.—Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick, tome i. pp. 99, 100.

[h] MS. Correspondence of Lord Melfort, vol. iii. pp. 41-42.—Story, Impartial History, pp. 123-124, and Continuation, pp. 145-146.—London Gazette, No. 2688.—Transactions of the London Camden Society, No. XIV., pp. 133-134. — O'Flaherty, Ogygia Domestica, pars iii. pp. 386, 388, 389.

Note 225, Page 127.

The Duke of Tyrconnell had taken from Balldearg O'Donnell some of his new Regiments, to incorporate them with the Standing Army; leaving him, and the rest of his men, without any manner of subsistence, but what they were thus compelled to extort from the country.

In allusion to the evils arising from such a state of things between O'Donnell and the Duke of Tyrconnell, after the return of the latter from France in January, 1691, King James observes: "Balderrick O'Donnal had set up for a sort of an independent Commander, and haveing got togather no less than eight regiments newly raised, with a crowd of loos men over and aboue, lived in a manner at discretion: so that these troops were in effect, but a rabble that destroyd the Country, ruin'd the inhabitants, and prevented the regular forces from drawing that subsistance they might otherwise haue had from the people; nor was this inconvenience to be remedyd unless there had been mony to pay them, however," adds the King respecting the Duke, "to make things go as far as possible, Commissioners were sent out to regulate the quartering of Soldiers, and that the takeing up Cattle, provisions, &c. for the use of the Army might be done with as much equality, and as little burthen as possible to the people"[i].

Note 226, Page 127.

The Duke of Tyrconnell asserted, to have principally aimed at fomenting discord between Balldearg O'Donnell and Gordon O'Neill, descended from the chief Prince of Ulster.

The O'Neills and O'Donnells, the ancient Princes of Tyrone and Tyrconnell, deduced their origin from two of those four sons of the famous Irish Monarch, Niall of the Nine Hostages, who, says the learned author of the Ogygia, "paulò antè adventum S. Patricii, in Ultoniam profecti, occuparunt ibi amplas regiones, quas eorum posteri, qui Septentrionales Hy-Nielli dicti sunt, ad nostros usque dies possederunt, nempe Eugenius, ex quo Kinell-Eoguin, seu Tironii, de quibus sedecim Hiberniæ Reges clarissimæ O Neill gentis Tironiæ Principum, ac Tironiæ Comitum, majores: Conallus Gulbanus, ex quo Kinell-Conaill, seu Tirconnallii Principes, & Comites, & decem Hiberniæ Reges."

The venerable Charles O'Conor, of Belanagare, having observed of the eight sons of Niall the Great, that they, "under the appellation of North and South Hy-Nialls, became, in their posterity, the first family in Ireland;" that "they not only, from the time of Dathy[j], ruled without molestation, in their own feudatory sovereignties, but swayed the sceptre of the whole island, down to the deposition of Malachy II.[k], for five hundred and eighty-four years, without the intervention of any of the provincial kings, excepting that of the great Olioll Molt alone" (A. D. 463–483); and that, after the invasion of Henry II., the Southern Hy-Nialls, "being

[i] Memoirs of King Jas. II., vol. ii. p. 434. [j] For Niall and Dathy, see Note 57. [k] A. D. 1001.

"being most exposed to the incursions of the English, and the most embittered against one another, fell a sacrifice to foreign power, as well as to their own perverse politics," remarks of the O'Neills and O'Donnells: "The chief names of the North Hy-Niall are well known, O'Neill of Tirone, and O'Donnell of Tirconall. For more than eleven hundred years, they maintained their authority in five Counties of Ulster against *all* opposition, foreign and domestic. I refer," he adds, "to the English as well as Irish annals." And finally, he observes, "thus it continued until the seventeenth century, when, in the reign of King James I., they lost their countries, in the most unaccountable manner"[1].

Gordon O'Neill, son of the celebrated Sir Phelim O'Neill, of Kinard, or Caledon, in the County Tyrone, was, pursuant to James II.'s policy, of favouring the old Irish as much as possible, appointed, in that Monarch's reign, Lord Lieutenant of the County Tyrone; made a Burgess of the remodelled or reformed Corporation of Strabane; Member, also, in the Irish Parliament of 1689, for the County Tyrone; Colonel of a Regiment of Infantry in the Irish Army; and is mentioned to have been a Brigadier, at the battle of Aughrim. He was left for dead there, and stripped as such. But, being recognised the following day, on the field, in that state, by some Scotch officers, connected with him through his mother, who was of the noble house of Gordon in Scotland, those officers had him kindly attended to, till he recovered from his wounds. After regaining his liberty as a prisoner of war, he followed the Irish Army to the Continent, where he served, as Colonel of the Charlemont Regiment of Infantry, with the forces of Louis XIV.[m]

Note 227, Page 129.

St. Ruth, after the fall of Athlone, having retired to Ballinasloe, held a Council of War, at which some were of opinion, to remain encamped where they were, with the river Suck before them, and, by hindering Ginkell to cross that river, thus stop his march to Galway; which advice seemed agreeable to St. Ruth, as he was eager to blot out the affront he had suffered, by the enemy's capture of Athlone.

"July the 2d," says the Williamite Chaplain, "we had an Account by some Deserters, that the Enemies Foot were gone beyond *Balynasloe*, and their Horse were Encampt on this Side of it; that they resolved to stay thereabouts and Fight us, tho at present they were in a great Consternation, and seem'd doubtful of their own Performances." And "*Saturday* the 11*th*," he adds, "we marcht to *Ballynasloe*, and encampt along the River *Suck*, upon

[1] See Note 79.

[m] O'Flaherty's Ogygia, pp. 399, 400, 401.—O'Conor's Dissertations on the History of Ireland, sect. xv. p. 205, sect. xxii. pp. 279, 280, 281: Dublin, 1812.—Carte's Life of Ormonde, vol. i. p. 158.—Authorities attached to Note 91 and Note 116.—Archbishop King's State of the Protestants of Ireland, &c., appendix. pp. 267, 270, 279: Dublin, 1713.—Rawdon Papers, p. 350.—Story's Continuation, &c., pp. 137, 145.—Transactions of the Camden Society, No. XIV., p. 90: London, 1841.—Hibernia Dominicana, p. 332.—Mac Geoghegan, Histoire de l'Irlande, tome iii. pp. 751, 752.

upon the *Roscomon* Side; this is a good Pass, and the *Irish* might have given us some Trouble in gaining it; but that they had found out a much better Place, as will soon appear."

On St. Ruth's impatience to come to an engagement after the loss of Athlone, the Duke of Berwick observes, that "étant fâché & honteux du mauvais succès qu'il avoit eu à Athlone, il se détermina à combattre." And, continues the Duke, "il eut bientôt ce qu'il souhaitoit; car les ennemis voyant que le débouché d'Athlone étoit libre, marcherent droit à lui"[n].

NOTE 228, Pages 129, 130.

Sarsfield and the majority of the Jacobite Officers gravely set forth in opposition, how Ginkell's army was superior both in numbers and discipline; his troops being mostly veterans, whom William had enlisted not only from Germany, but from Denmark, Sweden, and the Netherlands; and had likewise strengthened by a considerable body of Protestants out of France, bred up to arms, and inured to war.

Of the comparative numbers of the Irish and English armies for the battle of Aughrim, Story says: "The Line of Battle will direct you how many Regiments we had in the Fight, and considering all Circumstances, they could not make up 17,000 *Horse and Foot.* The *Irish,*" he adds, "were nigh 20,000 *Foot and* 5000 *Horse and Dragoons,* as appears from the most Rational Accounts, that can be gathered from the Number of their Regiments, and the *Confession of their own Officers.*"

The Williamite account of the battle of Aughrim in the *London Gazette* expresses itself, in this manner, respecting the numbers of the two armies: "Their Army was superior to ours in Number, consisting of 20,000 Foot, and 8,000 Horse and Dragoons."

Bishop Burnet, who is acknowledged by Story to have corrected and furnished information for his history, though setting down the Irish at Aughrim as having been 28,000 men, yet rates the English army at about 3000 *more* than Story, or 20,000 men. "My Lord Bishop of *Salisbury,*" observes the Williamite Chaplain, "has been pleased, not only to commend the Undertaking, but to honour me with the Correction of some of my Papers with his own Hand, and also with an Account of the Reasons for some Particulars, that before I was in the Dark for Want of." The Bishop's words, relative to the strength of the two armies, are: "He (St. Ruth) retired to *Aghrim;* where he posted himself to great Advantage, and was much superior to *Ginkle* in Number; for he had abandoned many small Garrisons to increase his Army, which was now 28,000 strong; whereas *Ginkle* had not above 20,000."

As connected with this enumeration of the two armies by the Bishop, and that likewise given from the *London Gazette,* M. de la Brune, who dedicates his Williamite account in French of the campaign of 1691 to Ginkell himself[o], appears to have rated William III.'s Aughrim

[n] Story's Continuation, &c., pp. 115, 121.—Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick, tome i. p. 100.

[o] Ginkell's titles are thus set forth in the heading of the dedication: "A son Excellence, Mon-

Aughrim army, at the same number as the Bishop. De la Brune's statement relative to that point, in his narrative of the battle, is: "L'armée Irlandoise étoit plus forte que celle des Anglois d'environ 8000 hommes," or, in other words, Ginkell's army, to St. Ruth's, were as 20,000 to 28,000 men.

Another contemporary Williamite account in French, published in Holland, would likewise make Ginkell's force at Aughrim, compared with St. Ruth's, as 20,000 to 28,000 men. That account affirms, of the Irish army there: "Ils étoient plus forts que l'Armée Angloise d'environ 8000 hommes."

Captain Parker, already noticed as having served in that campaign under Ginkell, states, of the respective amount of the forces, with which Ginkell and St. Ruth opened the campaign: "About the middle of May, General *Ginkle* assembled the army near *Mullingar*, which was computed to be *about* 23,000. The *Irish* army," continues the Captain, "was assembling at the same time on the other side the *Shannon*, near *Athlone*, and was esteemed to be *much about* our number." In his description of the contest at Aughrim, where he was present, the Williamite Captain makes *no* remark, as to the comparative numerical strength of either side. So much for the assertions of such contemporary Williamite authorities on this subject, as render it unnecessary to notice any of the *repetitions* of subsequent compilers.

With regard to the opinions, entertained on the Jacobite side, concerning the amount of their own army, as compared with Ginkell's, between the fall of Athlone and the battle of Aughrim, Story's assertion as to the Irish infantry in the battle having been "nigh 20,000," is neither countenanced by the statement of King James's Memoirs, nor of Colonel O'Kelly. The royal Memoirs, in mentioning the retreat of St. Ruth, after the loss of Athlone, to Aughrim, say: "In this retreat the Conough regiments grew very thin, so that the foot by desertion and maroding was *reduced from* 17000 *to about* 11000 *men.*" Colonel O'Kelly, as will be seen in the text, reckons this arm of the Irish force at Aughrim still lower, or as only "about 10,000 *Foot.*" The Jacobite or Irish infantry there would consequently be, by their own accounts, but about 10,000 or 11,000 men. The Irish cavalry there, of both kinds, heavy and light, or "horse and dragoons," according to the language of the day[p], are rated by the Colonel, our only Jacobite authority on the affair, at 2000 of each denomination, or 4000 in all. Hence, the whole of the Irish army for the engagement, as represented by *their* authorities at 10,000 or 11,000 infantry and 4000 cavalry, would be no more than 14,000 or 15,000 men. From a statement on the subject by O'Halloran,—who, having been born at Limerick, the Irish headquarters, only about 37 years after the war, may have spoken with many of the Irish who took part in it,—it would seem as if the higher amount, or 15,000 men, was what the Irish traditionally considered *themselves* to have been at Aughrim, and that they rated their opponents,

seigneur Godard de Reede, Comte d'Athlone, Baron d'Agrim, Seigneur d'Ameronghen, de Ginkel & autres places, Chevalier de l'Ordre de l'Elephant, Général de la Cavalerie Hollandoise, Gouverneur de la Ville & Province d'Utrecht, Grand Veneur du Duché de Gueldres & du Comté de Zutphen, &c."

[p] See Note 232.

nents, or General Ginkell's army, at 25,000 men. "At the battle of Aughrim," says the Limerick writer, in the first edition of his work, printed in 1772, "15,000 Irish, ill paid and worse cloathed, fought with 25,000 men highly appointed, and the flower of all Europe; composed of English, Dutch, Flemings, and Danes, vying with each other."

As to Story's assertion, making the Irish officers confess *their* army to have been nigh 25,000 in number, or about 8000 more than the English, who, according to him, "could *not* make up 17,000 Horse and Foot," it would have been more satisfactory, had he told us *who* were the Irish officers, that made any such "confession." At all events, we *know*, of Major-General William Dorrington, Colonel of King James's Regiment of Irish Foot Guards,—who, from his high station in the army to which he belonged, may be supposed to have had due means for learning its numerical strength, and who subsequently, or after his having been made prisoner at Aughrim, would have opportunities of inquiring amongst the Williamite officers, respecting the number of *their* army at the battle,—we *know* of that Jacobite General Officer, from what he is alleged by *Williamite* authority to have said upon the subject, that *his* "confession" was the very reverse of what Story would attribute to the Irish officers. In a letter to George Clarke, General Ginkell's Secretary, at his camp, written from Dublin Castle, July 18th, 1691, or six days after the battle, by Israel Fielding, acting Secretary to the Williamite Lords Justices for Ireland, the Williamite functionary says: "Dorrinton tells me *our Army outnumbered theirs*"[q]. And King James's Memoirs, though not giving any exact statement as to the comparative numbers of each army, yet, in mentioning the force opposed to St. Ruth in the battle, as "the enemie, who *outnumber'd him*," would tend to show, along with what Colonel O'Kelly represents the Irish officers as setting forth in their Council of War to the same effect, that a very different impression existed amongst the officers of King James's army, from that of *their* forces having been *more* numerous than those of General Ginkell.

Of the British and Anglo-Irish regiments and Huguenot regiments, in William III.'s pay, who served at the battle of Aughrim, the writer of this note has collected the complements, when *perfect*, in men and officers, from a great mass of official and original documents in Trinity College Library, Dublin, and the State Paper Office, and British Museum, London. Of the other, or foreign regiments, in William's pay, who likewise took part in that engagement, the writer has been able to collect, from the same sources, the complements, when *perfect*, of the soldiers *only*. Of the reformed officers, gentlemen supernumeraries, or volunteers, attached, during the Irish war, to any of the foregoing Williamite regiments, except to the three French infantry, one French cavalry regiment, and one Anglo-Irish, or Colonel John Michelburne's regiment, the writer has *not* found any regular account, and so far makes *no* allowance for such officers, although their entire number must have been pretty considerable,

[q] Major-General Dorrington, it may be also observed, could have no motive, connected with national vanity, to induce him to assert, that the Irish army were less in number than their opponents, since he was *not* a native of Ireland, but of England.

rable, since Story, in his table of what forces William had with him at Finglas, after the Boyne, gives us 483 reformed officers[r]. Neither has the writer found the morning states of General Ginkell's army for the day of the battle of Aughrim, which would show the exact number of men and officers on the field, or absent. But, giving the foreign regiments, above referred to, the same arithmetical *proportion* of officers, to the number of their soldiers, as the British regiments had, and supposing all the regiments, British and foreign, at Aughrim, to have had their perfect complements of officers and soldiers, according to *such* evidence, those regiments of infantry, horse, and dragoons, were by NATION, and *would be* by NUMBER, thus:

INFANTRY.—Ten British regiments; four Northern or Anglo-Irish regiments; three French or Huguenot regiments; four Dutch, or on Dutch pay, regiments; six Danish regiments. *Total*, twenty-seven infantry regiments, making, *if* perfect, about 24,495 officers and soldiers[s].

HORSE.—Six British regiments; one Northern or Anglo-Irish regiment; one French or Huguenot regiment; eight Dutch regiments; three Danish regiments. *Total*, nineteen horse regiments, making, *if* perfect, about 6837 officers and soldiers[t].

DRAGOONS.—One British regiment; two Northern or Anglo-Irish regiments, with the exception of an imperfect troop from each absent in Ulster, therefore leaving fourteen troops, between both regiments, for Aughrim; one Dutch regiment. *Total*, two dragoon regiments, and fourteen troops, making, *if* perfect, about 2607 officers and soldiers[u].

Consequently, General Ginkell's infantry regiments for Aughrim, giving, *if* perfect, about 24,495 infantry; his horse regiments giving, *if* perfect, about 6837 horse; his dragoon regiments

[r] Impartial History, &c., pp. 95, 97.

[s] Soldiers, 20,320; Officers, about 4175.

[t] Soldiers, 5568; Officers, about 1269.

[u] Soldiers, 2120; Officers, about 487.

The great diversity of nations in William III.'s army at the Boyne has been already referred to in Note 122; and the like diversity will be observed here, in his force at Aughrim. Indeed, down to the conclusion of that Monarch's reign, the British Armies contained more foreigners than British subjects. Thus, in January, 1701, when the English "House of Commons," according to the famous John, Duke of Marlborough, "voted such an Addition as would make up His Majesty's Quota, or Proportion of Land Forces to act in Conjunction with the Allies, the compleat Number of 40,000 Men," the Duke adds, "the Number of the King's natural born Subjects, which made a Part of the said 40,000 Men, amounted to no more than 18,328 Men, or thereabouts"—i. e. *not* half.

Of the Irish, on the other hand, the English writer, Forman, remarks: "It was an *entire, unmixed* body of *Irish* that fought us at *Aghrim*, tho' under the command of a *French* General, as our army was commanded by a *Dutch* one; and, without the interposition of Providence, would have overthrown, in one day, the work of 500 years; and destroyed the *English* interest in *Ireland*, which had cost so many hundred thousand lives, and so immense a treasure, to bring it to the condition it then was in." And yet, he adds of the Irish, "tho' they behaved themselves so well in that battle, they were but in very indifferent circumstances to do so."—(The Answer of John, Duke of Marlborough, Defendant, to the Information of Sir Edward Northey, Kt. Her Majesty's Attorney-General, Informant, in The Information against the Duke of Marlborough and his Answer, pp. 12, 14.—A Defence of the Courage, Honour, and Loyalty of the Irish Nation, in Answer to the Scandalous Reflections of the Free Briton, &c., by Charles Forman, Esq., p. 42: 5th edit. Dublin, 1767.)

ments and troops giving, *if* perfect, about 2607 dragoons; and both horse and dragoons *so* forming between them about 9444 cavalry: the GRAND TOTAL of his officers and soldiers, infantry, horse and dragoons, *would*, under such circumstances, be 33,939 men—*besides* those connected with the artillery.

In this summary of the number of General Ginkell's army for Aughrim, the soldiers would be 28,008, and the officers about 5931. The military duties to be elsewhere discharged in the country, either in garrisons, or by detachments, were intrusted to a numerous and well armed Anglo-Irish militia, or yeomanry, and to the fifteen remaining regiments of regular infantry, and two regiments and two troops of regular cavalry, that, with the forty-eight regiments and fourteen troops of Ginkell's army at Aughrim, would make up the total of William III.'s regular forces in Ireland for the year 1691, as stated by Story at sixty-seven regiments of the line—*exclusive* of men connected with the artillery.

If to the preceding citations from the authorities of BOTH sides, it be added, that General Ginkell's immediate force are allowed on all hands to have been put into as complete or efficient a condition as their Government could put them; that, during the campaign, which, commencing at Ballymore on the 7th of June, had, up to the battle of Aughrim, on the 12th of July, lasted but thirty-five days, the weather is mentioned to have generally been warm, or healthy; and, moreover, that up to the day of the battle, Ginkell is not alleged to have lost, on the whole, so many as 600 men; if all these facts be duly connected, and allowed for, a sufficiently *probable*, if not a numerically exact, conclusion may be arrived at, as to which of the two armies was *likely* to have had the larger amount of men, upon the field of Aughrim?

With regard to the three French Protestant regiments of foot and one of horse, which Colonel O'Kelly speaks of as "a considerable Party of *Protestants* out of *France*, bread up to Arms, and inured to Warr," the Colonel's eulogium was well merited by them, throughout this contest. Respecting William III.'s four French regiments in Ireland, Marshal Schonberg, writing to the King from Lisburn, January 9th, 1690, observes, "De ces trois regiments, et de celuy de cavallerye, votre Majesté en tire plus de service, que du double des autres." And, with reference to the general behaviour of those Huguenot corps at Aughrim, a contemporary Williamite writer, advocating, in 1697, the settlement of French Protestants in Ireland, enforces his argument by remarking: "I'm sure there must be at least as much Reason for trusting them to live in *Ireland* now, as there was for using their Assistance against Monsieur *St. Ruth* at the Battle of *Aghrim;* and none, I think, will deny, that they behav'd themselves very well there"[v].

NOTE 229,

[v] Story's Continuation of the History of the Wars of Ireland, preface, and pp. 71, 72, 75, 77, 78, 80, 82, 91, 92, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 116, 120, 121, 137, 316, 317.—London Gazette, No. 2680.—Burnet's History of his Own Time, vol. ii. p. 46: Dublin, 1734.—Relation de la Campagne d'Irlande en l'Année MDCXCI. sous le Commandement de M. le Général de Ginkel, par M. de la Brune, pp. 41, 52, 53, 58: Amsterdam, 1693.—Mercure Historique & Politique, tome xi. p. 209: La Haye, 1691.—Captain Parker's Memoirs, p. 25.—Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 456, 457.—Colonel O'Kelly as hereafter.—Ferrar's History of Limerick, and O'Halloran's Intro-

Note 229, Pages 130–131.

The opinion of Sarsfield and his supporters (as set forth at length by Colonel O'Kelly, and noticed by King James), having been that which then appeared the most rational, as well as the most general, was not opposed, at the time, by St. Ruth.

In connexion with the course of action, represented in the text to have been suggested by Sarsfield and his friends in the Council of War, held by the Irish to debate on what was best to be done, after the fall of Athlone, King James's Memoirs, having premised how the foot was reduced by desertion and marauding from 17,000 to about 11,000 men, add: "Some, therefore, advised passing the Shannon at Banacker, which would haue brought in all the maroders, who durst not stay behind, and by that means cut betwixt the Enemie and Dublin, made them masters of the plentifull province of Limster, and encreased the Army to 50,000 men, nor could the Enemy have follow'd with *their cannon*, in which *consisted their great superiority and advantage;* besides they must haue diminished by garisons as well as other accidents, and to be sure delay would haue been more ruinous to Strangers than to the Natiues: the only objection against this, was leaveing Galway uncover'd, but it could not be presumed that for the sake of that Town, the Enemie would have abandoned Dublin, besides all the Country was eaten up about it"[w].

Note 230, Page 131.

St. Ruth, having ridden to Aughrim, was so pleased with the favourable nature of the position, that he transferred his army thither, and encamping on the hill of Aughrim, resolved, contrary to his previous intention, to stay there, and give battle to Ginkell.

The royal Memoirs, respecting this choice of a position at Aughrim by the French General, say briefly: "Mons[r]. S. Ruth being a little piqued at the late disgrace[x], resolved to wait for the Enemie at Acrim which he found an advantagious post, so encamp'd himself there in two lines upon a riseing ground, with a bog before him, on which there was but two passes, the one at

duction, &c., part iii. chap. v. p. 274, &c., as cited in Note 195.—Dr. King's State of the Protestants of Ireland, &c., appendix, pp. 276, 277: Dublin, 1713. — Letter of Israel Fielding, Esq., from Dublin Castle, July 18th, 1691, to George Clarke, Esq., in MS. Correspondence, Trinity College Library, Dublin. — Table of the Regiments of Infantry, Horse, and Dragoons in the Army of William III. in Ireland, in the year 1691, compiled from State Papers in Trinity College Library, Dublin, State Paper Office, and British Museum, London, &c.— An Account of the Transactions in the North of Ireland, Anno Domini 1691, &c., p. 2.—Letter of the Williamite Lord Chancellor and Lord Justice for Ireland, Sir Charles Porter, from Dublin, June 17th, 1691, in State Paper Office, London.—Dalrymple's Memoirs, vol. ii. appendix, part ii. pp. 60-61: London, 1773.—The True Way to render Ireland Happy and Secure, &c. (as cited in full, Note 166), p. 18.

[w] Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. p. 456.

[x] At Athlone.

at the old Castle of Acrim on the left of the foot, the other about three hundred yards advanced from the right."

"We advanced," observes the Williamite Chaplain, under the date of the 11th of July, 1691, "to the Hills of *Corbally*[y], whence we could take a View of the Enemies Camp, which lay on the other side *Aghrim* Castle, three Miles beyond *Balynasloe*, and extended it self from the Church of *Kilcommodon*, on their Right, to a Place called *Gourtnapory*, above two Miles in Length: on their Left ran a small Brook, having steep Hills and little Boggs on each Side, next to which was a large Red Bogg, almost a Mile over, at the End of which stood the Castle of *Aghrim*, Commanding the Way to their Camp, passable for Horse, no where but just at the Castle, by reason of a small River, which running through a moist Ground, made the whole a Morass or Bogg, which extended it self all along to the Enemies Right, where was also another Pass called *Urachree*, having a rising Ground on each Side of it; the Enemies Camp lay along the Ridge of an Hill, on the Side of which stood two *Danish* Forts, from thence to the Bogg below was nigh Half a Mile, and this cut into a great many small Enclosures, which the Enemy had ordered so as to make a Communication from one of them to another, and had lined all those very thick with Small Shot; this shewed a great deal of Dexterity in Monsieur St. *Ruth*, in making Choice of such a Piece of Ground as Nature it self could not furnish him with a better, considering all Circumstances; for he knew that the *Irish* naturally loved a Breast-work between them and Bullets[z], and here they were fitted to the Purpose, with Hedges and Ditches to the very Edge of the Bog."

"The Frenchman," remarks a late intelligent tourist, "determined to show here, that he knew how to choose a good defensive battle-field—and certainly (speaking, as I confess I do, as a mere civilian) I may say, that, not in Ireland, could a better position be selected. I have been at Waterloo—at Culloden—at Oldbridge—those great fields where the fate of religions, empires, and dynasties, were decided, and none of them can at all be compared to Kilcomedan." That is, the great central eminence of St. Ruth's encampment, in front of which was the morass, impracticable to cavalry, and, on his right and left, the two passes of Urrachree and Aughrim[a].

Note 231, Page 131.

Aughrim was then but a ruined town, and the Castle, which was not much better, stood in a valley to the north side of the hill, where the Irish army encamped; the direct way from Ballinasloe being close by the Castle, &c.

"The Place where this Battle was fought," says Story, "will make a Noise in History for the Future, tho there's Nothing worth taking Notice of near it: For that which they call the Castle of *Aghrim* is only an old ruinous Building, with some Walls and Ditches about it, and

[y] Garbally.

[z] Query, were the Irish *peculiar* in this?

[a] Memoirs of K. James II., vol. ii. p. 456.—Story, Cont. Hist. pp. 122, 126, 128, with Plan of Battle, pp. 134-135.—Rev. C. Otway's Tour in Connaught, pp. 132, 133: Dublin, 1839.

and never has been a Place of any Strength, only as it's seated upon a Pass. There are about Half a Score little Cabbins on the other Side a small Brook, with the Ruins of a little Church and a Priory dedicated to *St. Catherine*, and founded by the *Butlers;* the whole being at this Day the Estate of the D. of *Ormond.*"

Like other battles, however, that have had different appellations given them,—such as Culloden, which, though so named by the conquerors, was known to the Highlanders as the battle of Drummossie Moor,—or such as Waterloo, which, though so denominated by the English, was styled in France the battle of Mont St. Jean,—the battle of Aughrim, as it is called in those islands, is the "bataille de Kilconnel" of the French writers. It was thus entitled from the old Abbey of Kilconnell, to the left of the Irish position, originally a magnificent structure, "the ruins of which still remain in good preservation," says Mr. O'Donovan, and which, he informs us, was founded, in 1353, by the famous William Boy O'Kelly, Chief of Hy-Many[b]. See, also, Note 240.

NOTE 232, Page 131.

Ginkell's army came, July 12th, in sight of Aughrim, where St. Ruth immediately drew up the Irish forces, consisting of 10,000 *foot,* 2000 *men at arms* (*or horse*), *and the same number of light horse* (*or dragoons*).

"On Sunday the 12th of july," observe the royal Memoirs, "the Enemy advanced with their foot in collums to the bog side, while their hors took a great round to flank the right." Respecting the above enumeration by Colonel O'Kelly of James's army at Aughrim, referred to in Note 228, it has been intimated there, that, by those the Colonel designates "light Horse," he meant "dragoons," from his mentioning them as distinct from the infantry, and next to, though after, the "Men at Arms," or "horse." The "dragoons," having to do duty on foot as well as on horseback, were *lighter* troops than the "horse," in those times. As regards pay, the "horse and dragoons," being both cavalry, received more than the infantry, though, the pay of the "horse" being the highest of all, they were named before the dragoons, in speaking of cavalry[c].

NOTE 233,

[b] Story's Continuation, &c., p. 136, and Plan last referred to.—Jacobite Minstrelsy; with Notes illustrative of the Text, and containing Historical Details in relation to the House of Stuart from 1640 to 1784, pp. 255, 256, 267, 299: Glasgow, 1829.—Memoirs of Napoleon Buonaparte, by M. de Bourrienne, vol. iv. pp. 170-174: English translation, London, 1836.—Père Daniel, Histoire de France dépuis l'Etablissement de la Monarchie Françoise dans les Gaules, &c., tome x. p. clxiij: Amsterdam, 1729. — L'Art de Vérifier les Dates, &c., p. 604: Paris, 1770. — O'Donovan's Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many, pp. 103-105: Dublin, 1843.

[c] Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 456, 457.—Macpherson's Original Papers, vol. i. p. 307: Dublin, 1775.—Harris's Life of William III., pp. 219, 223.—Rawdon Papers, p. 353.

Note 233, Page 132.

When Ginkell had so far advanced, that his whole train of artillery could act with effect, he ordered it to open fire, and, as he had a vast number of guns with him, he directed them to play incessantly upon the Irish; hoping thereby to drive them from the hill, which was of great advantage.

On the Williamite engraved "Plan of the Battle of Aghrim," General Ginkell is represented as having *four* batteries planted against the Irish position; *two* of those batteries to play from his centre upon the Irish centre, over the bog between both; and the *two* other batteries upon his right wing against the Irish left wing at Aughrim. Of the total amount of Ginkell's guns, we only know, that they were more than the Irish had, from the number which one of Ginkell's officers, Major Robert Tempest, informs us were with the English right wing *alone* towards Aughrim. The Major, having stated how his General ordered the advance, "upon the right wing," of "the horse and foot," adds: "and 12 pieces of cannon, which were come up by this time, and played upon the enemy." But while, in addition to these twelve pieces, marked in the Plan as *two* batteries, Ginkell had *two* other batteries, or those in his centre[d], St. Ruth had, on the whole, but nine field-pieces. "The only thing which St. Ruth wanted to give him the full advantage of such a situation," remarks Dalrymple of the Irish position, "was cannon: but he had only *nine* field-pieces with him." These guns are marked, in the Williamite engraved "Plan," as forming but *two* batteries, or half the number of Ginkell's, represented, as has been said, at *four*.

With reference to the hopes alleged to have been placed by the Williamite General in the effects of his artillery upon the Irish, King James, after mentioning the first advance of the English towards the Irish position, says: "They had no positive design to come to a general action, but to try the countenance of the King's army, and to drive them, if possible, from that post *with their cannon*, but," adds the King, "being once engaged and encouraged by their former success, soon brought it to a decisive point." And this assertion of the royal Memoirs, as to there having been "no positive design to come to a general action" at first, on the part of the enemy, is confirmed by Major Tempest, who says of Ginkell: "The General, advancing forward upon a hill to take a view of the enemy, an outguard of theirs appeared, upon which he ordered some dragoons to march towards them, and horse to follow; but *not* to engage the enemy. Yet, however, the dragoons (being too forward) advanced up, and fired upon them: they

[d] If Ginkell's two batteries of the centre each consisted of the same number of pieces, as the two batteries on the Aughrim side appear to have consisted of, or six guns each, he *would* have altogether a train of twenty-four cannon in the action. But it were to be wished that we had more exact information as to the amount of guns Ginkell actually *had* on the field, which would *seem* to have been many more than twenty-four, from King James's allusion to them in this Note, as well as in Note 229, combined with Colonel O'Kelly's designation of them as "a *vast* Number."

they returned the like," &c. Then the Williamite Major gives the result of this movement, and of the battle in general, in his letter, remarking in the postscript: "One thing in the above is observable, which is, that if the dragoons had obeyed their orders, and not have fired and fallen upon the enemy, which was positively against the General's orders, the battle had not been. Such small accidents sometimes hazard great bodies"[e].

Note 234, Page 132.

The Irish, encouraged by the presence and conduct of St. Ruth, kept their ground, and beat the English, as often as they advanced towards them.

The contemporary Williamite letter in the Rawdon Papers, from "Dublin, the 15th July, 1691," to Narcissus Luttrel, Esq., commencing, "On this moment we have, by an express from the General, the happy and blessed news, that on Sunday night, the 12th instant, our army engaged the Irish," &c., observes upon the obstinacy of the contest: "The combat lasted with great bravery near 3 hours; our men being obliged to attack them from trench to trench, which they had thrown up for their advantage, having a bog on both sides to cover them. Never was an attack made with more bravery and courage, and never was it known that the Irish fought with more resolution."

King James's Memoirs assert, on the resistance of *his* army to the English: "The Irish considering that this was like to proue the last effort for restablishing the King's authority, and secureing the estates and liberties of an oppressed people, expected them with great constancy, and convinced the English troops, they had to doe with men no less resolute than themselves; so that never was assault made with greater fury, or sustain'd with greater obstinacy, especially by the foot, who not only mentain'd their posts and defended the hedges with great valour, but repulsed the enemie several times, particularly in the center, and took some prisoners of distinction; in so much that they looked upon the victory as in a manner certain, and St Ruth was in a transport of joy to see the foot of which he had so mean an opinion behaue themselves so well, and performe action worthy of a better fate."

Mac Geoghegan adds, respecting this delight of the French General, and the cause of it: "L'infanterie royale fit des prodiges de valeur, elle poussa trois fois celle des ennemis jusqu'à leur canon; & on prétend qu'à la troisième fois le Général Saint-Ruth en fut si content, qu'il jetta en l'air son chapeau pour exprimer sa joie."

On the same points, thus spoken of by the King and the Jacobite Abbé, the Williamite Chaplain, Story, alleges: "Mons. *St. Ruth*, when he first saw our Foot in the Centre repulsed, in a great Ecstasy, told those next him, *that he wou'd now beat our Army back to the Gates of Dublin.*"

The Williamite official account of the battle in the *London Gazette*, after stating, that "the

[e] Story's Continuation, &c., pp. 134-135.—Rawdon Papers, pp. 352-355.—Dalrymple's Memoirs, vol. iii. part ii. book vi. p. 159: London, 1790.—Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. p. 457.

"the Irish were never known to fight with more Resolution," observes, "especially their Foot."

The contemporary Huguenot or Williamite Mercure, referring to the relations given of the behaviour of the Irish army in general at Aughrim, likewise alludes, more particularly, to the gallantry which the infantry were mentioned to have displayed: "On leur rend," it says, "ce témoignage, qu'ils se battirent en gens de cœur, & que leur infanterie sur tout fit des merveilles."

The famous Chevalier Charles Wogan, nephew of the Duke of Tyrconnell, noticing, in 1734, the conduct of his countrymen in this engagement, adverts to it as one which, "till the sudden fall of their General (St. Ruth), was fought with more bravery on their side, than any battle had been, perhaps, for some centuries past, by any people, under equal disadvantages"[f].

Note 235, Page 132.

The fight continued from noon till sunset.

The particulars supplied by the Williamite Chaplain, Story, as to the time during which the battle of Aughrim lasted, are the following. He states, in reference to the first approach of Ginkell against the Irish position, which was by *his* left wing, and opposite *their* right wing, on the side of the pass of Urrachree, that, on account of "the Morning proving Foggy," the Williamite "Army stood still till *nigh* 12 *a Clock*," when they "were Commanded to Advance, the General going with a Party before to view the Enemy, and perceiving some of their out Scouts upon the Hills, ordered a Party to beat them from thence," &c. Story goes on to describe some of the Williamite cavalry movements with an out-post of Danes, and part of Conyngham's Dragoons, against Urrachree, while the main army continued to march forwards, by which time, he says, "it was *Two a Clock*." He proceeds with the continuation of Ginkell's cavalry movements against the Irish in the same direction, by part of Conyngham's Dragoons, by Eppinger's Dragoons, and the greater portion of the Earl of Portland's Horse Guards; which movements are described as terminating "after *about an hour's dispute*," or, in other words, *about three o'clock*. He next informs us, how, as "all Things seemed pretty quiet for a while," the Williamite "General Officers coming together, began to consult whether it was fit to give the Enemy Battel that Night," &c. Of this consultation, he gives us to understand, that it lasted till "about *Half an Hour past Four* in the Afternoon," when, he says, still speaking in reference to the Urrachree side, "a Part of our Left Wing moved towards the Enemy, and *by Five* the Battel began a fresh,"—occasioning, amongst the hedges lined by the Irish infantry, "great Firing on both Sides," that "continued on the Left *nigh an Hour and*

[f] Rawdon Papers, pp. 419-420. — Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. p. 457.—Mac Geoghegan, Histoire de l'Irlande, tome iii. p. 746.— Story's Continuation, &c., p. 133.—London Gazette, No. 2680.—Mercure Historique et Politique, tome xi. p. 208: La Haye, 1691. — Dean Swift's Works, vol. xvii. pp. 417, 418, 447, 450: Scott's edition, 1824.—Notes 228 and 233.

and a Half, e're the *Right* of our Army, or the *Centre* engaged, except with their Cannon." This "*nigh an Hour and an Half,*" according to the previously mentioned renewal of the action by "*five*" o'clock, would postpone the general engagement, or that between the wings and centres of the two armies, until *about half-past six.* The Williamite Chaplain's narrative of those subsequent portions of the engagement between the respective centres, and the opposite wings at Aughrim (as well as at Urrachree) which made the action a general one, supplies no particulars as to time, until, having related the fall of St. Ruth, and the pursuit of the Irish troops of the centre, and of the wing at Aughrim towards Loughreagh, he returns to what was doing at Urrachree, where the Irish *last* maintained their ground. Then he says: "*During all this Stir, and Noise, on the Right and Centre of the Army,* those towards our *Left,* that first Engaged, kept their Ground, and not much Action happened *there* for *near two Hours past;* nor did the *Danish* Horse and Foot, that were on the Left of all, disturb the Enemy as yet, but stood opposite to several Bodies of Horse and Foot, that faced them on the other Side the small Brook. But . . . . they then engaged them, and for *about Half an Hour* there was pretty hot Work. But the Enemy, being then in a declining Condition, and pressed hard on all Sides, they fled all out of the Field. . . . . Their Horse were pursued nigh three Miles; but *the Night coming on,* with a thick Misty Rain, prevented us from getting between them and a very Advantageous Pass, nigh *Loughreagh,*" &c. By the computation of "*near two Hours*" having passed in comparative inactivity on the side of Urrachree "*during all this Stir, and Noise, on the Right and Centre of the Army,*" which, as has been stated, did not begin on the said right and centre until *half past six o'clock,* the period of "*near two Hours,*" and the additional one of "*about Half an Hour*" of "pretty hot Work," would make the Irish *not* to have been defeated finally, or on their right at Urrachree, as well as elsewhere, until *about nine o'clock,* and perhaps somewhat later, as would appear by the mention of "*Night coming on,*" at that time of the year, which, according to our present mode of computation, was the 22nd of July.

The commencement of the *general* engagement between the two armies is assigned to the same time as Story assigns it, or *about half-past six o'clock* in the evening, by De la Brune. "On donna le signal de la bataille," he observes, "*environ les six heures & demie,* au quel temps *toute l'armée Angloise* sortit de derrière des rideaux où elle étoit, & *s'avanca vers les ennemis.*" And, as to the cavalry of the Irish right at Urrachree, described by Story as the *last* of the Irish army that kept the field, or, as De la Brune designates it, "la cavalerie qui composoit l'aile droite des ennemis," the Huguenot writer says, that "enfin après *environ trois heures de combat,* elle *commença* à prendre la fuite, ce qui fut un signal assuré de la défaite des rebelles." According to the period above cited, as that at which he reckons the battle or general engagement to have begun,—that is, *about half-past six in the evening,*—this *commencement* of the flight of the Irish horse from Urrachree after *a combat of about three hours,* would have taken place at *about half-past nine.* And what the same authority alleges, concerning the want of more day-light to follow up the pursuit of the Irish army, seems in accordance with *his* previous assertions, on the other points in question. "On la poursuivit," he observes, "mais *la*

nuit

nuit étant survenuë, on ne put la poursuivre que *fort peu de temps*[g], ce qui empêcha qu'*elle ne fut tout à fait défaite.*"

Reckoning, as it appears, from the beginning of the general engagement, though not specifying at what *hour* that began, the contemporary Dutch account of the battle in French says of the Irish: "Ils *commencerent* à fuir de*t outes* partes, après avoir combatu *environ trois heures.*"

The letter from Dublin of July 15th, 1691, to Narcissus Luttrel, cited in Note 234, *likewise* without particularizing the hour when the general engagement commenced, alleges, that "the combat lasted with great bravery *near* 3 *hours.*"

The Williamite Secretary, John Davis, writing to Colonel John Michelburne from "Dublin Castle, the 15th of July, 1691," and premising, "This Morning by an Express we have an Account of a very great Victory gained over the Enemy, the Particulars whereof are as followeth," says: "*About six of the Clock* on *Sunday* in the Evening, the *Battel began* at a Place call'd *Aghrim* in the County of *Gallway*;" and he adds: "The *Battel lasted about* 3 *Hours*, and had not *the Night overtaken us*, in all Probability the Slaughter had been much greater, we persued the Enemy 5 Miles"[h], &c. Since Davis, as Secretary to the Williamite Lords Justices for Ireland, must have read the original express from Ginkell, respecting his victory, to the Castle, this letter of the Secretary to Colonel Michelburne may so far be considered to embody Ginkell's own statements, or those of his Secretary, George Clarke, respecting the *hour* the general engagement commenced, and the time which elapsed, before it was terminated by the defeat of the *last* body of the Irish who stood their ground, or the cavalry on the side of Urrachree.

Major Tempest and Captain Dunbar, both in Ginkell's army at the battle, and, as it appears, on the English right wing, directed against the pass of Aughrim, where the Irish *first* gave way, assign to the same hour as Secretary Davis's letter does, or to *about* 6 *o'clock*, the beginning of the general engagement between the two armies. The Major's words are, after describing the preliminary operations, "at *six in the evening* begun the fight." The Captain, after a similar preliminary, says it commenced "*about six at night.*" The Major mentions nothing further as to time. The Captain informs us, that, "on the right," or, as previously observed, where he and the Major appear to have been, "the dispute lasted very sharply for *about two hours or more*, and then," he adds, "we had the slaughtering of them for four miles"[i], &c. The words "*or more*" applied to what is stated as a "*two hours*'" very sharp dispute even on the Aughrim side, will very readily allow of the lapse of a *third*, or *about a third hour*, before the completion of Ginkell's victory on the other wing, at Urrachree.

In

[g] A manuscript account of the battle on the Jacobite side, or one mentioned to be taken from the description of an Irish soldier who fought there under St. Ruth, would tend to confirm De la Brune's assertion, as to the shortness of the pursuit. See authorities to Note 97, p. 313.

[h] The above figure of 5 would seem, from Story, to be a misprint, for a figure of 3.

[i] Story, as before cited, says only "*nigh* three Miles."

In fine, from the *main* tenor of the preceding evidence, it would appear, that, with the exception of the fighting on the side of Urrachree, which began, more or less, so early as between twelve and one o'clock, the general engagement between the two armies did not take place till *about six in the evening*, and that it lasted for *about three hours* before ALL the Irish were driven from the field, or till *about nine in the evening*,—though De la Brune makes the period of "about three hours" to have been, from *about half-past six*, to *about half-past nine*[j].

NOTE 236, Page 132.

The Irish infantry had still the better of the enemy.

"The Battel," says the Williamite Secretary, Davis, "was chiefly (by reason of the Bogs) between the Foot on both Sides."

Describing the resistance of the infantry of the Irish right, or Urrachree, wing, first attacked upon the renewal of the battle in that quarter by Ginkell, about 5 o'clock, Story states: "A Party of our Foot marched up to their Ditches, all strongly guarded with Musketiers, and their Horse posted advantageously to sustain them: here we fired one upon another for a considerable Time, and the *Irish* behaved themselves *like Men of another Nation*[k], defending their

[j] Story's Continuation, &c., pp. 126, 127, 128, 129-134, 135.— De la Brune, &c., pp. 52, 57, 58, 59.—Mercure Historique et Politique, tome xi. pp. 206-208.— Letter cited in Note 234. — Secretary Davis's Letter to Colonel Michelburne, in Account of the Transactions in the North of Ireland, Anno Domini, 1691, &c., pp. 11, 12.—George Clarke's Manuscript Correspondence, Trinity College Library, Dublin, and Official Correspondence in State Paper Office, London, *passim*.—Letters of Captain Dunbar and Major Tempest in Rawdon Papers, pp. 349, 350, 352, 353-355.

[k] In opposition to this favourite *theory* among a certain class of British writers, as to the Irish being a people deficient in courage, Story's countryman, Forman, observes: "The *Romans*, with an handful of men, in comparison of the *Britons*, conquered the greatest part of the island of *Britain*, and kept possession of it four hundred years. Most of what the *Romans* possessed fell afterwards to the share of the *Saxons*. The *Irish*, who were called *Scots* until the tenth century, likewise conquered *North-Britain*, or *Albany*, to which they gave the name of *Scotland*, and destroyed the *Pictish* kingdom: Yet no author ever yet called either the *Britons* or the *Picts* cowards, because they lost their country. The *English* were subdued by the *Danes*, and groaned under the yoke of three," (or rather four,) "successive *Danish* Kings. They had hardly recovered their liberty, when the Duke of *Normandy* also, with an army much inferior to King *Harold's* in number, conquered all *England* in one day, and kept it in bondage until he died. Would it be fair, nevertheless, in a *Dane* or a *Norman*, to say, from these events, that the *English* wanted courage, or that they were infamous for cowardice, whenever they fought against those nations? Such a proceeding in them would be to make a satire upon themselves; since there cannot possibly be any honour acquired in overcoming a coward. For this reason," adds Forman to his opponent, "you ought to ask pardon of your countrymen, for the affront you have given them, in telling the world, *it was with a parcel of mere paltrons, divided among themselves, and parcelled out into several petty principalities, that the English were struggling and fighting five hundred years, before they could become entire masters of Ireland.* But," he concludes, "I let that pass, because passion and spleen got the better of your judgment, and tumbled you headlong into a blun-

their Ditches stoutly; for they would maintain one Side, till our Men put their Pieces over at the other, and then having Lines of Communication, from one Ditch to another, they would presently post themselves again, and flank us."

According to the extract from the Williamite Chaplain, given in the last Note, "this occasioned great Firing on both Sides," while Ginkell's arrangements were going on to bring into action the rest of the two armies, or their respective centres, and the opposite wings at Aughrim. Nor, until "near two Hours," reckoned, as has been seen, from *about half-past six*, or, in other words, until *about half-past eight o'clock*, does Story claim any greater advantage for Ginkell's troops at Urrachree, than that, as he says, "those towards our Left, that first Engaged, *kept their Ground*,"—and, it may be added, were only able, at most, to do so there until *after* the death of St. Ruth, as will appear from Captain Parker, and a comparison of the preceding particulars, as to time, with the period to which Colonel O'Kelly assigns the fall of the French General.

Of Ginkell's infantry attack across the bog, from his centre, upon that portion of St. Ruth's centre nearest to Urrachree, Story gives this account: "Colonel *Earl*, Colonel *Herbert*, Colonel *Creighton*, and Colonel *Brewer's* Regiments went over at the narrowest Place, where the Hedges, on the Enemies Side, run furthest into the Bogg. These four Regiments were ordered to march to the lowest of the Ditches, adjoining to the Side of the Bogg, and there to post themselves, till our Horse could come about by *Aghrim* Castle, and sustain them, and till the other Foot had marched over the Bogg below, where it was broader, and were sustained by Col. *Foulk's*, and Brigadeer *Steuart's*. Col. *Earl* advanced with his Regiment, and the Rest after him, over the Bogg, and a Rivulet that ran through it, being most of them up to their Middles in Mudd and Water. The *Irish*, at their near Approach to the Ditches, fired upon them, but our Men contemning all Disadvantages, advanced immediately to the lowest Hedges, and beat the *Irish* from thence. The Enemy however did not retreat far, but posted themselves in the next Ditches before us: which our Men seeing, and disdaining to suffer their Lodging so near us, they would needs beat them from thence also, and so from one Hedge to another, till they were got very nigh the Enemies main Battel. But the *Irish* had so ordered the Matter, as to make an easie Passage for their Horse, amongst all those Hedges and Ditches, by which they poured in great Numbers both of Horse and Foot upon us: which Colonel *Earl* seeing, encouraged his Men, by advancing before them, and saying, *There was no Way to come off but to be Brave.* As great an Example of true Courage and Generosity as any Man this Day living. But being both flanked and fronted, as also exposed to all the Enemies Shot from the adjacent Ditches; our Men were forced to quit their Ground and betake themselves to the Bogg again, whither they were followed, or rather drove down by main Strength of Horse and Foot, and a great many killed. Colonel *Earl*, and Colonel *Herbert*,

der, from which a little good-nature, and the least share imaginable of common sense, would have saved you." See Note 284.—(A Defence of the Courage, Honour, and Loyalty of the Irish Nation, &c., by Charles Forman, Esq., pp. 27-29: Dublin, 1767.)

Herbert, were here taken Prisoners; the former, after twice taking and retaking, got free at last[l], tho not without being wounded."

Of Ginkell's other infantry attack, across the bog, from his centre, upon that portion of St. Ruth's centre, farther away from Urrachree, and nearer to Aughrim, the same Williamite authority says, in reference to that last cited: "Whilst this was a doing here, Col. St. *Johns*, Col. *Tiffin*, Lord *George Hambleton*, the *French*[m], and several other Regiments, were marching over below upon the same Bogg. The *Irish*, in the mean Time, laid so close in their Ditches, that several were doubtful whether they had any Men at that Place or not: but they were convinced of it at last; for no sooner were the *French*, and the Rest, got within twenty Yards, or less, of the Ditches, but the *Irish* fired most furiously upon them; which our Men as bravely sustained, and pressed forwards, tho they could scarce see one another for Smoak. And now," he observes, "the Thing seemed so doubtful for some Time, that the By-standers would rather have given it on the *Irish* Side; for they had driven our Foot in the Centre so far back, that they were got almost in a Line with some of our Great Guns, planted near the Bogg, which we had not the Benefit of at that Juncture, because of the Mixture of our Men and theirs."

Captain Parker, who was present in Ginkell's army at the battle, adds of the Irish forces, previous and up to the death of St. Ruth: "They maintained their ground on the *right* and in the *center* with great obstinacy and resolution, and *repulsed our men in those places several times with considerable loss*"[n]. Nevertheless, owing to the circumstances to be mentioned in the next note, such success did not exist, as Colonel O'Kelly has supposed to have existed, "on ALL sides," or on the Irish *left* wing, at Aughrim, as well as in their centre, along Kilcomedan hill, and on their right wing, at Urrachree[o].

Note 237, Pages 132–133.

St. Ruth, observing the advantage on his side, and the considerable disorder of the enemy's infantry, resolved, by advancing with his cavalry, to render victory complete, when an unlucky cannon-shot, hitting him in the head, ended his life, and took away the courage of his army.

The circumstances alleged to have enabled the Williamite infantry and cavalry to get, the *former* over the morass to the firm or hedged ground at the foot of Kilcomedan hill occupied by the Irish, and the *latter* over the narrow, boggy causeway, or trench, through which, according to Major Tempest, horsemen could only pass one by one, or, according to Story, with great difficulty but two by two, and *that* under a fire of but thirty yards distance, as he tells us,

[l] See Note 241, p. 457.

[m] Story (as the writer of this note has elsewhere shown) was *wrong* in placing the French Protestant infantry regiments in this quarter of the field, or on Ginkell's right centre. They fought with his left wing, towards Urrachree.

[n] See Note 234, p. 443.

[o] Secretary Davis's Letter, as previously cited. —Story's Continuation, &c., pp. 128, 129, 130, 131. —Captain Parker's Memoirs, pp. 30, 31.

us, from the Castle of Aughrim with its outworks in the possession of the Irish, are thus mentioned by King James, and the Jacobite Abbé Mac Geoghegan[p]:

"It seems in the begining of the day," observe the royal Memoirs, "St. Ruth (perceiveing that *the enemie, who outnumber'd him*, stretched out their left so far that he fear'd being flank'd) order'd the second line of the left to march to the right; but he, who was to execute that order, caused a battallion of the first line to file off with the rest, supposeing the bog in the front would prevent the enemies advanceing, but they who stood in awe of that Battallion while it faced them, took courage when it was gon, and by the help of hurdles made a shift to get over the bog, and at the same time four Squadrons of the enemies hors, passing a causey, began to forme themselves on the other side of the defilé," &c.

Mac Geoghegan accounts as follows for the passage of the English cavalry by the Castle of Aughrim, where Colonel Walter Bourke of Turlough, County Mayo, was stationed; the same officer, by the way, afterwards so distinguished with his regiment in saving Cremona from Prince Eugene in February, 1702, and who died a Maréchal de Camp, or Major-General, in the service of France, in 1715.

Having premised, how advantageous the French General's position at Aughrim was, the Abbé says: "Le Château d'Aghrim, situé à la tête d'une chaussée, le seul endroit par où l'ennemi pouvoit aborder, masquoit son front: il étoit couvert d'un autre côté par un marais d'une grande étendue. Les ennemis, qui marchoient sur les traces des Royalistes, parurent le Lundi 22 du mois[q], à la vue du camp, & commencerent à défiler par la chaussée. Le Colonel Gautier Burke étoit posté avec son régiment dans le Château, pour disputer à l'ennemi le passage de la chaussée; mais une méprise, trop fatale à la cause qu'il vouloit défendre, le mit dans l'impossibilité de remplir son objet: ayant envoyé demander au camp les munitions dont il avoit besoin, on lui envoya quatre barils de poudre & autant de plomb; mais *au lieu de balles de fusils*, il ne trouva *que des boulets de canon qui lui étoient inutiles*[r], de sorte que *la cavalerie passa hardiment & sans crainte par la chaussée*, pendant que l'infanterie débouchoit par le marais;" &c.

Respecting the advance of the right wing of the English horse through the boggy causeway near the Castle of Aughrim, in order to get to the aid of their centre, and the death of St. Ruth, when approaching to attack those who had passed on that side, Story says: "The Right Wing of our Horse in the mean Time were making what Haste they could to succour our Foot; for seeing their Danger, and indeed that all was in Hazard by Reason of the Difficulty of the Pass, they did more than Men, in pressing and tumbling over a very dangerous Place, and that amongst *Showrs of Bullets*, from a Regiment of Dragoons and two Regiments of

[p] See Note 48, pp. 211-212.

[q] See Note 240.

[r] The writer of these notes has elsewhere remarked: "It is odd enough, that another Irish officer, Sir Charles Mac Carthy, who was cut off by the Ashantees, January 21st, 1824, should have been defeated by a similar sort of mistake; it being mentioned, in a letter from one of the surviving officers, that appeared in some of the papers of the day, that the kegs, supposed to contain ammunition, were found to have *macaroni*, instead of *powder*, in them!"

of Foot, posted conveniently under Cover, by the Enemy, to obstruct our Passage. Our Horse, at this Place, were sustained by Major General *Kirk's*, and Colonel *Gustavus Hambleton's* Foot, who after we had received the Ennemies Fire, for a considerable Time, marched under the Walls of the Castle, and Lodged themselves in a dry Ditch, in *the Throng of the Ennemies Shot from the Castle, and some other old Walls, and Hedges, adjoining*[r]. Those that have seen the Place, and considered the Disadvantages that our Men had at such a Juncture to encounter withal, must needs Acknowledge the Action very Brave. For it's reported, that Monsieur *St. Ruth*, seeing our Horse draw that Way, and then begin to scramble over at a Place where *only two a Breast could pass*[s], and *that too with great Difficulty;* after all which, *they had no other Way to march, but to go within thirty Yards of the Castle.* The *French* General seeing our men attempt to do this, askt *What they meant by it?* And being answered, That they would certainly endeavour to pass there, and Attack him on the Left; he is said to reply with an Oath, *They are brave Fellows, its a Pity they should be so exposed,* or Words to that Purpose. Our Horse, with much difficulty, made good that Pass; Sir *Francis Compton*, with my Lord of *Oxford's* Regiment, being one of the first that could be in a Posture to Engage, he fell at Random in amongst the Enemy, and charged them briskly, with Sword in Hand: and tho his Men were once or twice Repulsed, yet being seconded with Part of Major General *Ruvigny's* Horse, Colonel *Langston's* and some of Colonel *Byerley's* Horse, as also Brigadeer *Leveson's* Dragoons, they soon made Good their Party on that Side, tho' not without the Loss of several, both Men and Horses. . . . . But seeing our Horse press over towards the Castle, he (St. Ruth) ordered a Brigade of his own Horse to march up; then Riding to one of his Batteries, and giving Orders to the Gunner where to fire, he was marching towards the Place where he saw us indeavour to come over, but was killed with a great Shot from one of our Batteries, as he rid down the hill of *Killkomodon*, the Place where the main Stress of the Battle was fought, being just under the Enemies Camp. When Monsieur *St. Ruth* fell, one of his Retinue threw a Cloak upon his Corps, and soon after removed him beyond the Hill, his Guard going off at the same Time, which the *Irish* Horse perceiving, a great many of them drew off also. I never could learn," adds the Williamite Chaplain, "what became of his Corps, some say that he was left stript amongst the other Dead, when our Men pursued beyond the Hill; and others that he was thrown into a Bogg."

King James's Memoirs,—after the statement previously cited respecting the mistake in the withdrawal of an Irish battalion from the edge of the morass towards Aughrim, which enabled some of the English foot to get over, and the mention of the "four squadrons" of English horse there having likewise passed the boggy defile, and begun to form themselves upon the Irish side,—thus describe the circumstances of St. Ruth's death:

"Assoon as the General was informed of the fault that had been made, he order'd all the Cavalerie to march, puting himself at the head of it, which *being extream good would soon haue*

[r] Compare this assertion, and what follows, with the last-cited passage from Mac Geoghegan, as to the *want* of "balles de fusils" by the Irish.

[s] "Our horse," says Major Tempest, who makes the undertaking still *more* difficult, "passed a defile *one by one* through a boggy trench."

haue dispersed those few squadrons of the Enemie, who *as yet were but a formeing*, when by a cannon shot he was unfortunately kill'd, just as he was saying to those about him, *They are beaten, let us beat them to the purpose:* this accident caused a great confusion, and thō endeavours were made to conceal his death, yet the first Squadron of the life guard, who was next him, stoping upon it, the rest did the same and occasion'd a great delay, which the enemie tooke care to profit by, and passing in the intrim a considerable body of hors through the defiles, attack'd and broke both the lines of the Irish foot, the hors not advanceing in time to their assistance: but insteed of that, giveing all for lost, thought of nothing but saveing themselues, and so gaue an entire victory to the English"[1]. This is accounted for in next Note.

Note 238, Page 133.

The Irish cavalry, discouraged at St. Ruth's death, and none of the General Officers coming to head them at that place, gave back, and quitted the field.

Besides those cavalry, that the French General is mentioned, in the royal Memoirs, to have brought with him, for the intended charge, before which he was killed, we are told by Captain Parker, that "*St. Ruth* also had posted Lieutenant General *Sarsfield* with a reserve body of Horse in the rear of their (the Irish) center, *with positive directions not to stir from thence, until he received his orders.*" Then, after having mentioned the advance of St. Ruth to his *left* wing at Aughrim, to set matters to rights there, and his death, the Captain states: "*Sarsfield* was very punctual in observing *St. Ruth's* orders; for though he had several opportunities of doing great service, yet he would not stir from his post, *still expecting his General's orders.* At length he saw all was lost, and was then *obliged* to scamper off with the crowd, without striking one stroke, though he had *the greatest and best part of their Cavalry* with him."

A disagreement between Sarsfield and St. Ruth, at and for some time previous to the battle, —and which *may*, under such circumstances, have rendered it the more imperative on Sarsfield to observe that strict obedience to orders which would prevent his *venturing* to do anything on his own responsibility, until it was too late,—is affirmed to have contributed to the loss of the day by the Irish.

Harris, who mentions that quarrel to have been connected with the surprise of Athlone, and to have been, as regards the battle of Aughrim, "of fatal consequence to their cause," after observing of St. Ruth's death, "His fall dismayed his troops, and many of them drew off with his guards, who removed his body," adds, "*Sarsfield*, who should have commanded them, (and who, since the dispute at *Athlone*, was on the reserve with St. *Ruth*,) not knowing the order of battle."

The editor of the Rawdon Papers remarks to the same effect, on Monsieur de St. Ruth, the French

[1] Story's Continuation, &c., pp. 131, 132, 133, 134, 136, 137.—Rawdon Papers, pp. 352, 353, 354, 355.—Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 457, 458.—Mac Geoghegan, Histoire de l'Irlande, tome iii. pp. 746, 753.—Père Daniel, Histoire de France, &c., as cited in Note 231. — Archdall's Lodge's Peerage, vol. iii. p. 417. — Hibernia Dominicana, p. 318.

French General, having had his head shot off with a cannon ball: "As the order of battle had not been communicated to Sarsfield, who had not lived on friendly terms with the deceased, this commander was unable to form the proper dispositions, till the business was decided"[u].

Note 239, Page 133.

The foot, being engaged with the enemy, and thus kept from perceiving, either the death of the General, or the flight of the cavalry, remained fighting, till they were surrounded, &c.

Amongst these infantry, would appear to have been King James's Royal Regiment of Irish Foot Guards, respecting whose Colonel, Major General Dorrington, that was made prisoner, Israel Fielding's letter from the Castle, already cited, after observing "Dorrinton tells me our Army outnumbered theirs," adds, "and *St. Ruhe is not killed.*" To that fine regiment, whose complement was twenty-two companies of ninety soldiers each, or 1980 men, besides officers, the celebrated Doctor Alexius Stafford, Doctor of the Civil and Canon Laws, Dean of Christ Church, Master in Chancery, Member of Parliament, and Preacher to the King's Inns, was likewise Chaplain; and he fell in the engagement. Mr. Duhigg, the historian of the King's Inns, observes of Doctor Stafford: "His *voluntary services* and *heroic death* exact, even from a firm opponent to his political or religious creed, a ready belief of Stafford's personal virtue and humanity." And upon the conduct of the Chaplain of the Guards at Aughrim, Mr. Duhigg states: "*There* the genius of his country triumphed over professional habits; a peaceful preacher became a warlike chief; the awful ceremonies of religion were dispensed to a submissive flock, and their courage strengthened by an animating harangue. Then, with the crucifix in hand, Stafford passed through the line of battle, and pressed into the foremost ranks, loudly calling on his fellow-soldiers to secure the blessings of religion and property, by steadiness and attention to discipline, on that critical day. Success crowned his manly efforts, until death interrupted his glorious career; then, indeed, the infantry was panic-struck"[v].

Note 240, Page 133.

St. Ruth was killed about sunset.

In other words, as the day of the engagement was, by our present mode, or the "new" and correct "style" of reckoning, the 22nd of July, the French General was shot, about ten minutes past eight o'clock in the evening, at which time the sun would then set. The same day, or the 22nd of July, is connected, it may be observed, in our modern military history, with the celebrated

[u] Captain Parker's Memoirs, pp. 30, 31.—Harris's Life of William III., pp. 321, 326.—Rawdon Papers, p. 358.

[v] Israel Fielding's letter, &c., in Note 228.—Story's Impartial History, p. 97, and Continuation, pp. 31, 128, 137.—Rawdon Papers, p. 360.—Duhigg's History of the King's Inns, pp. 233, 238, 239, 351, &c.: Dublin, 1806.

brated defeat, in Spain, of Marshal Marmont, Duke of Ragusa, by the Duke of Wellington, at the battle of Salamanca, or the Arapilès[w], in 1812[x].

NOTE 241, Pages 133–134.

This was the issue of that famous battle at Aughrim, so glorious to Ginkell, and so fatal to St. Ruth and the Irish, who lost there the flower of their army and nation.

The loss of General Ginkell's army at the battle of Aughrim, as tabularly arranged from the published official account, was as follows :

	Killed.	Wounded.	Killed & Wounded.
Officers, ...	73	111	184
Soldiers, ...	600	906	1506
TOTAL, . .	673	1017	1690

Captain Parker, however, alleges of what his own or the Williamite side suffered on that day,—" We had *above* 3000 killed and wounded"[y].

The principal officers, mentioned as killed in Ginkell's army, were Major General Holstaple (as spelled by Story, but, more probably, Holtzapfel), who commanded the Earl of Portland's Horse Guards, Colonel Charles Herbert, the Danish Colonel Mongatts, and Majors Devenish, Cornwall, Colt, and Fox. The principal officers, specified as wounded, were Brigadier Prince George of Hesse Darmstadt, Colonel Lord George Hamilton, Colonel Lord John Cutts, Colonel Thomas Erle, the French or Huguenot Colonel Belcastel, and Lieutenant-Colonel Brudenell.

The importance attached, at the time of its occurrence, to the battle of Aughrim, not only in an Irish, but a British and Continental point of view, and the proportionate fame acquired by General Ginkell for gaining it, are attested by the following, amongst other evidence that might be adduced.

The

[w] "Les Alliés," says the Spanish historian, Count Toréno, "donnèrent à cette bataille le nom de Salamanque, parce qu'elle se livra dans les environs de cette ville, et les Français des Arapilès, ... monticules fameux dans les chansons populaires de ce pays, et qui rappellent les glorieuses aventures de Bernard del Carpio." See Note 231.

[x] Harris's Life of William III., p. 327.—The Dispatches of Field Marshal the Duke of Wellington, &c., vol. ix. pp. 299-308 : London, 1838.—Toréno, Histoire du Soulèvement, de la Guerre, & de la Révolution d'Espagne, tome v. pp. 67-74 : Paris, 1838. — Belmas, Précis Historique de la Guerre de la Peninsule de 1807 à 1814, &c., tome i. pp. 230-234, 663-667 : Paris, 1836.

[y] Which of those *two* Williamite statements of the Williamite loss at Aughrim is most entitled to *our* belief? Are the proportions, in the first account, of wounded to killed, such as they *should* be? If Captain Parker considered *that* account correct, *why* did he not adopt it, instead of such a different estimate of his *own*? Compare, on those points, the conflicting Williamite statements, given in Note 159, p. 377, respecting William's loss at Limerick, and the annexed references to other Notes.

The Williamite Lord Justice for Ireland, Coningesby, writing to Ginkell from Dublin four days after the battle, or July 16th, 1691, says: "My Lord, with what satisfact^{n} I rec^{d} ye acct of y^{r} Exc^{ys} success, it's impossible for me to describe, I may say y^{t} no friend you have in ye world (besides *ye advantage it will be to all Cristendome*) c^{d} be more pleased upon y^{r} Ldshps particular acc^{t}, all allowing it was in great measure owing to yrself . . . . . It looks, methinks, my Lord, as if Providence had designed this work for you, and *it is most certainly a great one, not less than establishing our Master for ever.*"

Another English Williamite, the author of the defence of the conduct of Ruvigny, Earl of Galway, in Spain and Portugal, adverts to the battle of Aughrim twenty years after it was fought, or in 1711, as "the famous Victory of *Aghrim*, which decided the last *Irish* War in Favour of King *William;*" and further mentions the influence of that victory on "the *late happy Revolution*," as such, that it "*was not perfectly settled, till that Blow was given.*"

In consequence of that victory, and the previous capture of Athlone, General Ginkell was created by patent, March 4th, 1691–92, "Earl of Athlone and Baron of Aghrim, with 20*l.* annual creation fee," says Lodge. "And," adds the same authority, "as a reward for his services, he had a grant, 13 October, 1693, of the forfeited estate of William Dongan, Earl of Limerick (attainted 16 April, 1691), containing the castle, town, and lands of Castletown, the manor of Kildrough, &c., in the Counties of Kildare, Dublin, Carlow, Meath, Kilkenny, Longford, Tipperary, and Queen's County, amounting to 26,480 acres, with several houses in Dublin, and *many tithes;* all which were confirmed by Act of Parliament, 7 December, 1695."

As to the total amount of the Irish slain at Aughrim, Story affirms, "We killed 7,000 of the *Irish* upon the Spot, as was generally believed, and there could not be many fewer, for looking amongst the Dead three Days after, when all our own and some of their's were buried, *I reckoned in some small Inclosures* 150, *in others* 120, *&c., lying most of them by the Ditches where they were Shot*[a]*;* and the Rest from the Top of the Hill where their Camp had been, looked like a great Flock of Sheep, shattered up and down the Countrey for almost four Miles round: And the *Irish* themselves, tho *they will not allow so many to be killed*, yet they own, that they lost more, which they could never have any Account of, except they stole home privately, or else turned Rapparees." See, however, next page.

According to the best Williamite return, or "*List of the Irish Prisoners, taken at the Battel of Aghrim, on July* 12. 1691," they amounted to 526 men of *all* ranks.

The contemporary Dutch account in French observes, with respect to the loss of officers in the Irish army at Aughrim: "Il suffit pour juger de l'opiniatreté du combat, de savoir que plus de la moitié des Officiers de l'Armeé Irlandoise furent tuez ou faits prisonniers: & que

[a] The first account of the battle, in the *London Gazette*, says, respecting the loss of the Irish: "Of the Enemy, about 5000 were killed upon the Place." The next number *adds*, on that point: "The Enemies Loss appears to be greater than was at first reported, and is reckoned at 7,000 Men."—(No. 2680 and No. 2681.)

[a] Compare this circumstance with the statements, as to the brave defence of those ditches, in Note 234, p. 443, and Note 236, pp. 447-449.

que presque tous les Officiers Généraux y ont perdu ou la liberté, ou la vie." The reasons of this obstinate resistance on the part of the Irish officers appear in an unpublished letter to General Ginkell, from George Peyton, Esq., Williamite High Sheriff of the County Westmeath, June 10th, 1691, or only about a month previous to the battle, as stated to him by two Irish Captains, his acquaintances, who were made prisoners at Ballymore. "They say," he observes, "it is our fault we have so many enemies; and that they are sensible of their unhappiness in depending on the French; that they must, and will, and are preparing to fight it out soon; that they have orders to have none but fighting men," &c.

King James's estimate of the loss of his own and the opposite army at Aughrim is, that "the Irish lost near 4000 men, nor was that of the English much inferior." The Williamite Captain Parker says of the Irish, "the enemy had near 4000 killed." But, perhaps, the nearest approach to accuracy, at which *we* can arrive on this point, has been supplied by the testimony of a Huguenot Captain, as thus cited by a contemporary biographer of William: "*Mr.* Du-Teny, *a Captain in one of the* French *Regiments, and a Person of great Integrity, has assur'd me, that the Day after the Fight, he counted* 4638. *dead Bodies upon the Field of Battle, of which he supposes near* 4000 *to have been* Irish; *besides those that were killed in the Pursuit beyond their Camp.*" From these 4638 bodies, deducting Ginkell's *admitted* proportion of 673 for men and officers slain, the Irish, killed on the field, would be 3965. And, from the late hour at which the battle turned against the Irish,—the time it *must* have taken, to kill all who still fought on, or were denied quarter on the field,—the foggy rain, as well as the night, which set in,—the great bogs so convenient for the shelter of a broken infantry against cavalry,—with other circumstances that might be mentioned,—it seems difficult to conceive, how any *very* considerable number, in addition to those who fell on the field, *could* have been slain[b].

A very large proportion of the Irish loss is related to have taken place under the following circumstances, mentioned, on the Williamite side, in Story, Major Tempest's letter, and the previously cited Dutch account in French, and, on the Jacobite side, by Dr. Charles Leslie. "The Irish," says Story, "upon their Advantage in the Centre of the Battle, had taken some Prisoners (as has been said); but not being able to carry them off, they killed Col. *Herbert*, and one or two more; which several have lookt upon as a Piece of Cruelty: and yet it's no more than what has been practised in such Cases; for at the Battle of *Agincourt*, Fought between *Hen. 5th.* of England, and *Charles* the *6th.* of *France*, upon the 24*th.* of *Octob.* 1414. the Number of the Prisoners, taken by the *English*, being very great, and King *Henry*, after the Battle, perceiving fresh Troops of the King of *Sicills* [Sicily] to appear in the Field, and these strong enough without any new rallyed Forces to Encounter his wearied Soldiers; that he might not therefore have both Prisoners to Guard, and an Enemy to fight at once, he commanded every Man to kill his Prisoner, contrary to his Generous Nature; which was immediately done, some principal Men excepted."

From

[b] Compare the extract from Dr. Leslie, further on in *this* Note, with De la Brune's assertion, Note 235, pp. 445-446, with the annexed remark there drawn from an *Irish* Jacobite source, and with this statement of King James: "The night indeed comeing on prevented the pursute."

From what Major Tempest states of the success of the Irish in the centre, though Story conveys the impression of Colonel Erle's having gotten off in the struggle, it would appear, that Erle, and other officers of his regiment, became just as much prisoners as Colonel Herbert was, or were *kept* so until the eventual passage, by their horse, through the boggy causeway, near the Castle of Aughrim; which circumstance, by disabling the Irish from keeping their prisoners where they were, or conveying them elsewhere, would either facilitate the escape of those prisoners, or cause them to be killed, in order to prevent their being rescued. Major Tempest's words respecting Colonel Herbert are, "We lost one Colonel, which was Herbert[c], and cut to pieces after quarter." And of the capture of Colonel Erle, &c., in the centre, the Major says: "Here Colonel Erle, with Captains Bingham and Gooking of his regiment, were taken prisoners, but rescued afterwards by our horse, who passed a defile one by one through a boggy trench,"—or that by the Castle of Aughrim.

The Dutch account in French, after stating of the slaughter made of the Irish—"Ils perdirent plus de 7000 hommes, ou dans leur camp, ou dans la poursuite qu'on en fit, jusques bien avant dans la nuit"—then adds—"Peut-être quelques uns furent immolez au manes de Colonel Herbert, qu'ils avoient fait prisonnier dés que le commencement du combat, & qu'ils massacrerent inhumainement, lors qu'ils virent qu'ils avoient du pire. Quelques autres Officiers qu'ils avoient pris en même tems furent sauvez par la générosité de quelques uns des leurs."

On the destruction of so many of the Irish army after the battle, the Protestant Jacobite, Dr. Charles Leslie, informs us the following year, or 1692, that the Irish did "grievously complain," that there were "killed in cold Blood" of them "at *Aghram*, above *Two Thousand* who threw down their Arms, and asked Quarter, after the *English* were absolutely Masters of the Field: and that several, who had Quarters given them, were after Killed in cold Blood, in which Number were the Lord *Galway*, and Collonel *Charles Moore*. And this is no Secret, the Major of Monsieur *Epingham's*[d] Dragoons owned to Major General *Dorington*, That the Lord *Galway* was Killed after Quarter, and the Battle over. More Vouchers might be produced, if needful," concludes the Doctor. Upon Lord Galway's death, under such circumstances, "Some say," observes Story, "that My Lord *Galway* had hard Measure from some of our Foreign Troopers, who kill'd him after he had surrendered himself a Prisoner; not to themselves, but to some others." He, adds Lodge, "was a nobleman of true courage, and endowed with many good qualities," and when "killed at Aghrim" was "not full 22 years old." On the *general* conduct of Ginkell's army in the pursuit, "the English," says Dalrymple, "disgraced all the glories of the day, by giving no quarter."

All the tents, baggage, artillery (consisting, as has been said, of but nine field-pieces), and a great number of the small arms of the Irish, either belonging to the slain, or cast away in the pursuit, were taken, together with thirty-two pair of colours and eleven standards, according

[c] That is, one *English* Colonel; a *Danish* Colonel, Mongatts, having likewise been slain, as before mentioned.

[d] The name of the officer here alluded to by Dr. Leslie was *not* "Eppingham;" but, according to his own signature, "Abram d'*Eppinger*."

ing to Story, or twenty-nine colours and twelve standards, according to the *London Gazette;* which ensigns General Ginkell "sent," says the Williamite Chaplain, "afterwards by my Lord *O Bryan*, as a Present to Her Majesty"[e]—Queen Mary, daughter of King James II.

NOTE 242, Page 134.

Though every man's particular loss (in Ireland) seemed to exhaust their whole stock of tears, yet none was more generally lamented than the brave St. Ruth; for it was the opinion of all people, if he had lived but an hour longer, the Irish would be victorious that day, &c.

Story says of St. Ruth, "Tho the Man had an ill Character in being one of the greatest Persecuters of the Protestants in *France*, yet, we must allow him to be very brave in his Person, and indeed considerable in his Conduct, since he brought the *Irish* to fight a better Battle, than ever their Nation could boast of before[f]. And this was the Reason, as the *Irish* report, that the General being killed, tho it was not presently known, yet their Army was soon in Confusion for Want of Orders, and so the Horse forced to draw off. But the Truth of it was, the *Irish* before they began to shrink, had behaved themselves beyond all Expectation, and had fought longer than ordinary; yet when they saw our Horse come over so dangerous a Pass, and our Foot in the Centre rally, and resolve to dye every Man rather than be beat back again; the *Irish* then thought they must be beat, if the other would not: so that, notwithstanding all their Advantages of Hedges and Ground, Sun and Wind, they were forced to quit one advantagious

[e] Story's Continuation, &c., pp. 130, 135-139. — Captain Parker's Memoirs, p. 31. — Rawdon Papers, pp. 350, 354, 355, 419, 420. — London Gazette, Nos. 2680, 2681, and 2682. — Letter of George, Landgrave de Hesse, to Baron de Ginkell, July 17th, 1691, in Clarke's Correspondence, &c.—History of the Sixth, or Royal First Warwickshire, Regiment of Foot, in Historical Records of the British Army, prepared for Publication under the Direction of the Adjutant General, pp. 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 34, 35, 36.—Biographia Britannica, vol. iv. pp. 569-573: London, 1789. — Letter of the Williamite Lord Justice Coningesby, as above specified in Clarke's Correspondence.—A Diary of the Siege and Surrender of Lymerick: with the Articles at Large, both Civil and Military. Preface. By Authority. London. Printed for R. Taylor, near Stationers-Hall, 1692. —An Account of the Earl of Galway's Conduct in Spain and Portugal: London, Printed and Sold by J. Baker, at the Black Boy, in Pater-Nostre-Row, 1711.—Archdall's Lodge's Peerage, vol. i. p. 138, and vol. ii. pp. 153-155. — Mercure Historique et Politique, tome xi. p. 209.—Letter of George Peyton, Esq., to Lieutenant General Ginkell, as above specified, in Clarke's Correspondence, &c. — Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. p. 458. — The History of King William III., vol. ii. p. 267: London, 1702-1703. — Leslie's Answer to King, pp. 161, 162, 163: London, 1692. — Dalrymple's Memoirs, part ii. book vi. vol. iii. p. 162: London, 1790.

[f] Was it a *better* battle, when tested by the comparative numbers engaged, the length of the engagement, the extent of the loss on both sides, &c., than that of Clontarf, which preserved Ireland from such a miserable yoke, as that to which the English Saxons are related to have been so long subjected? See Note 56. But Story's notions of Irish battles were not beyond the scanty and one-sided Irish *history* of his day.—(Cont. Hist., pp. 142-143.)

advantagious Post, and after that another, till being beat from Ditch to Ditch, they were driven up to the Top of the Hill of *Killkomodon*, where their Camp had laid, which being levelled, and they exposed to our Shot more openly, they began now to run down right; the Foot towards a great Bogg behind them on their Left, and the Horse on the Highway towards *Loughreagh*"[g].

The Duke of Berwick,—respecting whom, it *should* be premised, that not having been in Ireland from the February previous to the battle, or ever after, he was necessarily indebted for his account of it, and of St. Ruth's conduct there, to *others*, and that this account, from its being at variance, as well with the *general* tenor of the Jacobite information in the royal Memoirs, &c., as with the several *details* here given out of the Williamite writers, probably emanated from the French General's party adversaries, or the supporters of Tyrconnell against him, but, at all events, *as* NOT *being the result of the Duke's own personal knowledge*, can be of no more authority than it may be found to possess, after being tested by the other *Jacobite* and *Williamite* evidence, quoted from Note 234 to the present—the Duke of Berwick, under *these* qualifying circumstances, affirms of St. Ruth at Aughrim: "Il étoit fort bien posté, ayant à quelque distance en avant un marais impraticable à la cavalerie, hors sur les chaussées qui le traversoient. Il eût pu aisément les empêcher de passer; mais il avoit tant d'envie de batailler, qu'il répéta le même *dictum* du Maréchal de Crequi: Que plus il en passeroit, plus il en battroit; & cela lui réussit aussi de même. Les ennemis passerent tous, & se mirent en bataille sans être inquiétés; alors il les attaqua. Son infanterie d'abord poussa celle des ennemis: mais bientôt elle fut ramenée à son tour: ses deux ailes de cavalerie furent aussi battues; sur quoi voulant aller chercher son corps de réserve, qui n'étoit composée que de six escadrons, il fut emporté d'un coup de canon, & l'armée du Roi ne songea plus qu'à se sauver. Plusieurs personnes ont publié que, s'il n'avoit pas eté tué, il auroit gagné la bataille; mais j'en fais juge le lecteur. Lui auroit-il été possible, avec six escadrons, de rétablir une affaire déja perdue? Tout ce qu'il auroit pu faire, c'eût été de faciliter un peu la retraite; ce que firent les Officiers Généraux après sa mort."

Captain Parker, however, who fought upon the Aughrim side of the field, or opposite that quarter of it where St. Ruth fell, after relating how "*St. Ruth* was taken off by a cannon ball," alleges of the state of the action when the French General met his death: "It was at a very critical juncture, when his orders were much wanted; for *their center and right wing still maintained their ground*[h]; but seeing their left put to flight, and not having orders from their General, they soon ran into confusion, and were put to a total rout. . . . . Had it not been that *St. Ruth* fell, *it were hard to say how matters would have ended*: for to do him justice, notwithstanding his oversight at *Athlone*, he was certainly a gallant, brave man, and a good Officer, as appeared by the disposition he made of his army this day. Had he lived to order

[g] He then proceeds to show how little, meantime, had been done against the Irish right at Urrachree, in the passage commencing, "During all this Stir, and Noise," &c., already cited in Note 235, p. 445.

[h] See also the extract from the Captain to the same effect, at the end of Note 236.

order *Sarsfield* down to sustain his *left* wing, *it would have given affairs a turn on* THAT *side*[i]; and as to that of leaving his camp standing with all their baggage in it, not excepting his own; this was designed purely to oblige his army to fight for their all, and it spoke his resolution to conquer or die."

On the battle of Aughrim, in connexion with the fall of St. Ruth, William III.'s biographer and zealous Anglo-Irish partisan, Harris, states, from the result of *his* researches into official, as well as other sources of information: "It must in justice be confessed, that the *Irish* fought this sharp battle with great resolution; which demonstrates, that the many defeats before this time sustained by them cannot be imputed to a national cowardice, with which some without reason impeached them[j], but to a defect in Military Discipline, and the use of Arms, or to want of skill and experience in their Commanders[k]. And now, *had not St. Ruth been taken off, it would have been hard to say what the consequence of this day would have been.*"

The late Lieutenant-General Keatinge, whose opinion on this point, as that of a *practical soldier,* may be useful, in his critical comments upon the battle of Aughrim, thus speaks of the circumstances in which he considered St. Ruth and his army to have been, when he was slain, &c. "St. Ruth, to whom the appearance of Ginkle's right wing of cavalry, so near his line, was a surprise, not expecting to have had both his flanks attacked, was bringing up a reserve of cavalry, for the purpose of falling on Ginkle's right, when he was killed by a cannon shot. This fortunate shot probably caused the gaining the battle. St. Ruth had the advantage upon the right, where the first attack had been made. Ginkle's infantry were exhausted, by wading thro' a bog up to their middles; they had been driven back into that bog with loss and confusion; and St. Ruth was at that moment coming down upon their right flank, with a fresh body of cavalry. *So far every thing was in his favor*[l]. But St. Ruth communicated with no one; by this conduct, he lost Athlone. To Sarsfield, his second in command, he had a particular pique. His whole arrangements were confined to his own head; and Sarsfield, who succeeded to the command, was in utter ignorance of what was going on about him, except of that which immediately concerned his own post. *Of course, on the fall of St. Ruth, every thing*

[i] Which, as compared with what the Captain says of the Irish *right* and *centre,* would appear to have been the *only* side where such "a turn" was needed.

[j] See Notes 212 and 236.

[k] It has already been repeatedly shown, in these notes, that a no less important cause than *any* above specified by Harris contributed to the reverses of the Irish, viz., their great inferiority in pay, appointments, small arms, artillery, and effective numbers, to the English, Scotch, Anglo-Irish, Dutch, Danish, German, Huguenot, &c., troops of the line opposed to them, as well as the very efficient local Williamite militia, or yeomanry, in which Harris's own father, Hopton Harris, served. Consult, as to the amount of these regulars of so many nations, and that of their domestic assistants, &c., Note 284.

[l] It may be remarked of *this* conclusion, that the gallant author would appear to have arrived at it merely through Williamite accounts, since, from a general perusal of his strictures on the campaigns of this war, he seems to have had such documents *only* before him.

thing was at a stop, the officers waiting for orders, and no one to give them. In consequence, his army first retreated, pressed by Ginkle, and then fled."

O'Halloran, writing in 1772, but the date of whose birth at Limerick, and other circumstances, connected him (as has been previously noted) with much knowledge of the events of this war, observes: "This battle was certainly a bloody and decisive one. The stake was great, the Irish knew the value of it, and though very inferior to their enemies in numbers and appointments, and chagrined by repeated losses, yet it must be owned, that they fought it well. Accidents, which human wisdom could not foresee, more than the superior courage of their flushed opponents, snatched from them that victory, which already began to declare in their favour. Their bones," he concludes, "yet lie scattered over the plains of Aughrim; but let that justice be done to their memories, which a brave and generous enemy never refuses"[m].

Our great national bard, Moore, has similarly alluded to this action, in his melody:

> "Forget not the field where they perish'd,
> The truest, the last of the brave!" &c.[n]

Note 243, Page 135.

After this notable victory at Aughrim, Ginkell only required to reduce Galway and Limerick, to become master of the entire Kingdom.

King James's Memoirs remark, that, after the battle of Aughrim, the English, "had they pursued their victory and marched streight to Limerick had finished the war at one blow; for the great consternation the Irish were then in, the fortifications of that town not finished, the troops dispersed in the mountains and bogs, there had been no possibility of houlding out before a victorious Army; but by the enemies turning their march towards Galway, they gaue the Irish time to reassemble their scaterd forces and delay their destiny some months longer"[o].

Note 244, Page 135.

Ginkell encamped on the east side of Galway, July 19th, and that night he gained an outwork upon the hill, very near the walls, &c.

According to Story, De la Brune, and Harris, the Williamite Commander appeared before Galway, with the forces which accompanied him, on the Sunday after the battle of Aughrim, that

[m] See Note 228, p. 437.

[n] Story's Continuation, p. 134. — Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick, tome i. pp. 91, 100, 101.— Memoirs of Captain Parker, pp. 31, 32.—Harris's Life of William III., pp. 316, 327. — Keatinge's Defence of Ireland, chap. v. p. 26.—O'Halloran's Introduction, &c. Second appendix, pp. 378, 379: Dublin, 1772.—Ferrar's History of Limerick, pp. 369, 370: Limerick, 1787.—The Irish Melodies, and other Poems, by Thomas Moore, Esq., p. 106: Dublin, 1846.

[o] Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. p. 458.

that is, the 19th of July, old style, or the 29th, according to our present computation. "The unfinished Work on a Hill," which is represented as "very near the Walls," and as having been "occupied" by him the night of his arrival, seems to have been amongst those alluded to by Story. "The Ridge of Land," says the Williamite Chaplain, "between the Bog and the Bay towards the East, is but very narrow, and may, with no great Difficulty, be Fortified, without which the Town is not to be defended, since an Army may approach under Covert of this Ridge within less than 100 Yards of the Town-wall, where there is a rising Ground, that overlooks a great Part of the Town. There had been some Works upon the Neck of this Ridge in former Times, and the *French* had begun to repair them, but had not brought them to any Perfection," &c.[p]

Note 245, Page 136.

Galway was not well manned at that time.

The manuscript letter of a Mr. John Morgan, sent out with a Williamite party on the 19th of July, about nine miles beyond Kilcolgan, to make discoveries respecting the Irish, states, on the 20th, to Lieutenant-General Scravemoer: "The man I sent to Galway is come back, & 1 Captn French of the Ld Clanrickards Reg^t with him, who surrendered himself to me. They both say, that they have the reputation of 7 Reg^ts in the town, but that they are not above 2000 strong; but they expect, as they hear, O'Donnel's Brigade." Story, after the surrender of the place, calls the Irish garrison "not above 2300 Men, and those," he observes, "but indifferently armed, and worse cloathed"[q].

Note 246, Page 136.

The enemy, the day after they sat down before Galway, crossed the river in boats, constructed a bridge, and, having passed a part of their army over into Western Connaught, besieged the city on that side; thus excluding O'Donnell, who purposed to introduce his troops by that way, as his only one for doing so.

After mentioning an unsuccessful design formed, the day they came before the town, by the English, with their tin boats, against the ships in the harbour, and that "the Boats therefore were to be imployed otherways," the Williamite annalist adds: "As soon as it was grown dark, Lieutenant General *Mackay*, with Colonel *Tiffin's*, Colonel St. *John's*, Monsieur *Cambon's*, Lord George *Hambleton's*, one *Dutch*, and a *Danish* Regiment of Foot, with four Squadrons of Horse and Dragoons, were wafted over the River, about two Miles above the Town: by Break of Day," he continues, "our Men were all safe on the other Side, meeting with no Opposition,

[p] Story's Continuation, &c., pp. 153, 155, 156, 157.—De la Brune, &c., pp. 63, 64.—Harris's Life of William III., p. 329.

[q] Letter, &c., dated Kilcolgan, July 20th, 1691, in Clarke's Correspondence. — Story's Continuation, p. 173.

Opposition, only a small Party of Dragoons fir'd at the first Party that landed, and then scoured off; whether the *Irish* really expected *Balderock O'Donnell* to come into Town that Way is uncertain, however we had now destroyed all Hopes of it, and he retired again into the County of *Mayo*, &c.[r]

NOTE 247, Page 137.

The inhabitants of Galway (had they stood a siege) could not miss getting as good conditions the last day as they got at first, and much more to their credit.

Israel Fielding, sometime acting Secretary to the Williamite Lords Justices for Ireland, writing from Dublin Castle, July 6th, 1691 (or six days before the battle of Aughrim), to General Ginkell's Secretary, George Clarke, respecting the very favourable conditions, already agreed upon at the Castle, to be offered to the people of Galway, in order to induce them the more readily to submit, remarks: "The latitude given the Galwaynists is very large, but 'tis worth our while to get the town, almost at any rate"[s].

NOTE 248, Pages 137–138.

One of the Civil Magistrates, the son of an Englishman and a Protestant, escaped to Ginkell's camp, by the contrivance of the first Civil Magistrate, as it was then believed; who was arrested for this, and would likely have suffered, had not the sudden arrival of the enemy prevented it.

Story, under the date of the 18th of July, having noted, how some Protestants made their escape out of Galway, and gave Ginkell information of the state of the town, observes, in particular, how "one Mr. *Shaw*, a Merchant," arrived in the English camp from Galway, "and gave the General a full Account how Matters stood within; that the Garrison were only 7 Regiments, and those neither full nor well Armed; that they agreed not amongst themselves about keeping or surrendring the Town, tho it was probable they would never abide a brisk Attack; that *D'Ussone*, the *French* Lieutenant General, was there, and that my Lord *Dillon* was Governour, and that the *Irish* expected *Balderick ODonnel*, with his Party to come into Town, by way of *Ire Conaught*, without whom they were not in a Condition to make Resistance." Nevertheless, as the civilian spoken of by Colonel O'Kelly is subsequently mentioned by him, as having gone to Ginkell and given him information at Aughrim, three days after the battle, or three days sooner than this Mr. Shaw is said by Story to have done, it would appear, that the Milesian Colonel and the Williamite Chaplain had in view two different refugees, and bearers of intelligence, from Galway, to Ginkell.

The "first Civill Magistrate" mentioned by Colonel O'Kelly, as having been arrested in Galway, for disaffection to King James's government, was the Mayor, Arthur French, already

[r] Story's Continuation, pp. 156, 157.

[s] MS. Letter in Clarke's Correspondence, &c.

already seen, in Notes 185 and 197, to have been substituted in December, 1690, for Colonel Alexander Mac Donnell, who was deprived of that office, on a similar charge, or suspicion. Mr. Morgan's previously-cited letter from Kilcolgan, of July 20th, 1691, shows this, by its statement of what some persons, who escaped from Galway, in a boat, the day before, alleged. "They say, that *the Mayor* & some more of the townsmen are imprisoned for endeavouring to surrender the town to us." The desertion of the Captain *French* of Lord Clanrickard's Regiment to Ginkell (quoted from the same letter in Note 245) *may* have been by the connivance of his namesake, if not relative, the Mayor[t].

NOTE 249, Page 138.

It is likely, that those who were for a treaty and submission to William, were the more encouraged to propose it, because they knew very well, that their acting in that manner would be countenanced by the Duke of Tyrconnell, and perhaps no way displeasing to James himself.

What the royal Memoirs state of the surrender of Galway, after the account they give of the defeat of Aughrim, is as follows: "It was not to be expected that after this defeat Galway could make any great resistance, however it might well haue retarded the enemies progress some days, and given time to perfect the fortifications of Limerick; which, *with the help of the rainy season then near at hand, would infallibly haue saued it that campaign*, but My Lord Clanrickard and others considering nothing but their own security, made such haste to surrender it, that they would not wait the comeing up of the enemies cannon, which was yet at Athlone and without which there was no forceing the place, but gaue it up and themselves with it, for he and several others both Officers and soldiers remain'd in Town thō the garison had libertie to march out, which was conducted to Limerick accordingly"[u].

NOTE 250, Page 139.

The day the English passed the river, which was the next after their coming before the town, those in Galway beat a parley to treat about capitulating, and, though the articles for a surrender were concluded on the second day, the negociations lasted for six days, as the Duke of Tyrconnell's decision from Limerick, upon propositions by Ginkell for a general capitulation, was waited for.

Lieutenant-General Ginkell arrived with his army before Galway on Sunday, July 19th, O. S. He dispatched, as already mentioned, a considerable body of troops across the water to West Connaught side, by next morning, or Monday, the 20th. He had, the same day, negociations for a capitulation entered into, hostages exchanged, and a truce concluded with him, to last till ten o'clock in the morning of Tuesday, the 21st. Upon that day, the Articles of Capitulation,

[t] Story's Continuation, p. 151, &c.

[u] Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. p. 459.

Capitulation, &c., were duly ratified between himself and the Irish. And, finally, according to those Articles, the place was evacuated by the Irish garrison, and given up to him, on Sunday, the 26th of July, or a week from the day he came before it.

"This Town with a good Garison in it," says Story, from whom the preceding particulars are taken, "might have given us more Trouble, *and so have postponed the Siege of Limerick*[v]: yet considering their present Circumstances, they did not manage ill in procuring for themselves those Terms which they had, tho' the General might safely condescend to grant any Thing included in the Lords Justices Declaration, which both the Articles of *Gallway* and *Limerick* are. At the same Time," he continues, "that *Gallway* was Capitulating, there came a Drum from *Limerick*, which put us in Hopes that all was over, and that they had a Mind to make Terms not only for *Gallway* but for the *Irish* Nation in general, but it was only about the Exchange or Releasing of some Prisoners, which at that Time could not be granted, or rather it was to understand what became of *Gallway*, that so the others might take their Measures accordingly."

Yet, from the lapse of time which was to intervene between the signing of the Articles of Galway on the 21st, and the giving it up on the 26th, and from the great anxiety observable in the correspondence of the Williamite Lords Justices for Ireland, to terminate the Irish war above all things, what Colonel O'Kelly affirms, of such a delay having arisen from a proposal on Ginkell's part, that a capitulation should be entered into for the rest of Ireland as well as for Galway, seems by no means improbable. The Williamite Lord Justice, Coningesby, for instance, writing to Ginkell from Dublin, July 21st (or the day the Articles of Galway were signed), has this postscript to his letter: "My Lord, it is my opinion, that this war should be ended upon any terms; and though it seems to be so near something, yet nobody can answer for ye events of war"[w].

Note 251, Page 140.

The 26th of July, fifteen days after the battle of Aughrim, the Irish garrison marched out of Galway, and the English entered the town; some of the officers and a few soldiers joining the enemy; others returning home; but the greatest number proceeding to Limerick, with M. D'Usson and the Governor, &c.

The 26th of July was the fourteenth, and *not* the fifteenth, day after the 12th, or that on which the battle of Aughrim was fought. Respecting the surrender of Galway by the Irish, Story says: "We continued a Friendly Correspondence till *Sunday* the 26*th.* when about seven a Clock in the Morning, Monsieur *d'Ussone*, the *French* Lieutenant General, came to our Camp, and stay'd about Half an Hour, from whence he had a Guard for his Person, to Conduct

[v] See before, Note 249, and Note 180, pp. 393-394, with the annexed references there to other Notes.

[w] See Notes 7 and 195.—Story's Continuation, pp. 153-173. — Lord Justice's letter in Clarke's Correspondence, &c.

duct him towards *Limerick:* Sir *Henry Bellasis* being appointed Governor, he marched to the Town with his own, Colonel *Brewer's* and Colonel *Herbert's* Regiments, and about nine a Clock, we took Possession of all the Guards. . . . . About ten a Clock, my Lord *Dillon* marched out with the Irish Garison, being not above 2300 Men, and those but indifferently armed and worse cloathed, they had six Pieces of Cannon according to the Capitulation (four of which were Iron) and drawn by six Teams of our Horses, having a Guard of Horse and Dragoons from our Camp, to conduct them to *Limerick.* At twelve a Clock, the General himself went into Town, being attended after his Entrance by the Mayor and Aldermen, the Recorder making him a Speech, to wish him Joy"[x].

NOTE 252, Pages 140–141.

O'Donnell having had a friend in the English camp, through whom Ginkell wrote him a letter, testifying his willingness to serve a person of such merit and consequence while in the Spanish army, though so badly treated since his coming to Ireland; and an English gentleman, who had accompanied O'Donnell from Spain, and was then in his service, having a brother, a Colonel of distinction in the Williamite army; this gentleman was dispatched to Ginkell's camp, by way of seeing his brother, but, in reality, to continue the negociation thus commenced.

By a paper, marked MLXXII., and dated October 9th, 1691, in Clarke's Correspondence, it appears, that O'Donnell addressed a letter, on the 30th of the preceding July, to William III.; which document was, most probably, consigned for delivery to the officer, mentioned as going "to the *English* camp, uppon Pretence of visiting his Brother" there. The Williamite official pamphlet on the last siege of Limerick, has, under the date of the 9th of August, the following allusion to the presence of O'Donnell's agent in Ginkell's camp, &c.: "Mr. *Richards,* Secretary, and Adjutant-General to *Baldarick ODonnel,* who had been with the General in the Camp four or five Days, went hence this Day for *Dublin,* to confer with the Lords Justices." On the subject of a "A Treaty with *Balderock ODonel,*" and under the date of the 8th of August, the Williamite Chaplain says: "One Mr. *Richards* came from *Balderock ODonel* to our Camp, where he stayed two or three Dayes, and then went towards *Dublin,* in order to wait upon his Majesty, who was then in *Flanders.* His Business was to assure the General of *Balderock's* Affections to their Majesties Service, and that if he might have the Men he brought over with him admitted into Pay, in order to serve his Majesty in *Flanders,* or elsewhere, himself made Earl of *Tyrconnel,* to which he pretended a Title from his Ancestors, and have two thousand Pounds given him for his Expences, he would then come over to us, and bring a considerable Body of the *Irish* along with him. The General, therefore, considering that it was no ill Policy to get the *Irish* to draw Bloud one of another, consented to some of *ODonnels* Proposals, and the Business was shortly after compleated, tho' *Balderock*

[x] Story's Continuation, pp. 172, 173.

Balderock complained heavily, that the Thing should be made publick, to the great Hinderance of the Numbers of Men he designed to bring off, and almost to the Hazard of his own Life; for this Treaty was first in the *Dublin Intelligence*, and then in the *London Gazette*, dated August 13*th.*[y] which was before the Thing was really compleated: but those that have seen *Balderock*, will believe that it was partly his own Fault."

The brother of O'Donnell's Secretary and Adjutant-General, Mr. Richards, under the pretext of seeing whom, he is stated to have gone to Ginkell's camp, seems to have been the officer, variously styled Captain and Colonel Richards, in the under-cited authorities on the subject. As Captain Richards, he is mentioned by Dr. Charles O'Conor to have been the writer of two valuable Journals connected with this war; the second of which is described, as entitled, "*Journall after my Negociations with O'Donnell.*"

The Williamite officer of the name of Richards, mentioned by the *London Gazette* in connexion with the sieges of Londonderry and Carrickfergus, as a *Captain* and Engineer, and described in the *Gazette*, at the latter of those sieges, as wounded in the thigh and shoulder, is called *Colonel* Richards by Story, when likewise stating the fact of Richards' having been wounded at the same siege, in the trenches, on the night of Thursday, August 22nd, 1689. Did these different modes of designating Richards arise from the circumstance of his having been in the *engineer* service? for there CERTAINLY was no Colonel Richards of any *infantry*, *horse*, or *dragoon* regiment, in the armies of Marshal Schonberg, William III., or Lieutenant-General Ginkell, in Ireland, during the years 1689, 1690, or 1691[z].

NOTE 253, Pages 142–143.

Before the treaty with O'Donnell was perfectly concluded, he went to the relief of Sligo, a seaport town between Connaught and Ulster, &c.

The following abstract of O'Donnell's conduct,—in carrying on a treaty with General Ginkell, to join the Williamite Government,—in getting money, on that score, from Colonel Michelburne, the Commander of their Forces besieging Sligo,—in *then* compelling Michelburne to raise the siege,—and, finally, in joining him with the reinforcements from Dublin, which obliged the Irish Governor of Sligo, Sir Teague O'Regan, to surrender,—is given from the contemporary Williamite pamphlet on that affair.

" Coll.

[y] See Note 224, p. 431.

[z] Original Paper above specified in Clarke's Correspondence, and Letters in same from Colonel James Richards to Secretary Clarke, dated Dublin, 28th October, 1690, and from same to General Ginkell, dated Dublin, November 4th, 1690. —Dr. Charles O'Conor's Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Stowe Library, vol. i. Appendix, No. III. p. 53, and Appendix, No. IV. p. 54: Buckingham, J. Seely, 1818. — Letter of Colonel James Richards, dated Cushin Town, August 19th, 1691, in An Account of the Transactions in the North of Ireland, Anno Domini 1691, &c., p. 90: London, 1692.—A Diary of the Siege and Surrender of Limerick, with the Articles, &c., pp. 1, 2: Dublin, 1692. — Story's Imp. Hist., p. 8, Cont. Hist., pp. 182, 183.—London Gazettes, Nos. 2478, 2485.—Williamite Lists of Regiments, &c.

"Coll. *Michelburne* had brought the Garrison of *Sligoe* to Articles, which were approved on by General *Ginkell*, and Signed and Sealed: The Garrison was to be delivered up to the said Collonel on the 15th. of *August* last past; but for the Falseness of *O Donnel* who was then on Capitulation with General *Ginkell*, and sent to Coll. *Michelburne* to joyn him, if the Garrison should prove Obstinate, and so to reduce them by Force. The General ordered Coll. *Michelburne* to pay him 200 Guineas, as a Mark of his Favours, of which accordingly he paid him 100, and the other 100 he promised to pay him in two or three Days; but the said *O Donnel*, notwithstanding his Ingagement with the General, the Payment of the 100 Guineas, he appeared the only Person that obstructed the Surrender, and took Part with the Garrison of *Sligoe* to defend them against Coll. *Michelburne*, or what other the General should send, Signing an Instrument under his Hand, that notwithstanding any Contract made between the General *Ginkell* and himself, his only Design was to prolong the Time; and what he did, or acted, was for King *James's* Interest; and promised the Garrison of *Sligoe*, to joyn with them when there was Occasion. The Lords Justices understanding the Abuse that was committed by the said *O Donnel*, issued first their Order to the Militia of the most Part of the Province of *Ulster*, to joyn Coll. *Michelburne* the latter end of *August*, who, by the General's Orders, and the Lords Justices, Commanded the Summer past at *Ballyshannon*, to the Intent, that when a considerable Body could be got together, he was to Advance toward *Sligoe*, their Lordships ordered likewise a considerable Body of the Militia from *Dublin* and other Parts of *Leinster*, to be Commanded by the Right Honourable the Earl of *Granard*, with a Commissioner to Command the whole Forces of *Leinster* and *Ulster*, to reduce *O Donnel*, as also the said Forts of *Sligoe*, to Their Majesties Obedience; but the said *O Donnel* in the mean Time makes his Peace with the General, and joyns his Forces with the Earl of *Granard*," &c.,—whereby, (it may be added,) Sir Teague O'Regan and the Irish garrison were obliged to surrender, which was done on Monday, September 14th, 1691.

They were, according to the Williamite Chaplain, but 600 men, and the terms on which they capitulated were honourable: "Their Party to march to *Limerick* with Arms and Baggage; and that all the little Garisons thereabouts,"—that is about Sligo,—"in the Hands of the *Irish*, should have the Benefit of the Capitulation"[a].

Note 254, Pages 142–143.

Notwithstanding all the expostulations of a particular friend, Colonel Charles O'Kelly, O'Donnell concluded the treaty the very day of their meeting; thereby revolting from his natural Prince, and unhappily joining the sworn enemies of his country.

Balldearg O'Donnell not only rejected the advice of his friend, Colonel Charles O'Kelly, in going over to the Williamites, but soon directly contributed to reduce the Colonel himself to

[a] Account of the Transactions in the North of Ireland, &c., pp. 84, 85, 89.—Story, Cont. Hist., pp. 234, 235.—Ireland Preserv'd, and the Protestant Interest Defended, pp. 18-21: London, 1707.

to submit to the same side. For, after giving an account of the junction of O'Donnell and his forces with those of Lord Granard, in their advance by "*Abby Boyle*," September 9th, against Sligo, "On their Way," says Story, "they summon'd *Loughlin*, commanded by Colonel *Theobald Dillon;* and another Place, commanded by *Colonel Charles Kelly*, both strong Castles, and garison'd by the *Irish*, which surrendred;" &c.

The period about which O'Donnell completed his arrangements with Ginkell's agent, Colonel James Richards, for going over to the Williamites, appears from the Colonel's above mentioned letter of August 19th, 1691, to Colonel John Michelburne, in which he observes: "My Lord *ODonnel*, and I, have *now* regulated all Matters, and will, to the utmost of his Power, do what shall most contribute to Their Majesties Service:" &c. By a valuable official MS., which was in the Duke of Buckingham's library at Stowe, "was the property of Algernon Capel, Earl of Essex, in 1701, and bears his arms on the outside cover," says Dr. Charles O'Conor, we find, "that to Colonel O'Donnel and to Colonel Henry Luttrell, who capitulated to General Ginkle, yearly pensions of £500 each are allowed from Christmas, 1691, during their lives." And, in another official MS. volume, belonging to J. T. Gilbert, Esq., Secretary of the Celtic Society, this annuity to O'Donnell, under the head of "Military Pensions, 1702," is thus entered, "To Col. o Donnell, pursuant to the Capãtul^n^ between Lieutenant General Genkle, now Earl of Athlone, and him—℔ diem £1 ,, 7 ,, 4¾—℔ ann. £500"[b].

Respecting this conduct of O'Donnell—of whom, as has been seen, Story remarked at one time, "it's incredible how fast the vulgar *Irish* flocked to him," and Lord Melfort noted, that "the very Fryars, & some of the Bishops, had taken arms to follow him,"—King James, alluding to his "hidden practices," through which "there was a design of puting the Kingdom into the hands of the antient Irish, upon an equal foot with England," says, "*this* it was made ODonnel so popular, and had raised him that mighty crowd of followers with which he liued in a manner at discretion while the war lasted;" and finally acted as has been related.

The conclusion of O'Donnell's career in this manner, after such anticipations as were entertained of the wonderful things he was to accomplish, and the consequent popularity he had acquired among the vulgar, was not unlike the end of another individual, noticed several centuries before, in our history. Under the year 1215, according to the learned editor of the Annals of the Four Masters, "the Annals of Ulster and of Kilronan mention the appearance of a certain character, called *Aedh Breige*, or the false or pretended Hugh, who was styled the *Cobhartach*," i. e. "the *Aider*, *Liberator*, or *Deliverer*. He," it is added, "was evidently some person, who wished to make it appear, that he came to fulfil some Irish prophecy, but failed to make the intended impression"[c]. See Note 224.

NOTE 255,

[b] In page 193 of the same curious volume, there is, among the pensions on the Irish Establishment in 1727, to the Officers of the four French Protestant Regiments, who first served King William in Ireland, and afterwards in Flanders, the following: "James Anthony *Guizott*, 6d. ℔. diem," or £9 ,, 2 ,, 6 ℔. ann," as an "Ensign" in the Regiment of "La Melonier." Query, of the same family of our illustrious literary contemporary, M. *Guizot?*

[c] Transactions of the London Camden Society, No. XIV. p. 96.—Story's Continuation, p. 234.—

Note 255, Page 143.

After the battle of Aughrim, the Duke of Tyrconnell sent a messenger to King James, to represent all was lost, and that no other resource remained, than for Ireland soon to submit to William.

"My Lord Tyrconnel was got to Limerick before this," according to King James's Memoirs, "and was making all the preparations he could for a defence, for upon the death of St. Ruth he began to reassume his former authority, so immediately dispatched an express to St. Germains, to beg either a speedy succour, or leaue to make conditions for themselves. The King who was hugely afflicted at this misfortune, and abundantly sencible of the hard circomstances the Irish were reduced too, fail'd not to lay their necessities open to his Most Christian Majesty[d], telling him, That after the many hardships they had suffer'd, and difficultys they had struggled with, it was necessary some speedy resolution should be taken in reference to them; that as he was resolved, on one hand, not to consent to any thing that was disadvantagious to France, so it was neither sutable to his inclination, nor the cause for which he sufferd, to let the best and faithfullest of his subjects labour in vain against such a superiour strength, with no other prospect than to be most cruelly butcher'd in the end by the declared enemies both of England and France. This was too reasonable a request not to be complyd with, and accordingly some succours were prepared, and some mony order'd to be sent, but the Enemie pressed too hard to giue any great hopes they could wait the relief which was to come from a Country so remote; this made My Lord Tyrconnel aprehend the Army would capitulate in spite of his teeth, and many persons of distinction were so much inclined that way, as had like to haue brought it about even before the enemie apear'd in sight of the Town"[e].

Note 256, Page 144.

The Duke of Tyrconnell, after having dined with M. D'Usson on the 11th of August, and having been very merry and jocose, upon returning home, and retiring to his chamber, was seized with a great fit of apoplexy, and, being deprived both of speech and feeling, expired on the 14th.

The royal Memoirs give the following account of the Duke of Tyrconnell's death, in connexion with the numerous difficulties he was contending against at the time, both on the part of his own countrymen, and on that of the enemy, whose fleet in the Shannon were blocking up Limerick on one side, while their army were advancing to attack it on the other.

In

Colonel James Richards' Letters, as referred to in Note 252.—Dr. O'Conor's Descriptive Catalogue, &c. (as in same Note), No. CX. vol. ii. p. 489.—Folio MSS. penes J. T. Gilbert. — Authorities cited in Note 224.—Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. p. 461.— O'Donovan's Annals of the Four Masters, vol. i. p. 186: Dublin, 1848.

[d] Louis XIV.

[e] Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 459, 460.

In reference to the domestic "obstacles" resulting from the disaffection of Colonel Henry Luttrell[f], &c., with which the Duke had to contend, the Memoirs allege: "all these obstacles hinder'd not the Lord Lieftenant (thō he was now very infirme, and naturally slow in his motions as well as his resolutions) to doe all that was possible to put the Town in a condition of defence: he assembled the troops and formed a Camp under the Canon of the place, encompassing it by a line, and sent out parties to fetch in beef, &c., and made the Officers and Soldiers (first shewing the example himself) to take an Oath of fidelity which contain'd a resolution to defend his Majestys right to the last, and never to surrender without his consent; but notwithstanding this Oath and engagement, many Officers soon began to moue for a treaty, alledging that in all probability the affair would be determined one way or the other before the King's mind could be known; but he press'd them only to haue patience twenty days, there being no likelyhood of their being forced so soon, and that in so much time an answer might be had from the King; but while he was thus struggleing with the calamitous circomstances of his Country, he was seized with the fit of an Apoplexy upon S[t] Lawrence's day[g], soon after he had done his devotions, and thō he came to his sences and speech again, yet he only languished two or three days[h] and then dy'd, just when he was upon the point of procureing an unity at least amongst themselves, the want of which was the greatest of the many evils they labour'd under"[i].

Note 257, Page 144.

The Duke of Tyrconnell's death much lamented by his friends, and not less by the English, who cried him up for an honest man, and a friend of peace; and (as is said) gave out, that he was poisoned by Sarsfield, and the French Commanders.

In two unpublished letters to Lord Merion from King James's Irish Attorney-General, Secretary of State and War, and subsequent Lord Justice, for Ireland, Sir Richard Nagle[j], dated Limerick, August 14th, 1691, the circumstances under which the Duke of Tyrconnell died,

[f] Is it not odd, that Colonel O'Kelly says nothing about the arrest and trial of Luttrell, for the improper correspondence, which he was discovered, by his friend, Lord Lucan, to have been carrying on with the enemy? See Notes 163, 169, 185, 254.

[g] That is, the *tenth* of August, or a day earlier than Colonel O'Kelly says.

[h] It would have been more correct to have written "three or *four* days," since, from Sir Richard Nagle's letter, (fortunately preserved in Clarke's Correspondence!) we find, that the Duke of Tyrconnell died on the *fourth* day after St. Laurence's day, or that on which he is mentioned to have been struck with apoplexy.

[i] Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 461, 462.

[j] If we had Sir Richard Nagle's papers as *Jacobite* Secretary of War, (as well as those of the *Williamite* Secretary of War,) how much more would be our knowledge on the subject connected with such papers, than it ever can be without them. The writer of this note has grounds for supposing, that a considerable portion of such Jacobite military papers may be extant, and that he might find them, were he permitted to search for them by Government.

died, and the writer's feelings on the event, are spoken of as follows. In his first letter, Sir Richard says: "The Enemy are within four Miles of the Town. Wee do not expect to defend that Line that was near our Camp, so our Horse & Dragoons marched yesterday thorough the Town. I have hopes things will go well, notwithstanding the unfortunate Destemper of my Lord Lieu[t], who lies gasping, and do beleive he will dy within four & twenty hours. God, of his infinite mercy, preserve us!" In his second letter, Sir Richard adds: "I am sorry to tell you, that My Lord Lieu[t] dyed this day, about Two of the Clock. It was a fatall stroke to this poor Country in this Nick of time, the Enemy being within four Miles of the Town. He is to be buryed privately to morrow, about Ten of the Clock at Night. As he appeared always zealous for his Country, so his Loss at this time was extream pernicious to the welfare of this poor Nation." The Duke was interred, according to Ferrar, in the Cathedral of Limerick; but it would appear, without a stone, to tell the place where he rests[k]!

The character of Richard Talbot, Duke of Tyrconnell, has been thus given, on the *Jacobite* side, by the Duke of Berwick, and on the *Williamite*, by the Huguenot editor of the Dutch Mercure Historique:

"Richard Talbot, Duc de Tirconel," says the Duke of Berwick, "étoit natif d'Irlande, & de bonne maison; il étoit d'une taille au dessus de l'ordinaire; il avoit une grande expérience des affaires du monde, ayant été de bonne heure dans la meilleure compagnie, & pourvu d'une charge honorable chez le Duc d'York. Ce Prince, devenu Roi, l'éleva à la dignité de Comte, & peu après, connoissant son zèle & son attachement, il le fit Vice-Roi d'Irlande. Il avoit un très-bon sens; il étoit très-civil, mais infiniment vain, & fort rusé. Quoiqu'il eût acquis de grands biens, on ne peut dire que ce fut par de mauvaises voies; car il n'a jamais paru avide d'argent. Il n'avoit point de génie pour la guerre, mais beaucoup de valeur. Sa fermeté conserva l'Irlande après l'invasion du Prince d'Orange, & il refusa noblement toutes les offres qu'on lui fit pour se soumettre. Après la bataille de la Boyne, il baissa prodigieusement, étant devenu aussi irrésolu d'esprit, que pesant de corps."

The editor of the Mercure, after mentioning the intelligence of the death of "le Comte de Tyrconnel, si fameux par l'attachement qu'il a témoigné pour le parti du Roi Jaques," observes: "Le Comte de Tyrconnel étoit fort blamable d'avoir pris un mauvais parti. Mais à cela prés, on doit avouer qu'il a marqué dans toute sa conduite qu'il étoit assez honnête homme dans le fond, & qu' étant dans l'erreur, il y étoit du moins de bonne foi. Sa conduite a toûjours été uniforme, & il n'a jamais démenti ses veritables sentimens. Ayant ambrassé le parti du Roi Jaques, il s'y est tenu fortement attaché, sans avoir jamais joué un personnage contraire à ses inclinations. Mais il y en a eu bien d'autres, qui semblables à des girouettes, ont ambrassé & repris plusieurs fois le meme parti, sans autre raison que celle de leur inconstance & de leur mauvaise foi, negociant aujourdhui pour le Roi Guillaume, & demain pour le Roi Jaques. Une conduite uniforme est beaucoup plus louable que toute cette inconstance; & lorsqu'on

[k] As a matter of archæological curiosity, could this tomb be now discovered?

lorsqu'on voit un homme engagé dans un mauvais parti, s'y tenir dans l'adversité, comme dans la prosperité, le deffendre avec courage, & avec perseverance, on ne peut s'empêcher de l'honorer de son estime, pendant qu'on lui refuse son amitié. Je suis persuadé que leurs Majestez Britanniques ont plus fait de cas du Comte de Tyrconnel, tout ennemi qu'il étoit, que de l'Amiral Torrington, & de quelques autres qui lui resemblent. On estime partout la vertu, même dans son Ennemi."

On the *rumour* of poison alluded to by Colonel O'Kelly, and other *reports* mixed up with it, and conveyed by deserters to the English camp, respecting the last illness of the Duke of Tyrconnell, Story, in noticing the Duke's death, adds: "which some say was not without Suspition of foul Play, in being poisoned with a Cup of *Rattafeau*, this is Nothing but Apricock-stones bruised and infused in Brandy, which gives it a pleasant Relish, some of which my Lord *Tyrconnell* had given him at an Entertainment; and falling ill upon it, he often repeated the Word, *Rattafeau*, which made several believe that he had received Poyson in that Liquor, because he would not comply with the prevailing Faction then in Town. But most People say, that he died of a Fever"[l].

Then, respecting the Duke's political character, the Williamite Chaplain observes: "However it was, he certainly had managed the Affairs of that Kingdom, from his Entrance upon publick Business to his dying Day, with as much Dexterity and Zeal for the Interest he pretended to serve, as any Man could have done"[m].

Note 258, Page 144.

The Duke of Tyrconnell was the eighth son of a private gentleman, who, by practising the law, made his fortune, and was raised to the dignity of knighthood.

Richard Talbot, the subsequent Earl and Duke of Tyrconnell, was, according to Carte, "the youngest son of Sir *William Talbot*, a Lawyer, and a man of good parts who, by his prudence and management, had acquired a large estate." Sir William was one of the Agents commissioned, with a Deputation of the Roman Catholic Nobility and Gentry of Ireland, to lay the complaints of themselves, and their fellow-subjects of that religion, before James I., in connexion with what they arraigned as Sir John Davies's unjust obtrusion into the Speakership of the Irish House of Commons in 1613, and the other grievances under which they considered themselves labouring, as the members of that Church, and of the great body of the Irish nation[n].

On

[l] Such, if we had *only* Williamite documents, would be our imperfect knowledge of the circumstances of the death of so remarkable a character as the Duke of Tyrconnell!

[m] Authorities cited in Note 201.—Sir Richard Nagle's Letters in Clarke's Correspondence, &c.—Ferrar's History of Limerick, p. 69: Limerick, 1789.—Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick, tome i. pp. 103, 104.—Mercure Historique & Politique, tome xi. pp. 217, 336, 341, 342.—Story's Continuation, &c., pp. 187, 188.

[n] See Note 80, p. 295.

On this occasion, the French funeral oration of the Duke of Tyrconnell, already cited, says of the Duke's father, Sir William, that "sa sagesse intrepide le rendit si formidable aux Ministres, que leur politique cruelle lui attira une prison de plusieurs années; par cette seul raison, disoient-ils, qu'il ne leur seroit jamais possible de soûmettre l'Irlande, tant qu'elle auroit un tel défenseur." He was, as stated in the Desiderata Curiosa Hiberniæ, "a long time imprisoned in the Tower, and *fined* TEN THOUSAND POUNDS,"—an enormous sum for *that* period! He left his estates, on his death, to his eldest son, Sir Robert Talbot; who took a distinguished part, on the side of the Irish Confederates, or *royalists*, against the Parliamentarian and Cromwellian *republicans*, or *revolutionists*°; and is characterized by Carte, as "a Gentleman of very good sense, strict honour, and great bravery," &c.

Of

° See, in Note 21, p. 184, the opinions of King Charles I. and Abbé Mac Geoghegan connected with the application of the term "*rebels*" to the Irish, by British *republican* or *revolutionary* writers, or their *copyists*. An amusing instance of the correctness, *per antiphrasin*, of this appellation to the Irish, in the time of Charles I., is given by Ludlow, who first fought for the Parliament against the King in England, and next commanded for the Parliament in Ireland against the Irish, then fighting under King Charles II.'s commission, after the sale and execution of his father, King Charles I., in Great Britain.

Ludlow, having related his being made prisoner by one of Charles I.'s officers, his being brought "to Oxford, conducted by a party of horse," and his then "reposing a while at a house near Christ Church, till the pleasure of the King might be known," says: "There came to me two persons, very zealous to justify the King's cause, and to condemn that of the Parliament. These men were Irish Papists, sent over by the rebels in Ireland, to treat with the King on their part, about assisting him against the Parliament. This I afterwards understood from one of them, whose name was Callaghan O Callaghan, when together with the brigade commanded by the Lord Musquerry, he laid down his arms to me in Ireland. The King, looking upon such men as most to be confided in, gives the Presidentship of Munster, vacant by the death of Sir William St. Ledger, to the Lord Musquerry, an Irish rebel;" &c.!

Thus far Ludlow, while it is certain,—*that* this Colonel Callaghan O'Callaghan, and the powerful Munster sept, of which his elder brother, Donough O'Callaghan of Clonmeen, was the head, were, from the beginning of the troubles in 1641, remarkable for their solicitude to put an end to those troubles; *that* this Lord Muskerry, or Donough Mac Carthy, with his numerous clan, were so likewise; that, for this reason, from his Lordship's large possessions, and from his being the head of a race, whose chiefs, *his* ancestors, enjoyed a *royal* presidency in Munster, ages before an Anglo-Norman settlement existed in Ireland, nobody could have had a better claim to the Presidentship of Munster; *that* he, with this Colonel Callaghan O'Callaghan, held out to the last, or in 1652, for the royal cause in Ireland after Charles I.'s death, not submitting to the Parliamentarians under Ludlow, until leave was obtained from Charles II. to make terms with those Parliamentarians whom His Majesty counted "rebels;" *that*, afterwards, Lord Muskerry, and his family, with a considerable Irish emigrant force, were a portion of those of their nation who followed Charles II. in his exile to the Continent, acting there as *he* directed, and even contributing for his support a part of the pay they earned with their blood; *that* Lord Muskerry was advanced for his loyalty to the title of Earl of Clancarty by Charles II.; *that*, after the fall of Parliamentarianism and Cromwellianism in Great Britain and Ireland, his Lordship returned home with Charles II., and was included, with Donough O'Callaghan of Clonmeen, the head of his name, amongst the chief of the exiled Irish *cavaliers*, entitled to a restitution of their

Of Sir Robert's brother, Richard (the future Earl and Duke), and the youngest, as Colonel O'Kelly says, of *eight*, but, according to the French funeral oration, of *seven* sons, that document affirms: "Quoiqu'il fût le plus jeune de *sept* freres, dont le mérite étoit éclatant, il ne laissa pas de concevoir une loüable émulation contre eux; & il ne pretendit pas les offenser, en essayant de surpasser la gloire de leurs actions. Son illustre pere l'avoit ainsi présumé au lit de la mort, lorsqu'en les benissant tous à la maniere des Patriarches, il recommanda principalement l'éducation de ce dernier, comme devant être un jour le défenseur de la Patrie & le soûtien de la Religion. Avouëz, Messieurs," adds the reverend orator, to his distinguished audience[p], "que ce pressentiment tenoit de Prophetie, maintenant que vous sçavez, que le ruisseau a fait autant de bruit que sa source, & que le rayon a éclairé le corps même dont il sortoit"[q].

NOTE 259, Pages 144–145.

Young Richard Talbot, when only eighteen, served in the Civil War in his native country in the reign of Charles I.; became standard-bearer, after some years, to his nephew, an eminent Commander in the Irish Army; and after the reduction of Ireland under Cromwell, retiring with others to Spain, and thence to the Netherlands, was introduced by his brother (afterwards Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin), to James, Duke of York, who took him into his service, &c.

This nephew, under whom Richard Talbot first bore arms, was Sir Walter Dongan, or Dungan, who was an opponent of the party of the Nuncio, Rinuccini. The brother of young Talbot, who introduced him to James, Duke of York, was the celebrated Jesuit, Peter Talbot, Archbishop of Dublin. For the character and writings of that Prelate, as viewed through both a Protestant and Roman Catholic medium, compare the accounts of him, in the undercited works of Harris and Dalton[r].

NOTE 260,

estates; and, finally, *that* this Ludlow, who deals out the nickname of "rebel" against such men as Lord Muskerry, (or the Earl of Clancarty,) and Colonel Callaghan O'Callaghan, was, after the Restoration, judged to be so unworthy of pardon, not only for "rebellion," but "regicide," that his property was confiscated, and he was obliged to live in exile on the Continent, till his death.—(Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 91: Edinburgh, 1751.—Carte's Ormonde, vol. ii. pp. 154-157, &c.—Pedigree of Donough, Earl of Clancarty, in O'Conor's translation of Keating's Ireland.—Mac Geoghegan, Histoire de l'Irlande, tome iii. p. 671.—Statutes of the Parliaments held in Ireland, vol. ii. pp. 256, 313, 314: Dublin, 1786.—New General Biographical Dictionary, vol. viii. pp. 340-347: London, 1784. —Previous Notes to Macariæ Excidium.)

[p] See Note 119, p. 337.

[q] Carte's Life of Ormonde, vol. ii. pp. 233-235. —Oraison Funebre de My lord Richard Talbot, Duc de Tyrconnel, &c., as in Note 119, pp. 14, 15, 16.—Desiderata Curiosa Hiberniæ, in Curry's Review of the Civil Wars of Ireland, book ii. chap. vii., and same chapter, *passim*.

[r] Carte's Life of Ormonde, vol. ii. p. 235.—Harris's Ware, Writers of Ireland, vol. ii. pp. 191-194.—Dalton's Memoirs of the Archbishops of Dublin, pp. 430-446.

Note 260, Page 145.

As soon as James succeeded to his brother Charles's throne, he raised Colonel Talbot to the Peerage of Ireland, and made him Lieutenant-General of the Army there.

Colonel Richard Talbot was, by patent of the 20th of June, 1685, in virtue of a warrant of the 7th of May preceding, made Baron of Talbotstown, Viscount Baltinglass, and Earl of Tyrconnel. "These Titles," says Harris, "were granted to him and his lawful Heirs male, and for want of such in remainder to his Nephew, Sir *William Talbot* of *Cartowne*, Baronet, and his Heirs male, and for want of such to another of his Nephews, *William Talbot* of *Haggardstowne*, Esq." The same writer adds, that the preamble to the patent, ennobling the Colonel, mentions "his immaculate allegiance, and his infinitely great services performed to the King, and to K. *Charles* II., in *England*, *Ireland*, and foreign parts, both by sea and land, in which he suffered frequent imprisonments, and many grievous wounds."

Upon the appointment of the Earl to be Commander of the Forces in Ireland, the English Secretary of State's book, in the State Paper Office, London, has this entry: "Com^{n} to, Richd Earle of Tyrconnell to be Lieutenant Generall of our Army in our Kingdom of Ireland, Whitehall, March 1st 168$\frac{8}{9}$"[a].

Note 261, Page 145.

At that time, the Army in Ireland was composed of Protestants, whom, by degrees, Lieutenant-General Talbot got rid of, and supplied their places with Irish officers and soldiers, by which means, he became the idol of the nation.

The Williamite Dr. King, under the head of "King *James's* Dealing with the Army of *Ireland*, in order to Destroy the Protestants and *English* Interest," says: "The Army of *Ireland* which King *James* found at his coming to the Crown, consisted of about 7,000, as Loyal Men, and as Cordial to the King's Service, as any could be; both Officers and Soldiers had been inured to it for many Years. They looked on him as their Master and Father, intirely depending on him, and expecting Nothing from any Body else. When *Monmouth's* and *Argile's* Rebellion called for their Assistance to suppress them, no People in the World could shew more Chearfulness, or Forwardness, than they did; and it is observable, that no one Man in *Ireland* was ever found to be conscious or consenting to those Rebellions; the Protestants of all Sorts shewed great Horror and Detestation of them, and were discernably Melancholy till the Rebells were suppressed."

On the power, however, conferred for the remodelling of this Army in Ireland on Colonel Talbot, as Lieutenant General and Earl of Tyrconnell, the royal Memoirs, after eulogizing his

[a] Harris's Life of William III., pp. 72, 73.—MS. volume of the Correspondence of the English Secretary of State with Ireland, in State Paper Office, London, &c.

his courage, abilities, and tried loyalty, observe: "To him therefore the King gaue a power to regulate the troops, to place and displace whom he pleas'd, which he executed very much to the King's satisfaction and advantage, thō not so to the Lord Leiftenant's[t]; who besides that he look'd upon it as a diminution of his own authority, was vex'd to see so many Catholicks put into the Army, but the King had reason (as he sayd himself in his letter on that occasion to the Lords Justices) to believe that Monmouth's rebellion had spread its contagion into that Country, that it had infected many and deluded more: tis certain the Protestants of Ireland being much addicted to Presbitery, even of the Cromwelian stamp, were but too succeptible of such impressions[u], and by consequence the Army stood in need of being purged from that dross, wherein no other method was used than what had been formerly given in too and aproued of, by the Duke of Ormonde himself, thō not perform'd by him before he came away, which was only to turn out all such, or the Sons of such, as had serued in the Parliament or Cromwelian Army, no one could wonder the King should think those persons not the fittest to be trusted with the deffence of his Government who had the guilt of his Father's blood upon them[v]; however they were so tenderly dealt with, that most of them were bought off, and the Militia armes (which were generally in their possession too) were only taken from them to be put into the magazines; which my Lord Primat himself enter'd so far into the reason of, as to exhort them to it by an elegant speech he made for that purpose, telling them, They could not do more prudently, than to deliuer up their armes to be placed in his Majestys Stores where they would be in greater readiness for the militia and their owne defence, than dispersed about as they then were; which they performing accordingly, and their example being followed in most other places, added no little to the peace and tranquility of the Kingdom. But these proceedings were no ways liked by My Lord Clarendon, he would not suspect those persons Coll: Talbot thought fit to turn out, thō the sequel shew'd of what disposition they were, when once they had liberty to act according to their own inclinations: but the King conceiud what had been done to be both just and necessary," &c.

The state of public feeling in Ireland at this remodelling of the Army there, for which Colonel O'Kelly describes the Earl of Tyrconnell as having become "the Darling of the Nation," is more strongly represented by what Doctor King asserts of the conduct of the Irish in general, as well as of the Earl of Tyrconnell himself, when Viceroy, in connexion with that measure. "They," says the Doctor, respecting the Irish, "generally swore, with the most bloody Oaths and bitter Imprecations, that they would never subject themselves to any King that was not of their own Religion; and that they would lose the last Drop of their Blood,

[t] The Earl of Clarendon.

[u] See Notes 23 and 28.

[v] "Talbot," says the Williamite Harris, "proceeded in new-modelling the Army, and began with the Officers in the same method that was designed immediately before the death of K. *Charles;* which was to displace all Officers, that had been in the Parliament's or Oliver's army, and the Sons of such. The Duke of *Ormond* had directions to proceed in this method; but he made no progress in it, under pretence of gaining time to find them out, but in reality, because he foresaw it was to make room for *Papists.*"— (Life of William III., pp. 106, 107.)

Blood, rather than part with the Sword and Power put into their Hands, on any Consideration whatsoever. These were not the Discourses of one or two hot headed Fellows amongst them, but they universally talked at this Rate. And it was the common and encouraging Speech of the Earl of *Tyrconnel* from the very Beginning of his Government, and particularly when he took Leave of several Privy Councellors and Officers, at his going to wait on King *James* at *Chester*, *August*, 1687: I HAVE PUT THE SWORD INTO YOUR HANDS. And then, in his usual Stile, prayed GOD TO DAMN THEM ALL, IF EVER THEY PARTED WITH IT."

The negotiation soon after concluded with M. Bonrepos at Chester by the Earl of Tyrconnell,—to make himself King of Ireland, through the aid of an alliance with Louis XIV., in case James, then advanced in life, and who for several years had not had any *male* children, should be succeeded by a *Protestant*,—has been previously seen[w]. And from *that* negotiation the *double* reason the Irish Viceroy had, for wishing the "power of the sword" to be confined, as far as possible, to the members of his own creed, or that of the great majority of the nation, who "would never subject themselves to any King that was not of their own Religion," is equally obvious[x].

NOTE 262, Page 145.

Soon after, the Earl of Tyrconnell was sent to Ireland as Viceroy, &c.

The first intimation, in the English Secretary of State's MS. book, in State Paper Office, London, from the Earl of Sunderland to the Earl of Clarendon, that he was to be superseded by the Earl of Tyrconnell in the Viceroyalty of Ireland, bears date Whitehall, January 1st, 168$\frac{6}{7}$. The Instructions of the Earl of Tyrconnell, as Viceroy of Ireland, are, according to the same authority, dated January 10th, 168$\frac{6}{7}$. The 7th of February following, the Earl of Tyrconnell landed in Ireland. The 12th of the same month, he was resigned the sword of office by his predecessor, the Earl of Clarendon[y].

NOTE 263, Page 146.

The lawyers, who had accompanied the Duke of Tyrconnell from France, having a Commission from King James, succeeded the Duke in the government, &c.

The second of Sir Richard Nagle's letters of August 14th, 1691, already cited, thus mentions the circumstances, under which the Lord Chancellor, Alexander Fitton, (Lord Fitton and Baron of Gosworth, or Gawsworth, in the County Limerick), Francis Plowden, Esq. (Commissioner

[w] Compare Notes 33, 35, 36, 37, 47, 90, and 170.

[x] King's State of the Protestants of Ireland, chap. ii. sect. viii. p. 30, and chap. iii. sect. ii. p. 44: Dublin, 1713.—Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 60, 61.—Notes previously referred to.

[y] English Secretary of State's MS. Book of Correspondence with Ireland. — Harris's Life of William III., pp. 109, 110.

missioner of the Revenue), and the writer himself, as Secretary of State, were appointed by King James, as his Lords Justices for Ireland, on the death of the Duke of Tyrconnell. "There was no need," says Sir Richard, "of making any use of the Statute, for the King sent over a Commission along with Mr. Plowden, which was presented this day: the Persons named Justices are My Lord Chancellor, Mr. Plowden, & myself. The Power is as large as was given to any other Justices, but there are Instructions that we shall leave the Government & Management of the Army to the Chief Officer in Command, who is now Monsr D'Usson. It was to me," adds Sir Richard, "the greatest surprize in the world to find myself named therein, having indeed never expected it, but withall, in all the Letters I received from the King, he made not the least mention of it, but I must submit, & certainly will do all I can for his Maties service. God, in his infinite mercy, direct us all!"[z]

Note 264, Pages 147–148.

Ginkell applied all his thoughts to complete the conquest of Ireland, and perhaps not altogether without the hope of its being rendered more easy by the assistance of the Tyrconnellists, since he was no stranger to the several factions amongst the Irish Army.

According to Harris, Baron de Ginkell, in his march towards Limerick on the 12th of August, had intelligence by deserters, how "several factions were fomented among the chief Officers in the town, some of them being suspected to incline to an accommodation with the *English*. This news," he adds, "occasioned the General to disperse his Declarations among them by a spy, which was affected without discovery." And the royal Memoirs allege, of the Williamite General's first approach to Limerick, that "Ginkle, for greater expedition, was come up with out his cannon, which tis probable the success he expected from the private negociation with Mr. Henry Lutterell made him think might be needless"[a].

Note 265, Page 148.

After destroying all the forage on the Munster side of Limerick, the Irish forces, on Ginkell's approach, retreated to the town, in which they had most of their infantry, and the rest at the fords of the Shannon, with the cavalry, on Connaught side, so near, that they might be daily furnished from the place with provisions, &c.

"Monsr D'Vson (upon whom the command of the troops was now fallen) ordering the foot into the Town, and the hors to Clare side, the Enemie was obliged to prepare for a formal Siege, and wait their Artillerys comeing up; this delay made it the 25th of August ere they could post themselves

[z] Sir R. Nagle's Letter as in Note 257.—Story, Cont. Hist., p. 188.—King's State of the Protestants, Appendix, pp. 273, 276: Dublin, 1713.—Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. p. 411.

[a] Harris's Life of William III., p. 334.—Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. p. 462.

themselves before the place[b], which, considering how far the Season was advanced, that the Irish had 35 battallions tollerably armed, one side of the Town still open, unless the enemie divided their forces, and then they had been strong enough to atack either part, the fortifications in a better condition than the last Siege, the Enemy weaker, and the wether begining to be rainy, it was presumed Ginkle would not opiniatre the matter; and Monsr D'Vson with the French Officers very generously declared, that what mony they had of their own amounting to 50000 liures should be distribited amongst the Soldiers, which gaue great satisfaction and encouragement"[c].

NOTE 266, Page 149.

Ginkell batters and bombards Limerick night and day, reducing it almost to ashes.

The Williamite official pamphlet upon the siege enumerates the "cannon" planted against the place by Ginkell on the 13th of September, as "Sixty Pieces, none less than 12 Pounders;" and in the account given of the battering of the town, on the 8th, there are eight, six, and five mortars mentioned as having been in operation, or nineteen mortars altogether, which, with the sixty cannon, would make a total of seventy-nine pieces of artillery! No wonder that the place, exposed to several weeks' battering and bombardment from *such* a train[d], should be spoken of by the Williamite Lords Justices, in their letter to Lord Nottingham, from Dublin Castle, January 22nd, 169½, as "ye miserably ruined citty of Limerick!"[e]

NOTE 267, Page 149.

Ginkell effects nothing of consequence till the night between the 15th and 16th of September, when, having made a bridge of boats across the Shannon, he, on its completion by break of day, passed over to the Connaught bank, with a considerable body of horse and foot, and without encountering any opposition; Sheldon, who commanded the Irish cavalry, being so alarmed, that he at once, without waiting for orders, retired to a mountain at a good distance from Limerick, and this with much precipitation and disorder, &c.

In mentioning this passage of the Shannon, by order of Lieutenant General Ginkell, "with a considerable Body of Horse and Foot," on the morning of the 16th of September, 1691, Colonel O'Kelly seems to relate the circumstance less in a regular way, or as it actually occurred, than

[b] That is, the 4th of September, according to our *present* manner of reckoning. William raised the siege the year before on the 31st of August, *old* style, or the 10th of September, *new* style. Thus Ginkell, with greater preparations against him, had to begin the siege but six days earlier than his master had found himself obliged to "give it up."

[c] Memoirs of K. James II., vol. ii. pp. 462, 463.

[d] Yet the official pamphlet does not *limit* the number of Ginkell's "cannon" to sixty, and other accounts make his guns many more. "*Sed ohe jam satis!*"

[e] A Diary of the Siege and Surrender of Limerick, with the Articles, &c., pp. 6, 7. — Copy of the Letter of the Lords Justices in State Paper Office, London.

than as a medium for censuring Major General Sheldon, in a manner *not* justified by other accounts. Having premised how the English with their artillery "ruined abundance of houses, Churches, and at last open'd a breach near St. Dominick's Abbey, so large, that they made shew of comeing to an assault, but finding the garison too well prepared to receiue them," were "too well informed to hazard so desperate an attempt," the royal Memoirs add, how Ginkell was "upon the point of quiting the enterprize, when by Clifford's neglect, *not to say wors*, the Enemie made a bridg of boats and passed their hors and dragoons over the Shannor[f] near Annoghbeg[g], and so cut between the Irish hors and the Town; the danger of this haveing been foreseen, was the occasion of Clifford's being posted with 1500 Dragoons to oppose any such attempt, haveing the hors Camp (commanded by Major General Sheldon) within two miles of him, and the town within three; but *instead of giveing either opposition, or so much as notice of what was a doeing, suffer'd the Enemie to make their bridg under his nose*, so that the first news which Maj: Gen: Sheldon had of it, was that they were actually passed, and Clifford retireing towards him: all therefore he could doe upon such a surprize, was by advanceing the Picket to stop the Enemie at a pass, till he could gain the mountains with his hors, Dragoons, and some foot, and so make their way to six mile bridg, which with great difficulty was performed at last; but not being able to subsist there, were order'd back towards Clare," &c.[h]

NOTE 268, Page 152.

Brigadier Clifford protested, that he was innocent of any treachery, but could not deny, that he was guilty of unpardonable negligence.

The Earl of West-Meath, in his letter from Clounine, August 22nd, 1749, to William III.'s biographer, Harris, gives this description of the misconduct of Brigadier Clifford, and of Major General Sheldon's conduct in connexion with it; a description substantiating, as will be seen, the previous account of those transactions cited from King James's Memoirs: "Brigadier *Clifford*," says his Lordship, "commanded where the bridge was laid over, and, *by a very great neglect, he made no opposition to it.* He was for that neglect confined in the Castle[i], and, I believe, if the Articles were not made, *he must of course be condemned by a Court Martial.* I had a Regiment of Horse, and we were encamped on a Mountain within 3 miles of the bridge, and the body consisted of about 3000 horse, commanded by General *Sheldon;* and on his having an account of *Ginckle's* having laid a bridge over the *Shannon*, and that a great number both of Horse and Foot had passed it, he marched with the Horse to *Six-mile-bridge*, which we passed, and marched the next day to *Clare*, where we remained till we made articles. All that I write I assure you is true," adds his Lordship, "and shall not be uneasy, for that reason, that you make use of my name"[j].

NOTE 269,

[f] Shannon.

[g] Annabeg.

[h] Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 463, 464.

[i] Of Limerick.

[j] Harris, in citing this testimony of Lord West-Meath, dwells upon his Lordship's "worth and ve-

NOTE 269, Pages 153–154.

Ginkell, learning that the Irish horse had removed so far from Limerick, passes, September 23rd, over the Shannon, with the greatest part of his cavalry, and a considerable body of foot, by the bridge he had made opposite Clifford's former position (hence styled Clifford's Bridge in the English camp), cuts off the Irish outguards, encamps half-way between Limerick and the Irish horse camp, and thereby hinders all communication between that camp and the town.

It was, according to the *London Gazette* and Story, on the 22nd, and *not*, as Colonel O'Kelly says, on the 23rd, of September, that General Ginkell crossed the Shannon with a large portion of his army, and effected the investment of Limerick, as above alluded to.

The final account, in the *Gazette*, of this affair, headed "*From the Camp before* Limerick *in* Thomonds-Isle, *Sept.* 28," after mentioning how on Tuesday, the 22nd, the Williamite Commander passed the river, and arrived before "Thomond-Isle," observes: "When he was there, he ordered all the Grenadiers, together with the Regiments of *Kirke*, *Tiffin*, and Lord *George Hamilton* to advance, and attack the Works that cover *Thomond Bridge*, which they did with such Resolution and Bravery, that they presently beat the Enemy out of them, who would have fled into the Town, but the French Governor durst not let the Draw-Bridge down to receive them, for Fear our Men should at the same Time have entred the Place, so that about 600 of the *Irish* were killed, there being Nothing to be seen from the Foot of the Bridge to the Draw-Bridge, but Heaps of dead Bodies, and about 130 were taken Prisoners[k], among whom was Colonel *Shelton* (who is since dead of his Wounds) 2 Lieutenant Colonels, 2 Majors, 9 Captains, 7 Lieutenants, and 6 Ensigns. All this while the Enemies Cannon and Small Shot play'd from the Walls, and the Warmth of our Men having carried them too far, they were very much exposed to their Fire, and between 2 and 300 were killed and wounded, but no Body of Note."

Having mentioned, as already cited, the retreat of the Irish cavalry under Major General Sheldon to Six-Mile-Bridge, and their having been, from inability to subsist there, ordered back towards Clare, the royal Memoirs add, respecting the subsequent investment of Limerick by the Dutch General: "Upon which," that is, the removal of the Irish horse with Sheldon, "the Enemie passed a great body of hors and dragoons ouer their new bridg and came before Thomond gate; at their first apearance Coll: Lacy with 6 or 700 men was order'd out to dispute

racity," and speaks of him "as a witness beyond exception." Has his Lordship left behind him any *other* memorial in writing, on the subject of this war? Such documents, on the Jacobite side, as a journal or letters from *him*, if in existence, ought not to remain unpublished.—Harris's Life of William III. p. 345, and Appendix, No. LXII. p. lxxv.

[k] The "about 600" Irish killed, and the "about 130" of them taken prisoners, in this Williamite account, would *make* more Irish to be slain and taken (or about 730) than were actually engaged, according to the Jacobite account that follows.

dispute their aproach, which he did with great valour and good success for a time, till *overpower'd by a continual supply of fresh men,* he was forced to giue way, however rallyed again and repossessed himself of the ground he had lost, but the enemie was *too numerous to be resisted by soe small a partie,* soe *bringing on still fresh troops* obliged him to retire towards the gate, which the Major of the Town (aprehending the English might enter pell mell with them) imprudently shut against his own people, whereby the greatest part were cut in pieces. This so dishearten'd the General Officers that they began to dispair, they saw the Enemie now betwixt them and the hors, which being ready to perish for want of fourage, must have surrendered at discretion;" &c.[1]

Note 270, Page 154.

On the 24th, the Commanders in Limerick sent out a trumpet, to desire a parley with the English General Officers, &c.

It was *not* on the 24th, but on "Wednesday, the 23*d*," of September, that a parley was demanded, on the part of the garrison of Limerick. On that day, "about six a Clock," says Story, "the Enemy beat a Parly on both Sides the Town; one Colonel *Ruth* coming towards *Mackay's* Fort, where the Earl of *Drogheda's* Regiment then were upon Duty: but Major General *Talmash* shortly after coming that Way, and being acquainted with it, he referred the Matter to Lieutenant General *Scravemore,* and the Marquess *Ruvigny.* The General being then beyond the River, Major General *Waughup,* or Lieutenant General *Sarsfield* went out to him, and a Cessation was concluded for that Night"[m].

Note 271, Page 154.

After a short conference, a three-days' truce was agreed to, and hostages given on both sides, of which notice was conveyed to Sheldon, the same day.

It was *not* on the same evening the Cessation for the night was agreed to, or upon the evening of Wednesday the 23rd, but on the morning of the 24th, that the three-days' truce spoken of by Colonel O'Kelly was decided upon, in order to include those in the Irish horse camp, under Major General Sheldon, as well as the garrison of Limerick, &c., in the proposed negotiation between the Irish and English Armies. Neither were hostages, as will be seen, exchanged, till two days later than the 24th. In reference to the Cessation agreed to for the night of the 23rd, Story says: "The 24*th* in the Morning, Lieutenant General *Sarsfield* and

[1] The three Williamite regiments of Kirke, Tiffin, and Hamilton, taken at their regular complements, would *alone*—or without making *any* allowance for the body of grenadiers, horse and dragoons, that accompanied them—be as three or four to one, compared to Colonel Lacy's party of 600 or 700 men.—London Gazette, No. 2704.—Story's Continuation, pp. 223-225.—Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 463-464.

[m] Story's Continuation, pp. 227, 228.

and Major General *Waughup* came out to the General, and desired it might be continued for three Days longer, till they could send to their Horse, who then were encamp'd towards *Clare*, in order to their being included in the general Capitulation which they then proposed, and the Request was granted"[n].

NOTE 272, Page 154.

Over night, Sheldon received from Ginkell six safe-conducts signed by him, and blanks left, which were filled up with the names of Deputies, who next morning went to Limerick.

The Williamite official pamphlet on the last siege of Limerick mentions, to the same effect as Story, the arrival of the Deputies from the Irish horse camp, on their way to Limerick, at General Ginkell's quarters, and his hospitable civility to them, previous to their entering the town. "25th. This Day the Earl of *Westmeath*, Colonel *Sheldon*, the Lord *Galway*[o], Lord *Dillon*, Nicholas *Purcell*, Esq; commonly called Baron of *Loughmoe*, the titular Primate, the titular Archbishop of *Cashel*, Sir *Theobald Butler*, Major *Condon*, and some others, came to our Camp from the enemies Horse-Camp, din'd with the General, and after a large Conference went hence into the Town"[p].

NOTE 273, Page 154.

On September 26th, negociations began, and they mere prolonged to the 3rd of October, when, at length, the Treaty was concluded.

"The 26*th*," observes the Williamite Chaplain, "*Sarsfield* and *Waughup* dined with the General, and it was agreed that Hostages should be exchanged, in order to a further Treaty. Accordingly, in the Afternoon, my Lord *Cutts*, Sir David *Collier*, Colonel *Tiffin*, and Colonel *Piper*, were sent into the Town, for whom were sent out the Lords *Westmeath*, *Iveagh*, *Trimblestowne* and *Louth*." Finally, before the insertion of the Articles of Limerick in his work, Story states: "The 3*d* (October) most of the Irish Officers came again; and dining with the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, they went all afterwards to the General's (Ginkell's) Tent, where the following Articles were interchangeably signed: the former about the Surrender of the Town, signed by the Generals; and the latter about the Privileges granted to the *Irish*, signed by the General and Lords Justices jointly, being afterwards ratified by their Majesties Letters Patents, under the Great Seal of *England*," &c. The same evening, or that of the 3rd of October, when "the Articles were Signed and Exchanged," says the Williamite official pamphlet, "it being late, we only took Possession of the *Enemies Out-Works*, their *Stone Fort*, and St. *John's Gate* on the *Irish Town* side." And that pamphlet adds: "This Morning (4*th*.) Four

[n] Story, Cont. Hist., pp. 228, 229, 230.

[o] A misprint, as appears by Story, for *Galmoy*; Lord Galway having, as before mentioned, been killed at the battle of Aughrim.

[p] A Diary of the Siege and Surrender of Lymerick, &c., p. 11.—Story, Cont. Hist., p. 229.

Four Regiments of Foot marched into the *Irish Town*, which is indeed the strongest Part of *Lymerick*, leaving the *English Town* for the *Irish* Quarters, until *Sarsfield*, with those who design'd to go with him, could be Shipp'd for *France*"[q].

NOTE 274, Page 154.

The Treaty of Limerick, designated by Colonel O'Kelly's Latin translator, "ignominious terms of peace, or (more truly) of the harshest slavery."

This Treaty, and the conduct of the Irish in obtaining it, under the circumstances in which they were placed, are very differently spoken of in King's James's Memoirs. "Notwithstanding the ill Situation they (the Irish) were in, their forts taken, a breach made, and their condition, in short, desperate; yet they had the courage to insist upon, and the dexterity to obtain, articles not only for their own security, but which had a respect to the whole Kingdom, consulting in the first place the King's honour and advantage in getting permission to go, and even ships[r] to transport them and all others into France who were desirous to follow their Prince's fortune and adhere to his Seruice; which, with what went before, brought into that Kingdom first and last near 30000 men[s]; in the next place they articled for as free an exercise of the Catholick religion as in King Charles the Second's time, and a promis to procure *a further security from any disturbance on that account;* that all the inhabitants of Limerick, all Officers, Soldiers, &c., in the Army, Garisons, or Countys of Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Corke, and Mayo, should, upon submission, be restored to their Estates, they were in possession of in King Charles the Second's time; all persons to exercise their trads, and follow their professions, possess their goods, Cattles, &c., as before the war, and in fine a general indempnity for all such as had been concerned in it." Then, in reference to the subsequent violation of the terms of the Treaty, *which*, and *not* the Treaty itself, was connected with what Colonel O'Kelly's translator styles, "the harshest slavery," the royal Memoirs add: "Which had the English kept as religiously, as such agreements ought to be observed, the world had not seen so many crying examples of antient and noble famelys reduced to the last degree of indigence, only for adhereing to their Prince in just defence of his right, when he came in person to demand their succour, which all Laws both humain and divine obliged them too; for even that senceless cantword of Abdication, which was the poor and only excuse for their unnatural rebellion in England, had not the least shaddow of pretext in Ireland, unless the King's comeing into a Country he had never been in before, and governing a Kingdom in person he had hithertoo

[q] Story, Cont. Hist., pp. 230, 238.—A Diary of the Siege and Surrender of Lymerick, &c., p. 11.

[r] To the amount, if necessary, of 14,000 tons, at William III.'s expense, besides a convoy of two men-of-war, with the chief officers.

[s] "Whatever our opinion may be," says Sir Walter Scott, "of the cause for which the followers of James abandoned their country and fortunes, there can be but one sentiment concerning the courage and self-devotion, with which they sacrificed their all to a sense of duty."—(Swift's Works, vol. xvii. p. 447: Edinburgh and London, 1824.)

hithertoo govern'd by a deputy must be counted an abandoning of it by the Parliamentary Logick of our days"[t].

NOTE 275, Pages 154–155.

Sarsfield, who was most forward in favour of the Treaty, represented to the Irish Colonels, &c., that but little provisions were left, and no expectation of any supply from France till next spring; that if they refused the conditions offered, none were to be hoped for, when those provisions were all gone; and that, therefore, the Capitulation proposed was one of absolute and unavoidable necessity.

"It may rationally be here demanded," remarks Story, "why the *Irish* would treat with us for the Town, since they had full as many Foot within as we had in our Army without; and notwithstanding all the Stories told us by Deserters about the Scarcity of Provisions, they had a Quantity of the finest *French* Bisket I ever tasted, sufficient for the whole Garrison for two Months; some of which I saw; and Commissary-General *Aspole* assured my self and some other Friends, that they had the Rest: Upon which I asked him the Reason of giving us the Town? And his Reply was, That if they had been driven by Necessity to yield, they must then have accepted what Terms we had pleased to give them; but since they were not, they had stood upon such as were for the Advantage of their whole Party"[u].

NOTE 276, Page 155.

Sarsfield, in whom the Irish had most confidence, and who, they believed, would be the very last to listen to a Treaty, was now the most earnest to urge it on; a mystery requiring further time to unriddle.

The Duke of Berwick, Sarsfield's fellow-soldier, and to whose widow (the Lady Honora de Burgo, second daughter of William, seventh Earl of Clanrickarde) he was married, gives this Jacobite character of the Irish General: "Patrice Sarsfield etoit né Gentilhomme, & avoit hérité de son frere aîné d'environ deux mille livres sterling de rente. C'étoit un homme d'une taille prodigieuse, sans esprit, de très-bon naturel, & très-brave. Il avoit ete Enseigne en France dans le Régiment de Monmouth, Lieutenant des Gardes-du-Corps en Angleterre; & quand le Roi passa en Irlande, il y eut un Régiment de Cavalerie, & fut fait Brigadier. L'aventure du convoi battu, dont j'ai parlé ci-devant[v], l'enfla tellement, qu'il se crut le plus grand Général du monde. Henri Luttrel ne cessoit de lui tourner la tête, & de le vanter partout, non par une véritable estime qu'il en eut, mais afin de le rendre populaire, & par-là s'en servir à ses propres desseins. En effet, la plupart des Irlandois conçurent une telle opinion de lui, que le Roi, pour leur plaire, le créa Comte de Lucan, & à la prochaine promotion il fut

[t] Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 465, 466.

[u] Story's Continuation, p. 279.

[v] See Notes 155 and 160.

fut fait Maréchal de Camp. Etant passé en France après la Capitulation de Limerick, le Roi lui donna une Compagnie des Gardes-du-Corps, & le Roi Très-Chrétien le fit Maréchal de Camp. Il fut tué en 1693, à la bataille de Nerwinde."

The Williamite historian, Harris, says of Sarsfield, in connexion with his preferring to abandon his native country for France, rather than acknowledge King William for his Sovereign: "The *Irish* great Officers went on board with the last of their Forces on the 22d of *December*, and with them *Sarsfield* embarked to seek a fortune in a strange Country, when he might have remained an ornament to his own[w]. But he was actuated by a strong bias to what, in his opinion, was the true religion, and by the false principles of honour and loyalty to a Prince, who had made it the whole business of his Reign to overturn an established constitution"[x].

NOTE 277, Page 156.

The Articles of the Capitulation were not so warily drawn, but room was left for captious exceptions.

In this statement, Colonel O'Kelly seems to allude to an omission in the fair or executed copy of the Treaty, which, had it not been remedied, would have consigned numbers of his countrymen to forfeiture, or ruin. The omission occurred in the second of the Civil Articles of Limerick, in which, after the mention of "Lymerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, and Mayo," the words, "*and all such as are under their*"—i. e. the Irish—"*Protection in the said Counties*," were left out. These words having been agreed to, and inserted accordingly in the rough draft as a portion of the Treaty, were, as is said, through a clerical error, not inserted in the copy engrossed for execution. This omission being detected by the Irish, *after* the signing of the document, they, upon the arrival from France of the Comte de Château-Renaud, with his fleet of eighteen men of war, four fire-ships, and twenty great vessels of burthen, conveying 200 officers, 3,000 soldiers, and between 8,000 and 10,000 stand of arms for the relief of Limerick, insisted on having the original passage restored, before they would agree to proceed any further, with the execution of the Treaty.

Story, having noted, how "all that the *French* and *Irish* Officers insisted on after the coming of their Fleet, was only to have a *Clause* confirmed that was casually omitted in the Articles which the General promised them, and Their Majesties were pleased afterwards to Condescend to," thus relates the remainder of the circumstances referred to: "It being late at Night when the Articles were agreed to, and they engrossed in Haste, this Clause, *And all such as are under their Protection in the said Counties*, was omitted by the Engrosser, tho' *it was certainly inserted in the foul Draught.* This was what the *Irish* Officers desired might be

[w] Yes! But, although such an "ornament" to his country, what good, had he stayed at home, would *that* have been to him *there*, under a subsequent violation of the Treaty of Limerick?

[x] Archdall's Lodge's Peerage, vol. i. pp. 137, 138, 139.—Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick, tome i. pp. 104, 105, 153.—Harris's Life of William III., p. 354.

be made good after the coming of the *French* Fleet: And first it was but reasonable, seeing it was within the Intent of the Articles. Secondly, *it was Prudence not to deny it,* since the *French* Fleet being Eighteen Men of War, Four Fireships, and Twenty Ships of Burden, *were certainly too hard for Captain Coal and his Squadron then in the Shannon,* and might have put what Men and Provisions they pleased into the *English* Town, *our Army also being gone to Quarters,* we had only Five Regiments in the *Irish* Town, with my Lord *Drogheda's,* and my Lord *Lisburn's,* Encamp'd without the Walls. *Provisions also were so scarce with us, that our Men had only a Pint of Meal a Day allowed them,* and the *Irish* in the other Town were *not only more in Number, but better provided,* so that if Justice could not have obliged the General to the Confirmation of that *Clause,* yet *Discretion at that Juncture would*"[y].

NOTE 278, Page 156.

Neither was there any Article made, for assuring the true worship, or securing the Bishops.

By this assertion, Colonel O'Kelly appears to have judged the Treaty of Limerick rather from the unfortunate results of its violation as regards the religious freedom of the Irish Roman Catholics, than from what the very first of the Civil Articles sets forth in their favour on that head, and from the statements, in the second and ninth of the same Articles, respecting the Oath of Allegiance, by which it was stipulated (as if to guard against the introduction of any such *extra* Oaths as were *afterwards* introduced) that such Oath, "*and* NO *other,*" was to be administered to the Irish Roman Catholics submitting to King William's and Queen Mary's government, or the new order of things established by the Revolution.

The words of the first of the Civil Articles referred to are: "The *Roman* Catholicks of this Kingdom, shall enjoy such Privileges in the Exercise of their Religion, as are consistent with the Laws of *Ireland;* or as they did enjoy in the Reign of King *Charles* the II; And their Majesties, as soon as their Affairs will permit them to Summon a Parliament in this Kingdom, *will endeavour to procure the said Roman Catholicks such farther Security in that Particular, as may preserve them from any Disturbance upon the Account of their said Religion.*"

The second of those Civil Articles guaranteeing the possession of their estates, &c., and the exercise of their professions, trades and callings, to the Irish Roman Catholics therein embraced, does so on the condition, that they should not "neglect or refuse to take the Oath of Allegiance made by Act of Parliament in *England* in the First Year of the Reign of their present Majesties, when thereunto required." That Oath was as follows: "I, A. B., do sincerely Promise and Swear, That I will be Faithful and bear true Allegiance to their Majesties, King

[y] The Civil Articles of Lymerick, exactly printed from the Letters Patents, wherein they are Ratified and Exemplified by Their Majesties under the Great Seal of England, pp. 3-11: Published by Authority. Dublin, Printed by Robert Thornton, and are to be Sold by the Booksellers. 1692.—Story's Continuation, pp. 271, 272, 273.—Père Daniel, Histoire de France, &c., as in Note 231.—Letter of the Irish Williamite Secretary of War, Dublin, Nov. 5, 1691, in MS. Correspondence, &c.

King William and Queen Mary. So help me God." And the ninth of the Civil Articles of the Treaty says: "*The Oath to be administered to such Roman Catholicks as submit to their Majesties government, shall be the Oath above-said,* AND NO OTHER"[z].

What "privileges" the Irish Roman Catholic lawyers, concerned in the drawing up of the Treaty of Limerick, conceived, that *they* were securing for themselves and their countrymen of that religion, in specifying such "privileges," as those "they did enjoy in the reign of King Charles the II." and in likewise providing, that the previously-cited Oath of Allegiance, "*and* NO *other*," should be administered to them after their submission, may be judged of, by the speech of one of those lawyers, Sir Theobald Butler, when he appeared at the bar of the Anglo-Irish House of Commons, together with two other eminent Roman Catholic barristers, Sir Stephen Rice and Counsellor Malone, on Tuesday, February 22nd, 1703, to protest against the passing of a bill, entitled, "An Act to Prevent the further Growth of Popery," as subversive of the rights secured to themselves, and their Roman Catholic countrymen, by the Treaty of Limerick. In mentioning the religion of himself and the great mass of his countrymen, as "that religion, which, by the first of Limerick Articles, the Roman Catholics of this kingdom were to enjoy, as they did in the reign of King Charles II.," Sir Theobald observes, "and then there was no law in force, that deprived any Roman Catholic of this kingdom of any of such their native birth-right, or any other thing, which, by the laws of the land then in force, any other fellow-subjects were intituled unto"[a].

The penal enactments against the Irish Roman Catholic Prelacy, &c., which, according to Colonel O'Kelly's views, would seem as if passed from a *want* of due provisions for the religious liberty of his countrymen in the Treaty of Limerick, are well known, and will be found at length in the Acts of Parliament, 7 & 9 William III. sess. I. c. 26.

On

[z] "By the Treaty of Limerick," observes Mr. Parnell, afterwards Sir Henry Parnell, and, finally, Lord Congleton, respecting the Irish Roman Catholics, "they were protected from being called upon to take any other oaths, besides the Oath of Allegiance of the 1st William and Mary. By the Penal Laws, they are required to take the Oaths of Abjuration and Supremacy, and to subscribe declarations against the principal tenets of their religious faith." — (History of the Penal Laws against the Irish Roman Catholics, &c., pp. 10, 46: Dublin, 1808.)

[a] Mr. Macauley, in treating of the reign of King James II., thus coincides with the view of Sir Theobald Butler: "The Irish Statute Book, afterwards polluted by intolerance as barbarous as that of the dark ages, then contained scarce a single enactment, and not a single stringent enactment, imposing any penalty on Papists, as such. On our side of St. George's Channel, every priest, who received a neophyte into the bosom of the Church of Rome, was liable to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. On the other side, he incurred no such danger. A Jesuit, who landed at Dover, took his life in his hand; but he walked the streets of Dublin in security. Here, no man could hold office, or even earn his livelihood as a barrister, or a schoolmaster, without previously taking the Oath of Supremacy; but, in Ireland, a public functionary was not held to be under the necessity of taking that Oath, unless it were formally tendered to him. It therefore *did not exclude from employment any person whom the government wished to promote.* The Sacramental Test and the Declaration against Transubstantiation were *unknown;* nor was either *House of Parliament* closed against *any* religious sect."—(History of England from the Accession of James II., vol. ii. pp. 127-128: London, 1849.)

On the effects of those measures, King James's Memoirs, under the year 1698, observe: "The Prince of Orange notwithstanding all his fair pretences to the Confederate Princes, even during the Congress at Riswick passed a new Law in that Kingdom, for the rooting out Popery, which amongst other articles order'd the Banishment of all Regular Priests, which Monsr Ruvigny, who commanded there, fail'd not to put in execution; so that they came flocking over into France, and aboue four hundred arriued there in some months after." Then, by "the relief of those distressed persons," as well as other Roman Catholics banished by law from England and Scotland, the royal Memoirs add, respecting the exiled Monarch in France, that there was brought "a new burthen as was sayd upon the King, who had the mortification even after haveing distribited amongst them what was necessary for his own support, to see great numbers ready to perish for want, without his being able to relieue them."

"According to Captain South's account," says Newenham, "there were, in Ireland, in the year 1698, 495 regular, and 872 secular, clergy of the Church of Rome. According to the same account, *the number of regulars shipped for foreign parts, by Act of Parliament, was* 424: viz., from Dublin, 153; from Galway, 170; from Cork, 75; and from Waterford, 26." A contemporary Williamite letter from "Whitehall, 23d June, 1698," to "Captain Samuel Warren, near Loughbrickland," County Down, has, under the head of Plymouth, the 19th, the following paragraph relative to such deportations from Ireland: "Yesterday came in his Majesty's ship, the Feversham, from Rouen, where she landed 160 Popish Priests from Ireland"[b].

Note 279, Page 156.

There was no stipulation made in favour of prisoners, or of the orphans of those, who were slain in the service of their Prince, and the defence of their country.

The Duke of Berwick, in his observations upon the Treaty of Limerick, makes the same remark, relative to the Irish who were prisoners at the time of its conclusion, as Colonel O'Kelly does. Having stated how "les Irlandois demanderent à capituler" the Duke speaks of the Treaty thus: "Le Général ennemi offrit de leur restituer tous leurs biens, & de leur permettre l'exercice de leur Religion, ainsi qu'ils l'avoient sous le regne de Charles II., à condition qu'ils missent bas les armes, & s'en retournassent vivre chez eux tranquillement: mais les Irlandois ne voulurent pas accepter ces conditions, & enfin il fut arrêté, qu'il seroit permis à tous ceux qui étoient alors dans Limerick de retourner chez eux, & de jouir de leurs biens, & qu'on fourniroit à ceux qui voudroient passer en France les vaisseaux suffisans. On eut grand tort de ne pas faire insérer dans les articles, *tous les Irlandois en général;* car les Généraux

[b] The Civil Articles of Lymerick, &c. (as in Note 277), pp. 4, 5, 6, 8.—Parnell's History of the Penal Laws, &c., as last cited.—Curry's Review of the Civil Wars of Ireland, as before quoted, and vol. ii. pp. 227, 228.—Memoirs of King James II., vol. ii. pp. 579, 580.—Newenham's View of the Natural and Political Circumstances of Ireland, p. 196: London, 1809.—The Rawdon Papers, p. 385.

raux ennemis auroient consenti à tout pour mettre fin à cette guerre; mais l'imbécillité des Députés que la garnison avoit chargés de la capitulation, & peut-être la crainte que cette proposition ne fût un obstacle au transport des troupes que quelques personnes, par des vues d'intérêt particulier, souhaitoient, fut cause que l'on n'en fit pas seulement mention. Nombre de Seigneurs & d'Officiers prisonniers en furent ruinés; car ils perdirent totalement leurs biens, sans être assurés de recouvrer leur liberté"[c].

Note 280, Pages 156–157.

Those of the Irish, who decided on leaving their native soil, never hoped to see it again.

In the Declaration from his "Camp, by *Lymerick*, the 5th. of *October*, 1691," to "the Officers and Soldiers of the *Irish* Army," Ginkell, after instituting a distinction between such as "had rather promote the *British* and *Irish* Interest, than the Designs of *France* against both," mentions the Irish military as "being at full and entire Liberty to chuse what Part they will take; but if once they go into *France*, they," he adds, "must not expect to return into this Kingdom again."

Of the penalty, on being found guilty of doing so, without a special permission from King William, we have, under the date of 1699–1700, or even after the termination of the war between France and England by the Treaty of Ryswick, an instance, in the Memoirs of Captain Peter Drake, of Drakerath, in the County Meath. "There was," he says, "at that Time, in the Prison, one Captain Barrett, under Sentence of Death, for returning from *France*, without the King's Sign Manual, which the Laws then required"[d].

Note 281, Page 157.

Those, who made the unfortunate choice to remain in Ireland, had nothing in prospect then, but contempt, poverty, chains, imprisonment, and every misery a conquered nation might expect, from the power and malice of implacable enemies.

The Protestant Jacobite, Dr. Charles Leslie, in his account, in 1692, of the complaints of the Irish on those points, against the more violent of King William's adherents in Ireland[e], says: "The vast Number of poor harmless *Natives* who were daily Kill'd up and down the Fields as they were following their Labour, or taken out of their Beds and Hanged, or Shot immediately for *Rapparees*, is a most Terrible Scandal to the *Government*, which the *Protestants* themselves do Loudly Attest; and many of the Country Gentlemen, as likewise several Officers, even of K. W.'s Army, who had more Bowels or Justice than the Rest, did Abhor to

[c] Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick, tome i. pp. 102, 103.

[d] Story's Continuation, &c., pp. 258, 259.—Captain Drake's Memoirs, p. 19.

[e] Compare Note 3, p. 166, and Note 86, pp. 299-300.

to see what small Evidence, or even Presumption, was thought sufficient to condemn Men for *Rapparees*, and what Sport they made to Hang up poor *Irish* People by Dozens, almost without Pains to Examine them; they hardly thought them *Humane Kind!* And since the Peace, have first Robbed them, tho' under the Capitulations of *Limerick*, and then suffered them to Starve in Ditches, and Eat dead Horses in the High-way, which I have been told by many *Protestant* Gentlemen, who have seen it, and extreamly Lamented it, to see Men divested of common Mercy or Compassion." And with respect to the further conduct of those men, as regards the Irish and the Treaty of Limerick, the Doctor speaks of "their open grudging and repining, to make good one Article, saying openly, That *they will have them reversed in Parliament*[f]. Besides, the Country Militia falling upon, and Robbing the poor *Irish*, who came out of *Limerick*, and the Rest of K. *James's* Quarters, and by many other Indications they have made it known, what Security is to be expected from their Protections; and whether K. *James's* or K. *Williams's* Protections were best observ'd. The Truth is, there are none of the *Protestants* that belong to the *North* of *Ireland*, that I have met with, but do confess, That the *Irish*, while among them in Summer 89. kept their Protections better to the *Protestants*, than the *Protestants* have kept theirs to them since. Nay, one, who was of considerable Post there at that Time, told me in these Words: *The Truth is*, said he, *it was in the Power of their Gentlemen and Officers to make their Protections be observed; but that is not in our Power: For our Country Folks will not be restrained from falling upon the Irish.*" In fine, referring for the verification of this assertion to the written testimony of Dr. Robert Gorges, Secretary to Marshal Schonberg, Dr. Leslie, who gives the document containing that testimony in full, adds: "Doctor *Gorges* Letter in the *Appendix* vouches this."

The political and religious principles, with respect to the Irish and the Treaty of Limerick, of those Anglo-Irish Williamites, adverted to by Dr. Leslie, as "men divested of common mercy or compassion," are thus described, and dissented from, by the English Williamite Chaplain, Story: "I hope it may not be impertinent to endeavour the Answering some Objections that have been since made against the Capitulations of *Limerick:* As if the Lords Justices and the General had condescended too far in granting the *Irish* any Terms at all, at least such as they did, which put them into a Condition of Revolting again, whensoever an Opportunity offered it self. That therefore *Providence seem'd now to have given the Irish up, as the Barbarous Nations were formerly to the Jews*, and that if this Occasion was neglected, of putting it out of their Power for ever hereafter to endanger the *English* Interest: Or if it was not made a right Use of (*by which they understood* DESTROYING OF THEM ROOT AND BRANCH[g]) then we might certainly expect, that all the Expence and Blood it has cost *England* in their Reduction, will in a small Time signifie Nothing; since it's observed, that the Irish of themselves are a sloathful People, naturally inclined to Spoil, Rapine, Stealth and Oppression, bred in no Trades, Manufactures, or other Ways of Civil Industry, to live by in Times of Peace, wherein they never did, nor can endure to continue long, loving always a savage and unbridled Kind of

[f] Compare Note 144, pp. 363-364, and Note 278, pp. 488-491.

[g] See Note 69, pp. 276-278.

of Life: And therefore when *one Opportunity is neglected of destroying them*, it will be the Justice of God to make them afterwards the Instruments of our Punishment, as they have been hitherto. And thus Argue *a great many People of that Countrey*, who pretend good Experience, and that very lately, for what they say."

"But," replies the English Williamite Chaplain, "as to *those Comparisons between us and the Jews, and the Irish, and the Barbarous Nations formerly inhabiting Judea*, there can be no just Proportion made to draw any reasonable Conclusions from, since the *Irish* are Christians as well as we, tho' misled and abused in a great many Points, and have a natural Right to their Countrey, which several of them have never forfeited by any Rebellions, how forward soever others may have been. And, for my own Part, I must own my self of the Opinion, that *any Policy that is founded in Blood, and tends to the Destruction of Mankind, is* NOT *so warrantable by the Law of God, as* SOME PEOPLE ENDEAVOUR TO MAKE IT, excepting that one Instance of the *Jews*, which *is no Precedent to any other People:* And what Means soever may be used for the procuring of Unity, or Settlement, in a Countrey, *Men must at the same Time be careful not to deface and dissolve the Bonds of Christian Charity; nay of humane Society*, since acting the contrary, is but to dash the second Table against the first; and so *to consider others as of this or that Persuasion, and treat them ill upon that Account, is* TO FORGET THAT THEY ARE MEN (as my Lord *Bacon* has formerly observed;) And indeed to me IT SEEMS FULL AS UNREASONABLE TO DESTROY OTHER PEOPLE, PURELY BECAUSE THEY CANNOT THINK AS WE DO, AS IT IS FOR ONE MAN TO RUINE ANOTHER, BECAUSE THE OUTWARD FIGURE AND SHAPE OF HIS BODY IS NOT THE SAME WITH HIS OWN."

So far as the annotator of this work has been able to discover, these were likewise King William's ideas with respect to what has been termed "the right to differ," on religious as well as on other subjects; and Harris says, that, in Ireland, as regards the Treaty of Limerick, "the moderate Protestants thought it for his Majesty's honour and interest, both abroad and at home, that the Articles should be strictly observed." These "moderate Protestants," however, were, unfortunately, but a minority, as the more moderate or enlightened of every creed, and in every country, as well as in Ireland, have too frequently been, when compared with the *ultras*, or advocates of extreme measures[h].

NOTE 282, Page 157.

Though the husbands were assured of means for transporting their wives and children to France, and of maintenance there, yet, when the ablest men were gotten on board, the women and children were left on the shore, abandoned to hunger and cold, in that rigorous season.

Mr. Croker, in his notes on the edition of Colonel O'Kelly's work for the London Camden Society, cites, respecting the above-mentioned separation of the Irish soldiery from their wives and

[h] Leslie's Answer to King, pp. 164-165, and Appendix, No. 2, pp. 3, 14.—Story's Continuation, pp. 273, 274, 275.—Note 50, pp. 212-213.—Harris's Life of William III., p. 372.—Dr. Nary's Case of the Roman Catholicks of Ireland, &c., pp. 123, 124: London, 1762.

and children on departing for France, the following paragraph from a contemporary Anglo-Irish or Williamite newspaper, called "*The Dublin Intelligence.*"

"Barbarous and inhuman hath been *Wahop's* Usage to the poor *Irish*, which lately were shipped from *Kerry*. He, finding while they lay encamped (waiting for transport Ships) that they began to desert him upon Account of the ill Condition of their Wives and Families in this Kingdom, promised to take them also with him; and a Declaration to that Effect having been issued by *Sarsfield* and *Wahop*, they accordingly were brought to the Water Side, when *Wahop*, pretending to ship the Soldiers in Order, according to his Lists of them, first carried the Men on Board; many of the Women, on the second Return of the Boats for the Officers, catching Hold to be carried on Board, were dragged off with the Boats, and through Fearfulness loosing their Hold were drowned; others who held faster had their Fingers cut off, and came to the same miserable End, in the Sight of their Husbands and Relations."

Story, with such a Williamite account evidently before him, writes, under the head of "*The* Irish *severely dealt withal at their Embarquing*," to a similar effect.

"A great Many of them having Wives and Children, they made what Shift they cou'd to desert, rather than leave their Families behind to starve, which my Lord *Lucan* and Major General *Waughop* perceiving, they Publish a Declaration, *That as Many of the Irish as had a Mind to 't, should have Liberty to Transport their Families along with themselves.* And accordingly a vast Rabble of all Sorts were brought to the Water-side, when the Major General, pretending to Ship the Souldiers in Order, according to their Lists, they first carried all the Men on Board, and many of the Women, at the second Return of the Boat for the Officers, catching hold to be carried on Board, were dragged off, and through Fearfulness, losing their Hold, were drowned; but others who held faster had their Fingers cut off, and so perished in Sight of their Husbands, or Relations, tho' those of them that did get over wou'd make but a sad Figure, if they were admitted to go to the late Queen's Court at St. *Germaine.*"

Nevertheless, in other Williamite accounts, "women and children" *are* related to have accompanied the Irish military who went to France, as well in the French fleet, which conveyed those who first sailed for that country, from the Shannon; as in the ships under Sarsfield, Lord Lucan, that brought away those who went off the last, from Cork[1].

A paragraph, headed "*Paris, Decemb.* 14." in the *London Gazette*, No. 2722, says, "The Squadron commanded by the Sieur *de Chasteau Renaud*, anchored in the Road of *Brest* the 3d of this Month. 'Tis said, that about 10,000 *Irish* are in all arrived there, *including Women and Children.*"

A paragraph, headed "*Falmouth, Decemb.* 26." in the *London Gazette*, No. 2727, observes: "On the 24th instant put in here Three Transport Ships with 400 Irish bound for *Brest;* they came from *Corke* on the 22nd, in Company of 8 or 9 Ships more, from whom they were separated in bad Weather; they took on Board in all about 2000 Irish, *reckoning Women and Children.*"

A paragraph,

[1] Compare the *fact*, of this embarkation having taken place from *Cork*, with the previous *assertion* of *The Dublin Intelligence*, as to the embarkation having been from *Kerry*.

A paragraph, headed, "*Dublin, Dec.* 29." in the *London Gazette,* No. 2728, states: "On the 22th of this Month, *Sarsfeild,* with the Remainder of the Irish that designed for *France,* set sail from *Cork,* being in all about 2,600, *including Women and Children.* He thought to have carried off with him a much greater Number, but many deserted him," &c.

That Lord Lucan and Major General John Wauhop were under no *necessity,* from a want of ship-room, to sanction such barbarous conduct to women as that attributed to them by the Dublin Williamite newspaper, and copied by Story, would appear both from the last-cited paragraph of the *London Gazette,* and from what Story himself says, about "Lord *Lucan* finding that *he had Ships enough for all the Irish that were like to go with him;*" and his Lordship's accordingly giving under his hand a Release, dated 8th December, 1691, to Lieutenant-General Ginkell, for furnishing, pursuant to Treaty, in addition to the conveyance supplied by the French fleet, "*Ships for as many of the Rest as are willing to go;*" namely, with his Lordship himself, from Cork.

On the passage of women and children, as well as those in a military capacity, from Ireland to France, after the Capitulation of Limerick, the contemporary French historian, Père Daniel, says of the French Admiral, that arrived too late with the French supplies, intended for the relief of the place, "Il ramena tous les François, 16,000 hommes de troupes Irlandoises, & *plusieurs familles.*" And the great Benedictine compilation, "L'Art de Vérifier les Dates," adds on the same point, "M. de Château-Renaud passe en Irlande avec une escadre, & ramene, au mois de Décembre, tous les François, 16,000 hommes de troupes Irlandoises, & *plusieurs familles* fideles à leur Prince, qui aiment mieux quitter leur patrie que de reconnoître un usurpateur"[j].

Note 283, Page 158.

Some of the women and children who were left behind had no victuals, nor money to buy them; their plundered countrymen, among whom they were to travel, and from whom they might expect some relief, not having wherewithal to feed themselves.

Dr. Charles Leslie, adverting, in 1692, to the ravages of the Williamite war in Ireland, speaks of the country, as "that Wilderness and Desolation which we see it at this Day." And Story, in the edition of his book, printed in 1693, referring to the wretchedness amongst the Irish poor, the January after the conclusion of the war, or that of 1692, says: "A Man might every where see a great many Objects of Pity, and Misery, and they continue so to this very Day"[k].

Note 284,

[j] Transactions of the London Camden Society, No. XIV., pp. 139, 140.—Story's Continuation, &c., pp. 265, 266, 291, 292, 293.—London Gazette, No. 2719, 2721, 2722, 2727, 2728, 2729.—Père Daniel, Histoire de France depuis l'Etablissement de la Monarchie Françoise dans les Gaules, tome x. p. clxiij: Paris, 1729.—L'Art de Vérifier les Dates, &c., tome i. p. 693: Paris, 1783.

[k] See Note 281, p. 492.—(Leslie's Answer to King, p. 160.—Story's Continuation, p. 298.)

NOTE 284, Page 158.

All the nations of Europe equally concerned and surprised, to behold the most warlike of nations, (by the testimony of one of their greatest adversaries), a people heretofore undaunted in adversity, so shamefully lay down their arms, &c.

By which of "their greatest Adversaryes" it was, that the Irish were spoken of as "the most warlick of Nations," Colonel O'Kelly has not informed us[l]. But Story gives this account of the number and expense of the British, Continental, and Anglo-Irish Regiments of the Line, employed by Great Britain and Holland against King James's adherents in Ireland, during the three campaigns of the War of the Revolution.

	£	s.	d.
"1. The Army that landed with Duke *Schonberg*, and that came some Time after into *Ireland*, with those of the *Derry* and *Inniskillen* Troops, received into Pay under his Grace's Command in the Year 1689, being 9 Regiments and 2 Troops of Horse, 4 Regiments of Dragoons, and 30 Regiments of Foot[m]; the whole Pay for which, in one Year, comes to	869,410.	07.	06.
"2. His Majesty's Royal Army in that Kingdom in the Year 1690, consisting of 2 Troops of Guards, 23 Regiments of Horse, 5 Regiments of Dragoons, and 46 Regiments of Foot[n]; the Pay of which, considering the Difference between the Numbers in the Foreign Regiments and our own, amounts to	1,287,630.	02.	00."
	£2,157,040.	9.	6.

Brought

[l] The celebrated poet, Spenser, who wrote in 1596, during the Elizabethean war, when the Irish might be still considered a separate race, gives them one of the best military characters of any of their "greatest Adversaryes." Speaking of the Irish as cavalry at home, he observes: "I have heard some greate warriours say, that in all the services which they had seene abroad in forraine countreyes, they never saw a more comely man then the *Irish* man, nor that commeth on more bravely in his charge, neither is his manner of mounting unseemely, though hee lacke stirruppes, but more ready then with stirruppes; for, in his getting up, his horse is still going, whereby hee gayneth way." Speaking of the Irish as infantry, in their own country, he remarks: "Sure they are very valiaunt, and hardie, for the most part great indurers of colde, labour, hunger, and all hardnesse, very active and strong of hand, very swift of foot, very vigilant and circumspect in their enterprises, very present in perils, very great scorners of death." (See, before, Note 78, p. 291.) Then, he repeats of the Irishman, in his domestic wars, that he "is a very brave souldier," and that "yea surely, in that rude kinde of service, hee beareth himselfe very couragiously. But when hee commeth to experience of service abroad, or is put to a peece, or a pike, hee maketh as worthie a souldiour as any nation hee meeteth with."—(A View of the State of Ireland, &c., pp. 49-51: Dublin, 1633.)

[m] For 1689, forty-three regiments and two troops, besides those in the artillery.

[n] For 1690, seventy-four regiments and two troops, besides those in the artillery.

Brought forward, ...	£2,157,040. 9. 6.
"3. The Army in that Kingdom in the Year 1691, Commanded by Lieutenant General *Ginckel*, being 20 Regiments of Horse, 5 of Dragoons and 42 Regiments of Foot[o]; whose Pay for that Year came to	1,161,830. 12. 10.
"Then the General Officers Pay, the Train, Bread, Waggons, Transport Ships, and other Contingencies, make *at least* as much more, which is	6,637,742. 05. 00."
Total expense of William III.'s British, Continental, and Anglo-Irish *regular* forces in Ireland for 1689, 1690, and 1691, according to Story's previous statements, ...	£9,956,613. 7. 4.

"And the *Irish* Army," he adds, "living for the most Part upon the Product of the Country, cou'd not cost much less. Besides the farther Destruction of the Protestant Interest in that Kingdom, by cutting down Improvements, burning of Houses, destroying of Sheep and Cattle, taking away of Horses; with Infinite other Extortions and Robberies, as also the Loss of People on both Sides; most of whom, however disaffected, yet they were Subjects to the Crown of *England*." He finally notes, that, from the beginning to the conclusion of this war, there died in Ireland, "of one Sort and another, at least One Hundred Thousand, Young and Old, besides," he observes, "treble the Number that are Ruined and Undone."

Story, nevertheless, confesses, in these words, his ignorance of the total cost of the contest: "However, as to this last War that we have all seen, *I pretend not to so great Skill, as to know the Expences of it*." And, in fact, that what he *has* stated, as to those "expences," cannot give an adequate idea of them, may be judged from the single circumstance (amongst others) of his saying nothing at all of the cost of the Anglo-Irish *Militia*, or Protestant *Yeomanry*, which acted in aid of the Williamite *regular* army, and, as he elsewhere states, were, at the beginning of the war, "at least 25,000 Men"[p]. A later English writer, the Abbé Hooke, editor of the Duke of Berwick's Memoirs, Doctor of the Sorbonne, and son of Mr. Hooke, the Roman historian, says, of the cost of that contest to *his* country, that it was so high as "dix-huit millions sterling à la nation, outre les arrérages dus à l'armée," or "eighteen millions sterling to the nation, besides the arrears due to the army!"

As to the exceedingly unequal circumstances under which King James's adherents had to defend his cause, it appears, at the commencement of that struggle (which was only about thirty-six years after the Parliamentarian or Cromwellian war of between eleven and twelve years had

[o] For 1691, sixty-seven regiments, besides those in the artillery.

[p] That clever English Whig, Walter Moyle, advocating, in 1697, the establishment of a National Militia for England, in preference to a Standing Army, includes the Irish Protestant *Militia*, or *Yeomanry*, above alluded to, as among the most famous forces of the kind, in Europe. "We have seen," he says, "as great Performances done formerly by the Apprentices of *London*, and in the late War by the *Vaudois* in *Savoy*, the *Miquelets* in *Catalonia*, and the Militia in *Ireland*, as can be paralleled in History."— (The Whole Works of Walter Moyle, Esq., pp. 153, 194; London, 1727.)

had reduced a great part of the island to a desert), that the Roman Catholic inhabitants of the country could not have been more than 1,200,000 at the utmost; while the Protestant portion of the population, who might amount to about 200,000, were upon William's side[q]. The national revenue also of Ireland, which, according to the information furnished by Archbishop King in his appendix, averaged, at its best period before the war, or from 1682 to 1685, only about £266,209 a year, dwindled, during the struggle, into a brass currency, and, from that, comparatively to nothing. The great deficiency of military necessaries in Ireland when hostilities commenced, and the very inadequate supplies sent to King James's adherents by the French Minister, from 1689 to 1691, notwithstanding the pressing wants of the Jacobites, and the abundant resources of their enemies in those points, have likewise been shown. Yet, how much greater was the force the Irish Jacobites obliged William to employ in Ireland, than he had on foot elsewhere, (even against the *Grand Monarque* on the Continent!) may be partly estimated by the following data, extracted from a military document of the 27th of January, 169⁰, in the State Paper Office, London; laying down, under the intention of a reduction in William's forces, which, however, was found impracticable as regards Ireland, what would be the number of soldiers requisite for *that* country, and all *other* quarters, at home and abroad, where troops were judged necessary to be stationed, by the King's government.

From the "Abstract of the Numbers of the Forces" of William III. in this paper, setting forth the respective complements of *soldiers*, with the names of Regiments, &c., for England, Scotland, Flanders, the West Indies, and Ireland, we find, that the proportion for England is specified as 11,343 men; for Scotland, 5878 men; for Flanders, *against Louis XIV.'s army there*, 11,144 *men;* for the West Indies, 960 men; *for Ireland*, 35,289 *men!* Therefore, out of a total of 64,614 Williamite *soldiers*, it was calculated that, while but 29,325 were to be stationed in England, Scotland, Flanders, and the West Indies altogether, *Ireland alone should have* 35,289 *men*[r]*!* And opposite this large amount, in the original document, the following memorandum is added: "For which 4000 recruits of foot at least will be necessary, besides those to be made in Ireland!"—that is, among the Protestants there. But, as has been intimated, this amount of 35,289 *soldiers* for Ireland was found to be insufficient. For the number of *privates*, belonging to the Infantry, Horse, and Dragoon Regiments of William III.'s Army for Ireland in 1691, are in the list, marked MCXXXVIII., amongst the papers of his Irish Secretary

[q] Mr. Macaulay calculates the Roman Catholic or Jacobite population of Ireland, in those days, at "probably somewhat *under* a million in number," (which, however, seems too low an estimate,) and the Protestant colonists, or Williamites, he rates as above, or at "about two hundred thousand." Story makes a very strong allusion to the smallness of the population of Ireland at this period, in excusing his master, William III., for not having accomplished more than he did, during the campaign of 1690. "The King," says he, "did as much as was possible in the Time, as any who have seen the Country may know; for if *Ireland* were as well Peopled and Mann'd as the Soil itself will bear, it may defie all the World besides."—(Macaulay's History of England from the Accession of James II., vol. ii. p. 129: London, 1849.—Story's Impartial History, p. 162.—Parliamentary Census Returns, and King's State of the Protestants, as subsequently cited.)

[r] Besides, of course, the *Militia*, or *Yeomanry*, before mentioned.

Secretary at War, set down, as *not less than* 40,000 *men!* And to these, an addition of several thousands must, of course, be made for *officers*, that are not included in the document; which, too, is equally silent respecting either the *men* or *officers*, connected with the great train of Williamite artillery[s].

Under such circumstances, and similar disadvantages, with which they had to contend, in struggling so long, or during the three campaigns of 1689, 1690, and 1691, against the superior power of William III., as King of Great Britain and Stadtholder of Holland, it consequently would not be without *some* grounds, that, as Colonel O'Kelly intimates, even one of their inveterate enemies should have spoken of the Irish, as "the most warlick of Nations." Nor are *we* to be surprised, when Story informs us, in his Preface, that "notwithstanding they *were* worsted, yet their Officers would confidently affirm, That *their* Men had as much Courage as those that beat them." For, *we* may add, "those that beat them" were *not* merely a force of English, Scotch, and Anglo-Irish, but of the troops of so many other European nations[t]. On William's side, we are told, it was a matter of dispute, how much merit was due, in this war, to the troops of *each* of those nations? Of James's side, this much is certain, that his adherents, with *very* inferior supplies, had, during the three campaigns, to hold out against ALL. In the words of their gallant countryman, the Chevalier Charles Wogan, they may be said, "to have buried the synagogue with honour"[u].

NOTE 285, Page 159.

Depressing effects upon the Author of the public calamity of his unfortunate countrymen in general, and of the lamentable condition of some particular friends, &c.

The late illustrious editor of the Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores Veteres, Dr. Charles O'Conor, in the Memoirs of his uncle, the venerable Charles O'Conor of Belanagare, author of the Dissertations on the History of Ireland, relates an affecting instance of the melancholy reverses, in which even the greatest of the old Irish families were involved, by the War of the Revolution. After describing the character of his uncle's excellent father, Denis O'Conor of Belanagare, Esq., "known among the natives by the surname of Donogha Lia, or Denis *the grey-headed*,"

[s] See Note 266.

[t] See Notes 122, 123, 166, and 228.

[u] Story's Continuation, Preface, and pp. 154, 316, 317, 318, 328.—Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick, tome i. pp. 470, 471.—Chalmers's Biographical Dictionary, vol. xiv. pp. 339, 340: London, 1814.—Lawrence's Interest of Ireland, part ii. chap. ii. pp. 86, 87: Dublin, 1682.—Hardiman's Notes on Roderic O'Flaherty's Chorographical Description of West or H-Iar Connaught, pp. 180, 181, 182: Dublin, 1846.—Parliamentary Census Returns for Ireland in 1821, pp. vi. vii.—A General Abstract of the Gross Produce of his Majesty's Revenue in Ireland, from Christmas 1682, to Christmas 1685, in King's State of the Protestants of Ireland, Appendix, pp. 156, 244, 245: Dublin, 1713.—The Present Disposition and Numbers of their Maj^{tys} Forces, 27th January, 169$^{0}_{1}$, in State Paper Office, London.—Clarke's Correspondence, No. MCXXXVIII.—Dean Swift's Works, vol. xvii. pp. 417, 418, 447-449: Sir Walter Scott's edition, 1824.

grey-headed," the Doctor says of his uncle: "He frequently told me, even when memory had resigned its tenaciousness to his 80th year, that this excellent father often took him up in his arms when a child, and said to him, with uncommon emotion, *in Irish,* 'My child, be always prepared for poverty, and then you will never become guilty to avoid it.' He mentioned to me also, that, after the total defeat of the Irish armies, his father was obliged to plough his own fields, and that he would often say to his sons, 'Boys, you must not be impudent to the poor: I am the son of a gentleman, but ye are the children of a ploughman.'"

Of this gentleman, "Denis O'Conor of Belanagare, and his sisters, Anne and Mary," descended from Turlough More, the father of Roderic, the last Milesian Monarch of Ireland, Dr. O'Conor adds, that after the troubles of the Revolution, "three divisions of their hereditary property were granted to them, and a fourth was adjudged forfeited, by their father's *rebellion!*" That is, his adherence to the cause of King James II.[v]

NOTE 286, Page 159.

The incommodities of old age render the Author unable to pursue that remnant of a woeful history, requiring ink mixed with the writer's tears.

The Jacobite Abbé Mac Geoghegan, in the "Discours Préliminaire" to the first volume of his "Histoire de l'Irlande", dedicated "Aux Troupes Irlandoises au Service de la France" in 1758, and published at Paris, speaks, in a similarly mournful tone, of the nature and object of *his* work, on the affairs of a country, reduced to such a condition as *he* considered Ireland to have been, by the breach of the Treaty of Limerick, and the system of government that followed it:

"L'intérêt que je prens à ce qui regarde cette nation," says the Abbé, "m'a fait souvent gémir sur le surcroît d'infortune que lui cause l'ignorance de son Histoire dans le monde, & m'a depuis long-tems inspiré le dessein de faire un effort pour y remédier. Je ne prétens écrire qu'un abrégé de l'histoire d'Irlande: trop heureux si je puis applanir les voies, ou donner de l'émulation à ceux qui auront plus de loisir & de capacité que moi! Mon dessein n'est uniquement que d'en donner une légere teinture à l'étranger, & de conserver dans sa mémoire le triste souvenir d'une nation expirante. C'est pour lui que j'écris, afin d'effacer de son esprit les mauvaises impressions qu'il en a pu prendre; c'est lui que j'ambitionne de satisfaire, en reconnaissance de la protection qu'il accorde à la portion expatriée de cette nation, contre laquelle la tyrannie a prononcé cet affreux arrêt,

'*Veteres migrate coloni,*'

& à laquelle le souvenir de Sion arrache souvent des soupirs:

'FLEVIMUS CUM RECORDAREMUR SION.'"

APPENDIX.

[v] Memoirs, *ut sup.*, pp. 136, 150-152.—The Circuit of Ireland by Muircheartach Mac Neill, Prince of Aileach, &c., Genealogy of O'Conor Don, p. 65.—Note 67, p. 272.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

THREE BULLS OF POPE ALEXANDER III., RELATING TO THE ANGLO-NORMAN INVASION OF IRELAND*.

I.

ALEXANDER Episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabilibus fratribus Christiano Lesmorensi Episcopo, Apostolicæ sedis legato, & [4] Gel̄ Ardmachensi, Donato Cassiliensi, Laur̄ Duflinensi, & Catholic̄ [5] Trianensi Archiepiscopis, & eorum suffraganeis, Salutem & [6] Apostolica Bened̄. Quantis vitiorum enormitatibus gens Hibernica sit infecta, & quomodo Dei timore, & Christianæ fidei religione postposita, ea sequatur, quæ pericula pariunt animarum, ex vestrarum serie literarum nobis [7] innotuis, & aliorum etiam [8] vendica relatione nichilominus ad notitiam Apostolicæ sedis plerumque pervenit.

Inde est, quod utique nos, ex vestris literis intelligentes, quod, per potentiam Karissimi in Christo filii nostri, H. illustris Anglorum Regis, qui, divina inspiratione compunctus, coadunitis viribus suis gentem illam barbaram, incultam, & divinæ legis ignaram, suo Dominio subjugavit, ea, quæ in terra vestra tam illicite committuntur, cooperante Domino, incipiunt tam desistere, gaudio gavisi sumus, & ei, qui jam dicto Regi tantam victoriam contulit & triumphum, immensas gratiarum actiones exsolvimus, prece supplici postulantes, ut per vigilantiam & sollicitudinem

* From Hearne's edition of the Liber Niger Scaccarii, vol. i. pp. 42-48 : Oxford, 1728. And referred to in Note 64, p. 254, of the present volume.

[4] *Sic.*

[5] *Sic.* F. Tuanensi *vel* Tuamensi.

[6] F. Apostolicam Benedictionem.

[7] F. innotuit.

[8] F. veridica.

& sollicitudinem ipsius Regis, vestro cooperante studio, gens illa indisciplinata & indomita cultum divinæ legis, & religionem Christianæ fidei, per omnia & in omnibus imitetur, & vos, ac ceteri Ecclesiastici viri, honore & tranquillitate debita gaudeatis.

Quoniam igitur decet vos, ad ea persequenda, quæ tam pio sunt [1] inchoato principio, solicitam adhibere diligentiam & favorem, fraternitati vestræ per Apostolica scripta mandamus atque præcipimus, quatinus memorato Regi, sicut viro magnifico, & devotissimo Ecclesiæ filio, ad [2] manutendam & conservandam terram illam, & ad extirpandam [3] m̄ tantæ abominationis spurcitiam, quantum, salvo [4] viro ordine & officio, poteritis, diligenter & viriliter assistatis.

Et si quis Regum, Principum, vel aliorum hominum ipsius terræ, contra juramenti debitum, & fidelitatem, prædicto Regi exhibitam, ausu temerario venire [5] temptavit, si, ad commonitionem vestram, [6] sceleriter, sicut debet, non [7] rescipuerit, [8] cum, auctoritate Apostolica freti, omni occasione & excusatione [9] proposita, censura Ecclesiastica percellatis, ita mandatum nostrum diligenter & efficaciter executuri, ut, sicut præfatus Rex, tanquam Catholicus & [1] Christianisimus, nos, tam in decimis, quam in aliis Ecclesiasticis justiciis, vobis restituendis, & in omnibus, quæ ad Ecclesiasticam pertinent libertatem, pie ac benigne dicitur exaudisse, ita vos, si ea, quæ ad regiam respiciunt dignitatem, conservetis firmiter, &, quantum in vobis est, faciatis ab aliis conservari.

Dat'. Tusculani. xii. Kal. Octobris.

II.

Alexander Episcopus, servus servorum Dei, Karissimo in Christo filio H. illustri Anglorum Regi, Salutem & Apostolicam Benediccionem. Celebri fama & veridica relatione plurimum, non sine multa mentis alacritate, [2] cōpinus, quomodo, sicut pius Rex & magnificus Princeps, de Gente illa Hybernica, quæ, divino timore postposito, tanquam effrenis passim per abrupta deviat viciorum, & Christianæ fidei [3] religione abjecit & virtutis, & se interimit mutua cæde, & de regno illo, quod Romani [4] princeps orbis triumphatores suis temporibus [5] in accessum (sicut accepimus) reliquerunt, faciente Domino, cujus intuitu, sicut [6] in dubitanter credimus, adversus ipsam gentem, incultam & indisciplinatam, potentiam tuæ serenitatis extenderas, mirabiliter ac magnifice triumphasti.

Nam, ut alias enormitates & vicia, quibus eadem gens, omissa religione Christianæ fidei satis

[1] F. inchoata.
[2] F. manutenendam.
[3] *Sic.* F. inde.
[4] L. vestro.
[5] F. temptaverit.
[6] L. celeriter.
[7] *Sic.*
[8] F. eum.
[9] F. postposita.
[1] F. Christianissimus.
[2] L. comperimus.
[3] F. religionem.
[4] F. principes, orbis triumphatores, f. t. inaccessum.
[5] *Sic.*
[6] *Sic.*

satis irreverenter deservit, præsentialiter omittamus, sicut venerabiles [1] fratri nostri Christianus Lesmoriensis Episcopus, (Apostolicæ sedis legatus) Archiepiscopi & Episcopi terræ, suis nobis literis intimarunt, & dilectus filius noster R. Landavensis Archidiaconus, vir prudens & discretus, & Regiæ magnitudini vinculo præcipue devotionis astrictus, qui hoc oculata fide perspexit viva vobis voce, tam solicite quam prudenter, exposuit, prædicta gens sic forte plenius ad notitiam Regiæ serenitatis pervenit, novercas suas publice introducunt, & ex eis non erubescunt filios procreare, frater uxore fratris eo vivente abjicitur, unus duabus se sororibus concubinis miscet, & plerique, illorum matre relicta, filias introducunt.

Et omnes passim in Quadragesima vescuntur carnibus, nec solvunt decimas, nec sacras Dei Ecclesias & personas Ecclesiasticas, prout debent, aliquatenus reverentur. Unde quod, [2] sic, eisdem Archiepiscopis & Episcopis significantibus, & præfato Archidiacono plenius & expressius nobis referente, comperimus, coadunato [3] magnificio tuo navali & [4] terestri exercitu, ad subjugandam tuo Dominio gentem illam, & ad extirpandam tantæ abhominationis spurcitiam, divina inspirante clementia, tuum animum erexisti, gratum, sic ut debemus, [5] gereimus omnimodis & acceptum, & exinde ei, à quo omne bonum procedit, & qui pios fidelium suorum actus & voluntates in suo bene placito salutis disponit, devotas gratiarum referimus actiones, omnipotentem Dominum votivis precibus exorantes.

Ut sic, per potentiam tuæ magnitudinis, ea, quæ tam illicite in scripta terra [1] fuint, incipiunt jam desistere, & pro vitiis virtutum germina pululare, ita eciam, cooperante Domino, per te prædicta Gens, ad tuæ sempiternæ gloriæ coronam in marcessibilem, & suæ salutis perfectum, abjecta spurcitia peccatorum, omnimodo Christianæ religionis suscipiat disciplinam.

Rogamus itaque Regiam excellentiam, monemus & exhortamur in Domino, atque in remissionem tibi peccatorum [2] inuingimus, quatinus in eo, quod laudabiliter incipisti, tuum propensius animum robores & confortes, & gentem illam ad cultum Christianæ fidei per potentiam tuam revoces & conserves, ut, sicut, pro tuorum venia peccatorum, adversus eam tantum laborem (ut credimus) assumpsisti, ita eciam de suæ salutis perfectu coronam merearis suscipere sempiternam. Et quia, sicut tuæ magnitudinis excellentia, Romana Ecclesia aliud jus habeat in Insula quam in terra magna & continua, nos eam de tuæ devotionis fervore spem fiduciamque tenentes, quod jura ipsius Ecclesiæ non solum conservare velis, sed etiam ampliare, &, ubi nullum jus habeat, id debes sibi conferre, magnificentiam tuam rogamus & solicite commonemus, ut in præscripta terra jura beati Petri nobis studeas sollicite conservare, & si eciam ibi non habet, tua magnitudo eidem Ecclesiæ eadem [3] viro constituat & assignet, ita quod exinde Regiæ celsitudini gratias debeamus exsolvere copiosas, & tu primitias tuæ gloriæ & triumphi Deo videaris offerre.

Dat'. Tusculi. xii. Cal. Octob.

III.

[1] F. fratres.
[2] F. sicut.
[3] L. magnifico.
[4] *Sic.*
[5] *Sic.*
[1] *Sic.* F. fuerint, *nisi* fiunt *malis.*
[2] L. injungimus.
[3] F. jura.

III.

Alexander Episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilectis filiis, nobilibus viris, Regibus & Principibus Hyberniæ, Salutem & [1] Apostolica Bened. Ubi communi fama, & certa relatione, plurimum nobis [2] immotuit, quod vos Karissimum in Christo filium nostrum H. Regem Anglorum illustrem, in [3] nostrum Regem & Dominum suscepistis, & ei fidelitatem jurastis, tanto ampliorem lætitiam in corde concepimus, quanto, per ejusdem Regis potentiam, in terra vestra, cooperante Domino, major pax erit atque tranquillitas, & gens Hybernica (quæ, per enormitatem & spurcitiam vitiorum, adeo videbatur longius recessisse) divino cultui [4] propensuis informabitur, & melius Christianæ fidei suscipiat disciplinam. [5] Unsuper, eo quod tam potenti & magnifico Regi & tam [6] devote Ecclesiæ filio vos voluntate libera subdidistis, providentiam vestram digna laudis commendatione prosequimur, cum exinde vobis, Ecclesiæ, & toti populo illius terræ utilitas speretur non immodica perventura.

Monemus itaque nobilitatem vestram attencius & mandamus, quatinus fidelitatem, quam tanto Regi sub [1] juramento religione fecistis, ei cum debita subjectione firmam & inconcussam servare curetis.

Et ita vos sibi in humilitate & mansuetudine exibeatis obnoxios & devotos, quod ejus semper gratiam possitis [2] uberiore percipere, & nos inde prudentiam vestram digne debeamus commendare.

Dat. Tusculani. xii. Cal. Octob.

[1] F. Apostolicam Benedictionem.
[2] L. innotuit.
[3] F. vestrum.
[4] *Sic.* L. propensius.
[5] L. insuper.
[6] F. devoto.
[1] *An*, juramenti?
[2] F. uberiorem.

No. II.

WITH reference to a genealogical error in the previous publication of the Society, *The Tribes and Customs of Hy-Many, commonly called O'Kelly's Country*, where James was stated to be the present Count O'Kelly Farrell instead of his brother Charles, and also as shewing the degree of relationship between the Author, Colonel Charles O'Kelly, Count O'Kelly Farrell, and Denis Henry Kelly, Esq., the following Table has been sent, for insertion in the present work, by the last-mentioned gentleman.—ED.

COLLA O'KELLY, Chief of his Name, temp. Queen Elizabeth.

Colonel John Kelly, married daughter of Sir William Hill, Bart., of Ballybeg: ob. 1674.

1. Colonel Charles O'Kelly, author of the "Macariæ Excidium," married Margaret O'Kelly, of the house of Gallagh: ob. 1695.

Captain Denis Kelly married Lady Mary Bellew, daughter of Walter, second Lord Bellew, by Lady Arabella Wentworth, sister to Thomas, third Earl of Strafford, Maid of Honour to Mary, wife of James II. Ob. s. p., and left his estates to his cousin, John of Clonlyon, ob. 1740.

2. John Kelly, of Clonlyon, married daughter of Mahon, of Strokestown: ob. 1693.

John of Clonlyon married Mary, daughter of Iriel O'Farrell, of Cambo, Esq.: ob. 1714.

1. John, of Clonlyon and Castle Kelly, married Lady Honora Bourke, daughter of John Earl of Clanricarde, and niece to the Duchess of Berwick: ob. 1779.

Denis, of Castle Kelly, married daughter of Edward Armstrong, of Gallen, Esq.: ob. 1794.

1. John, ob. S. P. 1811.

2. Andrew Armstrong, in holy orders; married daughter of J. Salvador, Esq.: vivens, 1850.

DENIS H. KELLY, now of Castle Kelly; has issue.

One daughter married to J. Mahon, Esq., of the Strokestown family.

James married Miss Letitia St. George of Tyrone: vivens, 1850; has no male issue.

And several others, ob. s. p.

2. Denis O'Kelly Farrell, a posthumous son, who took the name of Farrell pursuant to his uncle's will, and settled in the south of France; married Mary, daughter of Theobald Dillon: ob. 1761.

John James O'Kelly Farrell, created Count by Louis XVI., Ambassador from Court of France to Court of Mayence; married La Comtesse de Galard Bearn: ob. 1800.

1. Denis Henry, second Count, Lieut.-Colonel 11th Regiment of Foot: ob. s. p. 1834.

2. Charles Denis, third and present COUNT O'KELLY FARRELL: vivens, 1850; has issue.

3. James, lately an officer in the British Service.

4. Robert, ex-officer in the French Service.

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FINIS.

IRISH

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

THE General Annual Meeting of the Society was held in the Board Room of the Royal Irish Academy on Friday, the 21st day of December, 1849,

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF LEINSTER, President of the Society, in the Chair.

The Secretary read the following Report:

"The Council have now to congratulate the Society on the arrival of its ninth anniversary.

"The peculiar circumstances of this country, and the great pressure which has been felt by all our landowners and gentry, have not been without an effect upon the resources of this Society.

"A very large number of our Members have allowed their subscriptions to run into arrear. We may hope that this circumstance arises only from the difficulties of the times, and that the debt due to the Society will ultimately be recovered; but in the mean time the Members must be aware that the operations of the Society must necessarily be greatly circumscribed, and the number and value of our Publications considerably diminished.

"The Council, in common prudence, intrusted as they are with the management of your funds, are naturally unwilling to make engagements with your publisher and printer which they have no certainty of being able to discharge.

"In the persuasion, however, that the evil alluded to is but a temporary one, and that the full amount of arrears due by those Members who have not

 signified

signified their intention of withdrawing from the Society will be honourably discharged, the Council during the present year have gone on with their usual duties, although, as you will perceive, they have had great difficulties to contend with.

" An ample field of labour still lies before us. The Feilire of Ængus the Culdee, the Liber Hymnorum, the Brehon Laws, the Dinnseanchus, the History of the Danish Wars, a large body of Annals, and many other most important works, still remain in MS.; monuments, all of them, such as few other European nations can boast of; and yet, after nine years of labour, we have been unable to procure, either from public or private sources, the means of publishing them.

" We have lost by death, during the past year, the following Members:

The Right Hon. the Lord Talbot de Malahide.
The Right Hon. Anthony Richard Blake.
George Carr, Esq.
Joseph Dobbs, Esq.
George B. Grant, Esq.
Lewis Hayes Petit, Esq.
John Smyth, Esq., LL.D.
Samuel Hibbert Ware, M.D.

" Of these it may be permitted to say that one, Mr. Joseph Dobbs, was officially connected with the Society, as Assistant Secretary, from its first formation; and to his zeal, energy, and habits of business, a great part of our early prosperity is due.

" The blank occasioned in our numbers by the removal of the names just mentioned, has not, we regret to say, been filled up. Only one new Member has been elected during the past year, viz., John Radcliffe, Esq., Dublin; but the University of Glasgow have become subscribers for all future volumes of our publications, a complete set of our past works having been bequeathed to their library by our late lamented friend and member, John Smith, Esq., LL.D., of that city.

" In contrast to these discouraging circumstances, the Council have great pleasure in announcing to the Society the munificence of two of our Members, which we have no doubt will be received with the gratitude and applause it deserves.

" The following letter, addressed to the Secretary, from the Rev. William Reeves, of Ballymena, will sufficiently explain itself:

Ballymena,

" ' *Ballymena, Dec.* 3, 1849.

" ' My dear Dr. Todd,—The Irish Archæological Society has arrived at the tenth year of its existence; and though it has been the means of creating a genuine antiquarian spirit in the country, and of producing a series of inestimable works, yet its performances have hitherto been the result of combined effort, and it has not, up to the present, been made the vehicle of individual liberality. No one who has seen the handsome volume lately presented to the members of the Bannatyne Club by Mr. Chalmers, of Auldbar, can refrain from wishing that a like spirit of generosity prevailed in Ireland, where monumental and literary antiquities are in such rich abundance, and where nothing is wanting to give its archæology a European reputation but the will of its people.

" ' As an humble individual, I have long desired to be able to do a service to the Irish Archæological Society beyond my support as a mere Member; and now that its ninth anniversary meeting is about to be held, I take the opportunity of making, through you, a proposal which I hope will be favourably entertained.

" ' There is a manuscript in the registry office of Armagh, giving an account of a visitation of the diocese of Derry, held by Primate Colton in the year 1397, which contains a great deal of curious ecclesiastical information, and is, I have reason to believe, unique in its way. His Grace the Lord Primate having kindly given me permission to publish it, and having also allowed me access to the original roll, which is preserved among the private records of the see, I have made a careful transcript, and have prepared such notes as were necessary to illustrate the text, so that I shall be able to go to Press with it as soon as I have made a few references to authorities in Dublin, which I hope to do immediately after Christmas. The work will be but short, extending to fifty or sixty pages, in size and style uniform with the publications of the Archæological Society, and so will be speedily executed.

" ' If, therefore, your Society will accept of my offer, I shall feel much pleasure in furnishing it, free of cost, with a sufficient number of copies for its members and presentations, reserving to myself what remains of the 500 copies which will be printed.

" ' I am sorry I will not be able to attend the annual meeting, on account

 of

of the near approach of Christmas; but I hope my letter will be received as an evidence of my good wishes for the Irish Archæological Society, and that the Report of the year will announce a general improvement in its affairs.

" 'I remain, my dear Sir,

" 'Very faithfully your's,

" 'WILLIAM REEVES.

" 'THE REV. DR. TODD,

" '*Secretary Irish Archæol. Society.*'

" Another munificent donation of the same kind has been also offered to the Society nearly at the same time, although the noble donor was not at all aware that he had been anticipated by the example of Mr. Reeves. Our excellent Vice-President, the Marquis of Kildare, has proposed to print, at his own expense, in a form corresponding with the publications of the Society, a curious inventory of the landed property, goods, and chattels of Gerald Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare, in 1518. The manuscript from which the Noble Marquis proposes to print this volume is preserved in the British Museum, and an accurate transcript of it, prepared for the press at the expense of the Marquis, has been placed at the disposal of the Society. The volume will be edited, with an historical preface and a few notes, by the Very Rev. Richard Butler, Dean of Clonmacnoise; and our noble and munificent benefactor proposes to present a copy of it to every member (not in arrear) whose subscription to the Society for the year 1850 is paid. Amongst other things highly interesting to the antiquary, and illustrative of the domestic manners of the times, this volume contains a most curious catalogue of the Earl's library, inventories of his plate, and 'The obyts of Diverce Lordys and Gentyllmen of the Geraldes.'

" These liberal and public-spirited donations will be of essential service to the Society, and will enable the Council to meet, for the present, the difficulties occasioned by the large debt due by Members who are in arrear; without such seasonable aid it would probably have been necessary to suspend all future publications until this debt could be recovered.

" The Council would, therefore, beg leave to suggest that the marked and most grateful thanks of the Society be voted to the Rev. William Reeves and

to

to the Most Noble the Marquis of Kildare, for the munificent donations they propose to make to us, which are especially valuable from the zealous spirit they manifest for the preservation of the literature of Ireland, and the promotion of the objects for which this Society was established.

" In the last Report a hope was expressed that it would be in the power of the Council to complete the printing of *Cormac's Glossary*, and present it to the Society as our publication for 1849.

" This hope was founded on the kind promise of the Rev. Charles Graves to assist the Secretary and Mr. O'Donovan in the laborious task of editing this curious and important work. The sheets already printed, together with the manuscript, as far as it had been prepared for publication, was placed in his hands; but, after giving much time and consideration to the task, he was forced to report to the Council that the difficulties of the undertaking were such that it could not be proceeded in without the utmost danger of forfeiting that character for accuracy and research which the publications of this Society have hitherto aimed at, and, we would hope, in some degree attained. Mr. Graves, however, does not propose that the work be entirely abandoned. He asserts only that it could not have been brought out within the year which is now closed, and for which it was conditionally promised in our last Report. At the request of the Council, Mr. Graves has given the following written statement of his opinion on this subject:

" 'The Council of the Irish Archæological Society having requested me to report on the practicability of proceeding with *Cormac's Glossary*, I beg leave to submit to them the following statement, in which I have endeavoured to give a brief account of the progress which has been already made in preparing this work, together with the reasons which induce me to recommend the Council not to proceed with it now.

" '*Cormac's Glossary* was one of the documents fixed upon by the Council as deserving a foremost place amongst the publications of the Society. About eight years ago, soon after the formation of the Society, arrangements were made for having it transcribed by Mr. Eugene Curry; and the task of editing it was intrusted to Mr. O'Donovan, assisted by the Secretary. Owing, however, to the many difficulties inseparable from the nature of the work, and chiefly to the want of a sufficient number of good texts, but slow progress could be

be made by the editors. With a view to diminish the hinderance arising from the last-mentioned cause, a manuscript in the Bodleian library, containing more than half of the Glossary, was collated in the year 1844 by Mr. O'Donovan, who was sent to Oxford by the Council for that express purpose. The editors now recommenced their labours. Notes were made in illustration of the greater part of the Glossary, and forty pages of it were actually printed off. The Council, therefore, felt themselves justified in announcing, at the General Meeting in December, 1848, that Cormac's Glossary would be the Society's publication for the following year.

" ' At that time, the Secretary having requested me to assist him in performing his part of the editorial duties, I took considerable pains to collect materials which might enable me to discharge this responsible task. But when I came deliberately to form an estimate of the amount of labour to be gone through before the work could be brought out in a manner creditable to the Society, and suited to its own importance, I was convinced that it would be unwise to attempt to complete it in the course of the year now about to close. I therefore represented this as strongly as I could to the Council in February last, and succeeded in overcoming their reluctance to disappoint the expectations raised by their last Report. The *Macariæ Excidium* was in consequence put to press as the book for 1849.

" ' Although the printing of Cormac's Glossary has been thus interrupted for a time, no small progress has been made during the past year in collecting materials necessary for the illustration of it. Mr. Eugene Curry, during his visit to the British Museum last summer, had an opportunity of copying a valuable and very ancient Glossary, which will be of the greatest use to the editors. The labours of the same scholar, in preparing a Brehon Law Tract for publication, at the instance of the Council of the Royal Irish Academy, have also furnished him with the means of explaining several legal terms occurring in the Glossary which were before unintelligible to us.

" ' The widely-extended researches of Mr. O'Donovan have likewise made him master of additional materials, which will be of the utmost value.

" ' So far then am I from regretting the slow progress which has been made in editing this work, that I expect the best results will reward the caution of the editors. The abundant stores accumulated by them within the last

last few years will all be available for the better execution of the extremely difficult task which they have undertaken.

" I would, therefore, recommend the Council to devote their energies once more to the publication of *Cormac's Glossary;* and, if no pecuniary difficulties arise to impede our proceedings, I see no reason why it should not be completed within a year from the present time. As I have already stated, the labours of the editors will now be facilitated in many ways. Besides having gathered much additional information necessary for the illustration of the work, they have profited by the recent discovery in the University library of a copy of a portion of it older by two or three hundred years than any to which they previously had access. Nor do I despair of their search for other copies proving successful. The importance, and at the same time the difficulty, of establishing a good text of the Glossary must be apparent, when it is remembered that throughout it are scattered words in the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Anglo-Saxon, Welsh, Pictish, and Icelandic languages, with the meaning of which the transcribers of the MSS. now accessible to us were often unacquainted, and therefore peculiarly liable to error in copying them.

" ' The Council may not think it out of place if I add a few words more with reference to the general nature of *Cormac's Glossary;* they may help to explain the manifold difficulties which attend the editing of it.

" ' It was written nearly a thousand years ago by Cormac Mac Culeannain, King of Munster and Bishop of Cashel, a man distinguished as the most learned scholar of his time; and we have reason to believe that it was intended by him to be a glossary to the important historical collection entitled *The Psalter of Cashel,* which was compiled by his orders. The following is the system of the work :—After each word is given its etymology, both the meanings of the roots and the languages to which they belong being indicated. In many instances quotations are added illustrating the use of the words.

" ' As regards the derivations, it is easy to conceive that they present frequent difficulties to the editors. Sometimes the words employed in explanation have themselves become obsolete. Sometimes mistakes have been committed by the scribes in writing the foreign words from which Cormac derives the Irish ones, or the roots have been referred to wrong languages.

" ' The learning and ingenuity of the editors will be no less severely tasked in

in dealing with the quotations. Some of them are obscure, as being taken from works concerning which we possess no other information, or referring to events of which no other records have come down to us. But many of them are of the greatest value and interest. They furnish the most curious information respecting the mythology and customs of the pagan Irish, and put the stamp of genuineness and antiquity upon ancient documents of various kinds, laws, poems, and histories, which have fortunately been preserved to our times.'

" The Council could have no hesitation in adopting the views expressed by Mr. Graves in this valuable statement; but two difficulties at once presented themselves. It was clearly impossible to give *Cormac's Glossary* to the Members as the book for 1849; and the great amount of unpaid subscriptions rendered it difficult to say whether the Council could afford the expense of the publication, especially as it will of course be necessary to remunerate Mr. O'Donovan and Mr. Curry for the labour and research which they must give in order to supply, as the work proceeds, the necessary materials for its illustration.

" To meet the first of these difficulties there was but one course, suggested by the necessity of the case. Another book must be selected for the year now nearly elapsed; and the choice fell on the *Macariæ Excidium*, which was quite ready for the printer, and which, it is hoped, will prove an acceptable volume to the Society.

" The other difficulty was more embarrassing, but it has now been very considerably diminished by the liberal donations made to the Society by Mr. Reeves and the Marquis of Kildare; which, as we have already said, will enable the Council to devote the subscriptions of the year 1850 to the relief of the Society's difficulties, and, if the subscriptions in arrear can be recovered, enable them to meet the expense necessary for the publication of *Cormac's Glossary*.

The *Macariæ Excidium* was, therefore, put to press as the publication for the year 1849, and a considerable portion of it has been printed. But it has extended to a much greater length, owing to the valuable notes which the editor has appended to it, than was at first anticipated. The anxious desire of the Council to bring out *Cormac's Glossary* necessarily caused some delay in

in putting the work substituted for it into the printer's hands; and it is hoped that the Society will therefore excuse the late appearance of this work. It will contain also the curious French account of the campaign of William III. in Ireland, by Mons. Dumont, who was an eye-witness of what he relates. This very interesting narrative has never before been published, and will supply the historian of the Revolution with new and important matter. The Society is aware that we are indebted for the use of the original autograph manuscript, from which the work is printed, to the kindness and public spirit of the Very Rev. the Dean of Ossory.

"On the whole, it is hoped that this volume will prove acceptable to a large number of our Members. Mr. O'Callaghan's notes abound in curious and valuable matter, and contain references to all the original sources of the history of that period; and the text will place in juxta-position two narratives of the same events, by eye-witnesses engaged on opposite sides, and holding military command, the one under King James II., and the other under King William.

"It should also be stated that, although the *Macariæ Excidium* has already been published by the Camden Society of London, yet the present volume will contain a Latin copy, which was not known to exist when the Camden Society brought out their publication, and which preserves many considerable passages not found in the English, as printed by that Society. We are indebted for this to the munificence of the late Professor Mac Cullagh, of Trinity College, whose zealous and enlightened support of every society having for its object the promotion of learning and the welfare of Ireland will long, we trust, cause his memory to be revered amongst us. The circumstances under which Professor Mac Cullagh became possessed of the Latin MS., and the motives which induced him to present it to the Secretary for publication by this Society, will be spoken of in the preface to the work. It will be accompanied by an English version from a very correct MS., written on the Continent, at the beginning of the last century, and compared with another, of about the same date, in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. The English copies, however, often omit paragraphs and sentences that occur in the Latin; in which cases the defects are supplied from the translation prepared for publication, by Denis Henry Kelly, Esq., before the MS. alluded to was discovered.

"In the last year's Report mention was made of the curious narrative of

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the wars of the Danes in Ireland, discovered in the library of Trinity College and in the Royal Library at Brussels. This work would be far too expensive for the Society to undertake in the present state of its funds; but the Council would earnestly recommend it to their successors as one of the most important original authorities on Irish history that has recently been rescued from oblivion. Its publication would be a boon to the literature of Europe; for it is well known that great obscurity still hangs over the history of the maritime expeditions of the ancient Norsemen; and a local narrative of undoubted antiquity, as this curious work most certainly is, would be hailed with gratitude by all those nations who are interested in the history of that extraordinary people. In 1770 the Leyden Academy offered a prize (for which there was no competitor) for the best account of the invasion of the Low Countries, and the settlement of the Norsemen there; and similar questions have been proposed for competition by the Academy of History and Antiquities of Stockholm, in 1800; by the University of Abo, in Finland, in 1818, for an account of the expeditions of the Norsemen into Russia; and by the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres of Paris, in 1820, for an account of the remarkable expedition which gave name to Normandy in France(*a*).

"It would, therefore, be an indelible disgrace to Ireland, possessing, as we do, an ancient and authentic narrative of the Norse wars in this country, such as no other European nation, where the Norsemen settled, has as yet produced, if it should turn out that we are unable, not so much from poverty, as from indifference to the subject, to make known that literary treasure to the world. It can scarcely be doubted that were this object sufficiently understood, the publication of the work alluded to could not be delayed for want of funds. The Council have, therefore, had it in contemplation to bring the subject not only before the Members of this Society, but also before the public generally, with a view to ascertain how far the projected publication may be expected to obtain support; but as these measures are not yet fully matured, they must, for the present, be dismissed with this brief allusion to them.

"At

(*a*) See the Preface to the valuable and interesting work by Mons. Depping, to which this last prize was awarded by the Academie des Inscriptions in 1822; it is entitled, "Histoire des Expeditions maritimes des Normands et de leur établissement en France au Xme siécle." A new and improved edition of this work was printed in Paris in 1845.

"At the last Annual Meeting a Resolution was adopted, on the recommendation of the Council, to the following effect:

"'That Members who are not in arrear be permitted to purchase copies of such books as were issued prior to their election, at prices to be fixed by the Council, reserving, however, for the use of future Members, as many complete sets as the Council may think desirable.'

"In pursuance of this Resolution, the Council have taken a complete list of the stock of the Society's publications now remaining in the hands of our publishers; and, after making allowance for the cost of printing and other concomitant expenses, they beg leave to recommend to the Society that the following prices be adopted:

	£	s.	d.
Complete sets (to the end of 1848) . . .	6	6	0
Tracts, vol. i. . . . . (*out of print*)			
Grace's Annals, ...	0	8	0
Battle of Moira, ...	0	10	0
Tracts, vol. ii., ...	0	10	0
Account of Hy Many, ...	0	12	0
Obits and Martyrology of Christ Church,	0	10	0
Register of All Saints Monastery, . . .	0	7	0
Account of Hy Fiachrach, ...	0	12	0
Description of West Connaught, . . .	0	15	0
Irish Archæol. Miscellany, ...	0	8	0
Irish Version of Nennius, ...	0	15	0
Clyn's and Dowling's Annals, ...	0	8	0

"The result of this Resolution will be, that any Member now joining the Society, or any Member who has not been an original Member, may obtain a complete set of the Society's publications, or any one or more volumes which he may particularly desire, at the lowest terms on which they can be afforded; but no Member, of course, can procure in this way more than one copy of each publication.

"This arrangement, it is hoped, may prove beneficial to the Society, and may, perhaps, induce some to become members who have hitherto been de-

 terred

terred by the expense of procuring our past publications. It may be observed further that one of our publications, with the exception of the copies reserved for complete sets, is entirely out of print, and that of others but very few copies remain.

"Members desiring to avail themselves of this regulation, must make application for the books they require to the Treasurer or Secretary."

The Report having been read, the following Resolutions were passed unanimously:

Moved by Viscount Adare, M.P., Vice-President of the Society, and resolved,

"That this Report be adopted, printed, and circulated among the Members of the Society."

Moved by the Very Rev. Dr. Renehan, President of St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, and resolved,

"That the warmest thanks of the Society be presented to the Rev. Wm. Reeves, and the Most Noble the Marquis of Kildare, for their munificent donations to the Society."

Moved by the Rev. S. Butcher, D.D., Fellow of Trinity College, and resolved,

"That William E. Hudson, Esq., and John C. O'Callaghan, Esq., be appointed Auditors for the ensuing year; and that their statement of the accounts of the Society be printed as an Appendix to the Report."

Moved by Captain Larcom, R. E., and resolved,

"That his Grace the Duke of Leinster be requested to accept the office of President to the Society for the ensuing year."

The Duke was pleased to signify his willingness to comply with this request, and briefly expressed his anxiety to promote, by every means in his power, the welfare of the Society.

Moved

Moved by John O'Donoghue, Esq., and resolved,

"That the Most Noble the Marquis of Kildare, M.P., the Right Hon. the Earl of Leitrim, and the Right Hon. the Viscount Adare, M. P., be elected Vice-Presidents for the ensuing year."

Moved by J. C. O'Callaghan, Esq., and resolved,

"That the following be elected as the Council of the ensuing year:

Rev. Samuel Butcher, D.D., M.R.I.A.
Rev. Charles Graves, A.M., M.R.I.A.
James Hardiman, Esq., M.R.I.A.
William Elliot Hudson, Esq., M.R.I.A.
Captain T. A. Larcom, R.E., V.P.R.I.A.
Charles MacDonnell, Esq., M.R.I.A.
George Petrie, Esq., LL.D., R.H.A.
Rev. William Reeves, D.D., M.R.I.A.
Very Rev. Dr. Renehan, President of St. Patrick's College, Maynooth.
Aquilla Smith, Esq., M.D., M.R.I.A., *Treasurer.*
J. Huband Smith, Esq., A.M., M.R.I.A.
Rev. J. H. Todd, D.D., M.R.I.A., *Secretary.*

Moved by W. E. Hudson, Esq., and resolved,

"That the thanks of the Society be voted to the President and Council of the Royal Irish Academy, for their kindness in permitting the use of their rooms for this Meeting."

On the motion of the Secretary, resolved,

"That the thanks of the Meeting be voted to his Grace the Duke of Leinster, for the warm interest he has always taken in the advancement of the Society."

And then the Society adjourned.

REPORT OF THE AUDITORS.

AN ABSTRACT OF THE RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE OF THE SOCIETY,

FROM THE 31ST DAY OF DECEMBER, 1848, TO THE 31ST DAY OF DECEMBER, 1849.

Dr.	£	*s.*	*d.*
1849. *Feb.* 27. To Messrs. Hodges and Smith, on account of printing, binding, &c.	50	0	0
April 13. To Ditto, Ditto,	50	0	0
June 1. To Ditto, Ditto,	50	0	0
Aug. 18. To Ditto, Ditto,	18	5	8
,, 20. To Ditto, Ditto,	22	0	0
Oct. 3. To Ditto, Ditto,	28	0	0
Dec. 20. To Ditto, Ditto,	25	0	0
,, 31. To Ditto, Balance of account furnished,	25	0	0
To Mr. Dobbs, Assistant Secretary, one year's salary, to 20th October, 1849,	20	0	0
To Mr. Oldham, engraving seal of Leighlin,	1	10	0
To Treasurer, Assistant Secretary, &c., for postage, stationery, carriage of parcels, &c.,	3	1	0
To Mr. Lowell, commission on subscriptions received in 1848 and 1849,	7	2	0
To balance to credit of the Society,	0	9	4
	£300	8	0

Cr.	£	*s.*	*d.*
1848. *Dec.* 31. By balance to credit of Society in last account,	23	8	0
By life compositions, entrance fees, and annual subscriptions received,	277	0	0
	£300	8	0

(Signed) WILLIAM E. HUDSON, JOHN C. O'CALLAGHAN, } *Auditors.*

IRISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY,

1849–1850.

Patron:

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE ALBERT.

President:

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF LEINSTER.

Vice-Presidents:

THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF KILDARE, M.P., M.R.I.A.
THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF LEITRIM, M.R.I.A.
THE RIGHT HON. THE VISCOUNT ADARE, M.P., M.R.I.A.

Council:

REV. SAMUEL BUTCHER, D.D., M.R.I.A.
REV. CHARLES GRAVES, A.M., M.R.I.A.
JAMES HARDIMAN, ESQ., M.R.I.A.
WILLIAM ELLIOT HUDSON, ESQ., M.R.I.A.
CAPTAIN T. A. LARCOM, R.E., V.P.R.I.A.
CHARLES MAC DONNELL, ESQ., M.R.I.A.
GEORGE PETRIE, ESQ., LL.D., R.H.A., V.P.R.I.A.
REV. WILLIAM REEVES, D.D., M.R.I.A.
VERY REV. DR. RENEHAN, President of St. Patrick's College, Maynooth.
AQUILLA SMITH, ESQ., M.D., M.R.I.A., *Treasurer.*
J. HUBAND SMITH, ESQ., A.M., M.R.I.A.
REV. J. H. TODD, D.D., M.R.I.A., *Secretary.*

Members of the Society:

[*Life Members are marked thus.**]

*His Royal Highness THE PRINCE ALBERT.
His Excellency THE EARL OF CLARENDON, LORD LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND.
His Grace the LORD PRIMATE OF IRELAND.
*His Grace the DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM and CHANDOS.
*His Grace the DUKE OF LEINSTER.
*The MARQUIS OF DROGHEDA.
*The MARQUIS OF KILDARE, M.P., M.R.I.A.
*The MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE.
The MARQUIS OF ORMONDE.
The MARQUIS OF SLIGO.
*The MARQUIS OF WATERFORD.
The EARL OF BANDON.

The

The Earl of Bective.
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I. Tracts relating to Ireland, vol. I. containing:

1. The Circuit of Ireland; by Muircheartach Mac Neill, Prince of Aileach; a Poem written in the year 942 by Cormacan Eigeas, Chief Poet of the North of Ireland. Edited, with a Translation and Notes, and a Map of the Circuit, by JOHN O'DONOVAN, Esq.
2. "A Brife Description of Ireland, made in this year 1589, by Robert Payne, vnto xxv. of his partners, for whom he is vndertaker there." Reprinted from the second edition, London, 1590, with a Preface and Notes, by AQUILLA SMITH, M. D., M. R. I. A.

II. The Annals of Ireland, by James Grace of Kilkenny. Edited from the MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, in the original Latin, with a Translation and Notes, by the Rev. RICHARD BUTLER, A. B., M. R. I. A.

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I. Cath Muighi Rath. The Battle of Magh Rath (Moira), from an ancient MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. Edited in the original Irish, with a Translation and Notes, by JOHN O'DONOVAN.

II. Tracts relating to Ireland, vol. II. containing:

1. "A Treatise of Ireland; by John Dymmok." Edited from a MS. in the British Museum, with Notes, by the Rev. RICHARD BUTLER, A. B., M. R. I. A.
2. The Annals of Multifernam; from the original MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. Edited by AQUILLA SMITH, M. D., M. R. I. A.
3. A Statute passed at a Parliament held at Kilkenny, A.D. 1367; from a MS. in the British Museum. Edited, with a Translation and Notes, by JAMES HARDIMAN, Esq., M. R. I A.

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I. An account of the Tribes and Customs of the District of Hy-Many, commonly called O'Kelly's Country, in the Counties of Galway and Roscommon. Edited from

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the Book of Lecan in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, in the original Irish; with a Translation and Notes, and a Map of Hy-Many, by JOHN O'DONOVAN, Esq.

II. The Book of Obits and Martyrology of the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity, commonly called Christ Church, Dublin. Edited from the original MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. By the REV. JOHN CLARKE CROSTHWAITE, A. M., Rector of St. Mary-at-Hill, and St. Andrew Hubbart, London. With an Introduction by JAMES HENTHORN TODD, D. D., V. P. R. I. A., Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin.

PUBLICATIONS FOR THE YEAR 1844.

I. "Registrum Ecclesie Omnium Sanctorum juxta Dublin;" from the original MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. Edited by the REV. RICHARD BUTLER, A. B., M. R. I. A.

II. An Account of the Tribes and Customs of the District of Hy-Fiachrach, in the Counties of Sligo and Mayo. Edited from the Book of Lecan, in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, and from a copy of the Mac Firbis MS. in the possession of the Earl of Roden. With a Translation and Notes, and a Map of Hy-Fiachrach. By JOHN O'DONOVAN, Esq.

PUBLICATION FOR THE YEAR 1845.

A Description of West or H-Iar Connaught, by Roderic O'Flaherty, Author of the Ogygia, written A. D. 1684. Edited from a MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin; with copious Notes and an Appendix. By JAMES HARDIMAN, Esq., M. R. I. A.

PUBLICATION FOR THE YEAR 1846.

The Miscellany of the Irish Archæological Society. Vol. I. containing:

1. An ancient Poem attributed to St. Columbkille, with a Translation and Notes by JOHN O'DONOVAN, Esq.
2. De Concilio Hiberniæ; the earliest extant record of a Parliament in Ireland; with Notes by the Rev. R. BUTLER.
3. Copy of the Award as concerning the Tolboll (Dublin): contributed by Dr. AQUILLA SMITH.
4. Pedigree of Dr. Dominick Lynch, Regent of the Colledge of St. Thomas of Aquin, in Seville, A. D. 1674: contributed by JAMES HARDIMAN, Esq.
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7. Ancient Testaments: contributed by Dr. Aquilla Smith.
8. Autograph Letter of Thady O'Roddy: with some Notices of the Author by the Rev. J. H. Todd.
9. Autograph Letter of Oliver Cromwell to his Son, Harry Cromwell, Commander-in-Chief in Ireland: contributed by Dr. A. Smith.
10. The Irish Charters in the Book of Kells, with a Translation and Notes by John O'Donovan, Esq.
11. Original Charter granted by John Lord of Ireland, to the Abbey of Mellifont: contributed by Dr. A. Smith.
12. A Journey to Connaught in 1709 by Dr. Thomas Molyneux: contributed by Dr. A. Smith.
13. A Covenant in Irish between Mageoghegan and the Fox; with a Translation, and historical Notices of the two Families, by John O'Donovan, Esq.
14. The Annals of Ireland, from A. D. 1453 to 1468, translated from a lost Irish original, by Dudley Firbisse; with Notes by J. O'Donovan, Esq.

PUBLICATION FOR THE YEAR 1847.

The Irish Version of the "Historia Britonum" of Nennius, or, as it is called in Irish MSS., Leabar Breathach, the British Book. Edited from the book of Balimote, collated with copies in the Book of Lecan, and in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, with a Translation and Notes by James Henthorn Todd, D. D., M. R. I. A. Fellow of Trinity College, &c.; and Additional Notes and an Introduction by the Hon. Algernon Herbert.

PUBLICATION FOR THE YEAR 1848.

The Latin Annalists of Ireland; edited with introductory Remarks and Notes by the Very Rev. Richard Butler, M. R. I. A., Dean of Clonmacnois,—viz.:

1. The Annals of Ireland, by John Clyn, of Kilkenny; from a MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, collated with another in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.
2. The Annals of Ireland, by Thady Dowling, Chancellor of Leighlin. From a MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin.

PUBLICATIONS FOR THE YEAR 1849.

I. Macariæ Excidium, the Destruction of Cyprus; being a secret History of the Civil War in Ireland under James II., by Colonel Charles O'Kelly. Edited in the Latin from a MS. presented by the late Professor Mac Cullagh to the Library of the Royal Irish Academy; with a Translation, from a MS. of the seventeenth century; and Notes by JOHN O'CALLAGHAN, Esq. *Nearly ready.*

II. The Diary of Mons. Dumont, an officer in the army of William III., during his campaign in Ireland. From a MS. in the possession of the Very Rev. Charles Vignoles, D. D., Dean of Ossory. Edited by JOHN O'CALLAGHAN, Esq.

PUBLICATIONS FOR THE YEAR 1850.

I. The Leiger Book of Gerald Earl of Kildare, A. D. 1518. Edited by the Very Rev. Richard Butler, Dean of Clonmacnois. From a MS. in the British Museum. *In the Press.*

[PRESENTED TO THE SOCIETY BY THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF KILDARE.]

II. Acts of Archbishop Colton in his Visitation of the Diocese of Derry, A. D. 1397. Edited from the original Roll, with Introduction and Notes, by WILLIAM REEVES, D. D., M. R. I. A. *In the Press.*

[PRESENTED TO THE SOCIETY BY THE REV. DR. REEVES.]

PUBLICATIONS SUGGESTED OR IN PROGRESS.

The following Works are many of them ready for the Press, and will be undertaken as soon as the funds of the Society will permit:

I. Cormac's Glossary; with a Translation and Notes by JOHN O'DONOVAN and EUGENE CURRY, Esqrs. *In the Press.*

II. The Irish Archæological Miscellany, vol. II.

III. The Annals of Ulster. With a Translation and Notes. Edited from a MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, collated with the Translation made for Sir James Ware by Dudley or Duald Mac Firbis, a MS. in the British Museum, by JAMES HENTHORN TODD, D. D., M. R. I. A., and JOHN O'DONOVAN, Esq., M. R. I. A.

IV. The Annals of Innisfallen; from a MS. in the Bodleian Library, Oxford; with a Translation and Notes by JOHN O'DONOVAN, Esq.

V. Ecclesiastical Taxation of Ireland, circ. 1300. Edited from the original Exchequer Rolls, in the Carlton-Ride Record Office, London, with Notes, by the REV. WILLIAM REEVES, D. D., M. R. I. A., of Trinity College, Dublin.

VI. The Liber Hymnorum; from the original MS. in the Library of Trinity College,

lege, Dublin. Edited by the Rev. James Henthorn Todd, D. D., M. R. I. A., Fellow of Trinity College, and the Rev. William Reeves, D. D., M. R. I. A.

VII. Sir William Petty's Narrative of his Proceedings in the Survey of Ireland; from a MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. Edited, with Notes, by Thos. A. Larcom, Esq., R. E., V. P. R. I. A.

VIII. Articles of Capitulation and Surrender of Cities, Towns, Castles, Forts, &c., in Ireland, to the Parliamentary Forces, from A. D. 1649 to 1654. Edited, with Historical Notices, by James Hardiman, Esq., M. R. I. A.

IX. The Genealogy and History of the Saints of Ireland: from the Book of Lecan. Edited, with a Translation and Notes, by John O'Donovan, Esq., and James Henthorn Todd, D. D.

X. An Account of the Firbolgs and Danes of Ireland, by Duald Mac Firbis, from a MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin; with a Translation and Notes, by John O'Donovan, Esq.

XI. Boromha. The Origin and History of the Boromean Tribute. Edited from a MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, with a Translation and Notes, by Eugene Curry, Esq.

XII. The Progresses of the Lords Lieutenant in Ireland; from MSS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. Edited by Joseph Huband Smith, Esq., A. M., M. R. I. A.

XIII. A Treatise on the Ogham or occult Forms of Writing of the ancient Irish; from a MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin; with a Translation and Notes, and preliminary Dissertation, by the Rev. Charles Graves, A. M., M. R. I. A., Fellow of Trinity College, and Professor of Mathematics in the University of Dublin.

XIV. The Topographical Poems of O'Heerin and O'Duggan; with Notes by John O'Donovan, Esq.

XV. Cogaḋ Gaoidhal re Gallaibh. The Wars of the Irish and Danes. Edited, with a Translation and Notes, from a MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, collated with a MS. in the handwriting of Fr. Michael O'Clery, now in the Burgundian Library at Brussels. By James Henthorn Todd, D. D., and John O'Donovan, Esq.

XVI. The Municipal Laws of Dublin, from a MS. in the possession of the Lord Mayor and Corporation. Edited by the Very Rev. Richard Butler, Dean of Clonmacnois.

In addition to the foregoing projected Publications, there are many important works in the contemplation of the Council, which want of funds alone prevents the possibility of their undertaking, such as the Brehon Laws, the Dinnseanchus, the Annals of Connaught, the Annals of Tigernach, &c. &c.

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O'Kelly, Charles
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